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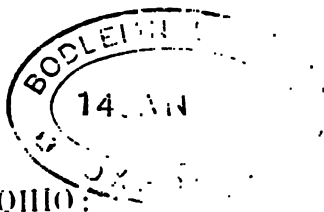
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BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

SKETCHES OF PENTATEUCH CRITICISM.

BY REV. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D.D., PROFESSOR IN CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN every well-ordered gallery of paintings on the Continent it is customary to illustrate the progress of the art by classifying the collection according to the different schools. Thus in one room we have the glories of Italian masters, in another the sensuous productions of a Rubens and his disciples, in another the hard, cold lines of a Cranach; but all so arranged as to illustrate the history of painting in various countries. Such collections, historically arranged, are most important for students of the art.

The historical method is not less useful in other departments of study. In theology it has been especially recognized in the wide field of church history. It is accepted as an axiom that no one can properly understand the church of the present day, unless he can trace the progress of that church from the time of its Founder down to our age. And we may remark in passing, it ought also to be as universally accepted that no man can understand the New Testament aright without a thorough knowledge of the Old.

We are now engaged with certain questions in connection with the origin and composition of the Old Testament Scriptures. These questions, however, centre in the Pentateuch. If we were simply to regard the most pressing needs of a

world lying in wickedness, we might perhaps wish that they had never been raised, although we must believe that they will lead to a better understanding of the Scriptures. We cannot, however, ignore them, and if we do not ignore them we are bound to make a thorough study of the subject. Whatever the results may be, they cannot overthrow the divine and inspired character of God's word; that has been abundantly attested through the witness of the Spirit and in the experience of millions. Not all can pursue these studies. The faithful pastor and conscientious preacher have no time for them. There is but one class of theologians who can, and they are the professors of Old Testament Theology in our various seminaries. In this work they need the sympathy and prayers of all their ministerial brethren. The position which they hold in this country is not only one of solemn responsibility to Christ, but also of positive peril to themselves should the results of their investigations not seem to be in accord with the various standards received by different denominations. One might well desire to escape such a responsibility,—not to say peril,—and pursue only those studies which warm the heart and tend to edification; and yet some must devote themselves to these discussions, and if they do they must undertake them fairly and honestly. They must, if possible, go to the bottom of the subject. But how can this be done, unless we trace the course of Old Testament criticism from its beginning down to the present time? It was the desire to understand the subject more thoroughly which led the author of the proposed Sketches, some six years ago, to begin the collection of materials¹ for this work; and while he could wish, on some accounts, to delay the publication of these articles, yet the time seems to be ripe for a description and discussion of the course of Pentateuch criticism.

FORESHADOWINGS OF A CRITICAL TENDENCY.

There were for a long time certain conditions which were highly unfavorable to a criticism of the Pentateuch, if they

¹ It is fair to say that the materials for these Sketches have been drawn almost exclusively from original sources.

did not render it impossible. The Jew who really believed that the denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch would result in his forfeiture of eternal blessedness — not to speak of the terrors of an excommunication such as Uriel Acosta suffered — would use the utmost ingenuity to remove every difficulty which he might find, or, failing in this, would rather conceal it. Nor were the theories of inspiration generally current in the church favorable to freedom in discussion of these questions. Hence this element must be kept constantly in view, as well as the inadequate knowledge of Hebrew grammar and the principles of interpretation on the part of Old Testament students before the Reformation.

We need not be surprised, therefore, to find the first shadowings of criticism among heretics and heathen, who were unchecked by doctrine or discipline; and the first establishment of criticism among those who had broken loose from all restraints of creeds, and among the Roman Catholics, who in placing the authority of the church above Scripture were released from those restraints which the Protestants felt during the period of strict orthodoxy which followed the times of the Reformers. And we may remark, in this connection, that the great freedom which obtains among German theologians at the present day is due, among other causes, to the principle of perfect freedom in teaching (*Lehrfreiheit*) which no judicial court can abridge.

1. *Among Heretics.*

Going back, then, as far as we can, we find at least something that reminds us of an attempt at criticism in the writings of Ptolemaus, a Gnostic, and a disciple of Valentinus. In a letter to Flora, one of his followers, he presents the view that the entire law contained in the Pentateuch was not given by one legislator, God, but that it was to be divided into three parts, in which the commands of God, of the elders, and of Moses himself are contained.¹ This view, however, does not seem to have arisen from any critical examination

¹ Epiphanius Panarii, Lib. 1. Tom. 11. Haer. xxxiii. Cap. iii.

of the Pentateuch, but was simply based on a very superficial interpretation of some New Testament passages, where God (Matt. xv. 4) or Moses (Matt. xix. 8) or others are represented as speaking, and it is easy to conjecture that his connection with the Gnostic school of Valentinus was the occasion of his opinions.

At an early period we find the heretical sect of the Nazarenes denying that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch as we now have it, although they acknowledged that there was such a person as Moses, and that he received a legislation, but not the one which was in circulation at their time.¹ It seems clear, however, that their rejection of the Pentateuch was due to their asceticism, because they considered it wrong to use flesh for food or in sacrifice.

While we do not find in these any evidence of a critical tendency, we discover traces of it in the Clementine Homilies, which arose among the Ebionites in the early part of the third century, where the writer says that "the law was given by Moses, without writing, to seventy wise men to be handed down, but [it was not written] by Moses; for in the law itself it is written, 'And Moses died, and they buried him near the house of Phogor,² and no one knows his sepulchre till this day.' But how could Moses write that Moses died?"³ In still another passage,⁴ we read that "Moses having by the order of God delivered the law, with the explanations, to certain chosen men, some seventy in number, in order that they also might instruct such of the people as chose, after a little the written law had added to it certain falsehoods contrary to the law of God; the wicked one having dared to work this for some righteous purpose."

It is probable that these doubts as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch arose rather from certain presuppositions

¹ Epiphanius Panarion, Lib. i. Tom. i. Haer. xviii. Cap. i.

² This is according to the reading in the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxiv.

³ καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Φογόρ.

⁴ Homily iii. Chap. xlvii., quoted from the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. xvii., Edinburgh, 1870.

⁵ Ibid., Homily ii. 38.

as to what it should be, than from a very careful criticism of its contents; that is, the criticism was probably the result of a theory; for they considered that those passages which seemed to speak of a plurality of Gods, or attributed to him human passions, or attributed crimes to such men as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, must be spurious additions.

2. *Among Heathen.*

Celsus (178 A.D.) does not attack the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He simply rejects its divine character; maintaining that the account concerning creation cannot be true, because he is inclined to accept the theory of those who maintain that the world was not created. He further says that Moses found his teaching among wise people and learned men, and so acquired a divine name.¹

The emperor Julian (b. 331; d. 363 A.D.), however, who had been trained as a Christian, while not rejecting the Mosaic authorship altogether, seems to have recognized the existence of passages which could not be attributed to Moses. He is quoted by Cyril as saying: "In some places the hierophant Moses spoke about God rather according to the taste of the people than according to the truth. His words are neither right, nor worthy of God. . . . But Ezra, in other places, made additions according to his own opinions."²

3. *Among Jews.*

The Jews, as we have remarked, were under special bonds not to hold any view that would even seem to call in question the Mosaic authorship. Hence if any had their doubts they

¹ Keim, Celsus's Wahres Wort, Zürich, 1873, pp. 9, 10.

² Cf. Neumann, Prolegomena in Juliani Imperatoris Libros Quibus Impugnabit Christianos, Lipsiae, 1880, pp. 20-21.

ποτέ μὲν φησι τὸν ἱεροφάντην Μωυσέα
δημαγωγῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντα τοὺς περὶ
θεοῦ ποιήσασθαι λόγους, οὕτε ἔχοντας ὁρθῶς
οὕτε μὴν εἰκόντως αὐτῷ (sc. θεῷ) γεγονότας.
ποτέ δὲ τὸν Ἑσδραν ἀπὸ γνώμης ἰδίας
προσπενεγκύν τινα διατείνεται.

took pains to conceal them from the ordinary reader. There are, however, two Jewish writers belonging to the Middle Ages who exhibit a critical tendency.

The first of these was probably Isaac ben Suleiman, or Israeli, a celebrated African physician, mathematician, and astronomer, who lived to be nearly a hundred years old, and was one of the most productive writers of his time (d. 940 A.D.). The only thing that we know about his critical opinions is found in a comment by Ibn Ezra on Gen. xxxvi. 31, where we read: "And these are the kings which reigned in the land of Edom before the children of Israel were under the rule of a king."¹ Ibn Ezra remarks on this passage: "There are those who say that this section was written prophetically; but Isaac says in his book that this section was written in the days of Jehoshaphat." The reasons on which Isaac bases his opinion are, that Hadar (ver. 39), whose wife was Mehetabel, is the same as Hadad (cf. 1 Chron. i. 50), the Edomite who is mentioned in 1 Kings xi. 14-20, and that Mehetabel is the same as the unnamed sister of Tahpenes the queen of Egypt, whom Pharaoh gave to Hadad, the contemporary of Solomon, to wife.

There are many others as well as Isaac who have been staggered by this allusion in Genesis to a king in Israel. There are really only three explanations of the difficulty, either, as the orthodox Jews suggested, that the passage was written prophetically, or the finical explanation given by Ibn Ezra, that Moses is the king of Israel intended here (Deut. xxxiii. 5), or to suppose with Isaac that this passage was really written after there were kings in Israel. Nevertheless Ibn Ezra makes sport of the theory, and says that the author of it is rightly called Isaac (laughter), because every one who

¹ Maier, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, Hamburg, 1832, p. 639, says that this is an Isaac ben Jasos, a Spaniard, who lived in the eleventh century. Siegfried, however, in his dissertation, entitled *Spinoza als Kritiker und Ausleger des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1867, p. 11, declares that it is Isaac ben Suleiman, who is also called Israeli; cf. Geiger's *Judenthum und Seine Geschichte*, ii. p. 78; and for a short sketch of his life Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1871, Vol. v. pp. 282-284.

hears his explanation of the passage will laugh at it, and prophesies that his book is destined to be burned — a prophecy which may have been fulfilled. In any case we would not be justified in inferring more from this quotation given by Ibn Ezra than that Isaac ben Suleiman held that there were interpolations in the Pentateuch.

The second Jewish critic is Ibn Ezra (b. about 1088; d. 1167 A.D.) himself, a Spanish Jew of Toledo, who was celebrated for versatility of mind and range of knowledge.¹

While his writings have been preserved to us, yet the constitution of his mind was so peculiar that we cannot clearly determine what his real views as to the authorship of the Pentateuch were. His doubts, although expressed in a recondite manner, led Spinoza to claim that he really denied the Mosaic authorship.² In his comment on Deut. i. 2 Ibn Ezra says: "If thou shalt understand the secret of the twelve, also and Moses wrote this book (Deut. xxxi. 6), and the Cananite was then in the land (Gen. xii. 6), in the mountain of Jehovah he appeareth (Gen. xxii. 14), also behold his bed is a bed of iron (Deut. iii. 11), thou shalt recognize the truth."

What truth then had Ibn Ezra in mind? Either that these passages, which are regarded as anachronisms by critics in a work written by Moses, are interpolations, or that the Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses. The wily Ibn Ezra leaves this question undecided, although, perhaps, he divulges the secret of the twelve himself in his

¹ He was perhaps too much of a traveller to be very prosperous. At any rate he humorously describes his ill-success in securing a fortune as follows: "I am trying to get rich, but the stars are against me. If I were to take up the business of winding-sheets nobody would die; were I to take a stock of candles the sun would not go down to my dying day." — Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 186.

² *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Hamburgi, 1670, p. 104: "E. primo de scriptore Pentateuchi: quem fere omnes Mosen esse crediderunt, imo adeo pertinaciter defenderunt Pharisæi, ut eum hæreticum habuerint, qui aliud visus est sentire, et hac de causa Aben Hezra, liberioris ingenii vir, et non mediocris eruditionis, et qui primus omnium, quos legi, hoc præjudicium animadvertit, non ausus est mentem suam aperte explicare, sed rem obscurioribus verbis tantum indicare."

on Deut. xxxiv. 1, where he says respecting the words "And Moses went up," "In my opinion Joshua wrote from this verse [i.e. the twelve verses in the chapter]; for after Moses went up he [Moses] did not write, and he [Joshua] wrote it prophetically." Further, with regard to verse 6, Ibn Ezra remarks on the words "Unto this day," "These are the words of Joshua, and he put this writing in order at the end of his days."¹

Although this and other passages which might be quoted from Ibn Ezra would seem to indicate either directly or by implication his belief in the Mosaic authorship, and that he considered the texts cited (Deut. xxxi. 9; Gen. xii. 6; xxii. 14; Deut. iii. 11) merely interpolations, yet when we remember that Graetz affirms that he had pantheistic tendencies and, along with an almost fanatical orthodoxy, maintained a half concealed scepticism, ridiculed the mystical interpretation of Solomon's Song, doubted the authenticity of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, and could not take the supernatural accounts of the Bible literally, but had to give them a rationalistic interpretation,² we can conclude that Spinoza may not be so far from the truth when he recognizes in Ibn Ezra his forerunner in the denial of the Mosaic authorship.³

¹ It is certain that the "Super-commentator" on Ibn Ezra in ספר מרגליות ח"ב, Amsterdam, 1721, fol. 134^b, does not give Ibn Ezra's views on this passage, but simply the explanation common among the orthodox Jews. Part of his comment is as follows: "All these things were said to Moses prophetically, and he wrote them so. And why does the wise say, And Moses wrote: 'And he [Moses] went?' (Deut. xxxiv. 1). 'His knowledge [i.e. Moses,] in writing this before his death] was equally by way of prophecy. Also in the mountain of Jehovah he appeareth (Gen. xxii. 14) there was not a thought of the house of the sanctuary [i.e. it was not written after the Temple at Jerusalem was built], and he says that there shall be his shekinah; also behold his bedstead is a bedstead of iron these, it is necessary to say, are by the spirit of prophecy." Every anachronism could be removed by the pious Jew by having recourse to the spirit of prophecy; the most orthodox party even made Moses recount the story of his own death and burial (Deut. xxxiv. 5-12) by the same spirit of prophecy, and added, with a childlike simplicity, "And Moses wept." — Baba bathra, 15^a: ימשה כרחב בריבס.

² Geschichte der Juden, Vol. vi., Leipzig, 1871, pp. 183 ff.

³ Cf. Benedicti de Spinoza Opera quae supersunt Omnia, Jenae, 1802, Vol. i. p. 277.

praised by Richard Simon for its learning and critical acuteness.¹

Although he maintains that Ezra, either alone or with others who were distinguished for piety and erudition, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, compiled Joshua, Judges, Kings, etc. from existing annals, yet he confines their labors with reference to the Pentateuch to the insertion of explanatory words, sentences, or to the introduction of modern names in place of those which had become obsolete.²

From this it will be seen that Masius, far from denying the Mosaic authorship in whole or in part, held the very conservative position that the interpolations which had been made were introduced by inspired men. Nevertheless, his writings were interdicted by the Roman Catholic church.

FIRST PERIOD, 1650—1800.

THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP ATTACKED ON THE BASIS OF ALLEGED INCONSISTENCIES AND ANACHRONISMS.

We now come to the first period in the history of Pentateuch criticism. In Ibn Ezra and Carlstadt we have had examples of radical views; but their utterances are sporadic. They do not mark a period.

¹ *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Rotterdam, 1685, p. 444.

² The form of statement in Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1879, p. 16, tends to give a wrong impression as to Masius's view. Bleek says: "In dessen Vorrede und an verschiedenen anderen Stellen erklärt sich Masius entschieden dahin, das der Pentateuch in der Gestalt, worin er uns vorliege, nicht das Werk des Moses sei, sondern des Esra oder eines anderen Gottbegeisterten Mannes, der z. b. manche ältere Namen in die später üblichen geändert habe und dergl." The emphasis should be placed on the last clause which I have italicised, otherwise Masius's position would be misunderstood, for he says: "Mihi certe ea est opinio, ut putem, Ezdram, sive solum, sive una cum equalibus, insigni pietate et eruditione viris, coelesti spiritu afflatum, non solum hunc Josuae, verum etiam Judicum, Regum, alios, quos in sacris, ut vocant, Bibliis legimus libros, ex diversis annalibus apud Ecclesiam Dei conservatis compilasse, in eumque ordinem, qui jam olim habetur, redegissee atque disponisse. Quin ipsum etiam Mosis opus, quod vocant *πεντάτευχος*, longo post Mosen tempore, interjectis saltem hic illic verborum et sententiarum clausulis, veluti sarcitum, atque omnino explicatus redditum esse conjecturae bonae afferri facile possunt. Nam ut unam, exempli causa, dicam Cariath-Arbe saepe illic Hebron nominatur et tamen hoc illi urbi nomen a Calebi filio Hebrone impositum esse graves auctores tradiderunt."

As we have already indicated, Pentateuch criticism had its origin in the ranks of unbelievers, who, free from all dogmatic presuppositions, gave expression to their opinions as to the origin of the Pentateuch, without fear or favor. The first division in the period is marked by tearing down.

I. DESTRUCTIVE CRITICS.

1. *Hobbes* (b. 1588 ; d. 1679 A.D.).

The first of these destructive critics was the famous English philosopher, Hobbes. During his residence of five years at Oxford he is said to have devoted himself to the study of the Aristotelian logic and physics ; and several years later, during his second residence in France, to the study of mathematics. He afterwards became a tutor in the family of the earl of Devonshire, with which he retained his connection as long as he lived. At the beginning of his career his association with this family gave him superior opportunities for travel and acquaintance with distinguished men. Although he belonged to the church of England, and was highly moral and upright in his life, his teaching was antagonistic to revealed religion. While giving instruction in mathematics to the Prince of Wales, who had retired to France, he was preparing his *Leviathan*, which first appeared in England in the year 1651.¹ This work contains his critical views on

¹ For the particulars of his life see his *Vita* in his *Opera Philosophica*, edited by Molesworth, Vol. i. Londoni, 1839, pp. xiii sq., and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. xii. New York, 1881, pp. 31-40. The claim which Siegfried makes on internal grounds in his *Spinoza als Kritiker und Ausleger des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1867, p. 8, that Hobbes derived his critical views from Peyrere and Spinoza is utterly groundless. The *Leviathan*, in which Hobbes's theories concerning the Mosaic authorship occur, was begun about 1647, and published in English in 1651, nineteen years before Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*, and twelve years before that work was ready for the press. Even the Latin edition of the *Leviathan* appeared in Amsterdam in 1668, or two years before the *Tractatus*. The *Preadamitae* of Peyrere was not given to the public until 1655, or four years after the *Leviathan*. This shows how something more than internal criticism is necessary to settle the question of priority, and how far astray those who are engaged in Pentateuch criticism may go who rely almost wholly on internal evidence in determining the priority and age of documents.

the Pentateuch. He claims that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses for the following reasons :

(1) Because we read in Deut. xxxiv. 6, "concerning the sepulchre of Moses, that 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day.' It is therefore manifest that those words were written after his interment." He meets the objection which may be raised, that the last chapter of the Pentateuch was written by some other man, although the rest was of Mosaic origin, by referring (2) to Gen. xii. 6: "And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land." From this he infers that these "must needs bee the words of one that wrote when the Canaanite was not in the land; and consequently not of Moses who dyed before hee came into it." (3) In Num. xxi. 14 "the writer citeth another more ancient book, entituled, The Book of the Wars of the Lord, wherein were registered the Acts of Moses at the Red Sea, and at the brook of Arnon." He therefore concludes that the books of Moses were written after his death, although he does not attempt to fix the date. Nevertheless, he concedes the Mosaic authorship of certain portions of the Pentateuch, as will appear from the following quotation: "But though Moses did not compile those Books entirely, and in the form we have them; yet hee wrote all that which hee is there said to have written: as for example, the Volume of the Law, which is contained, as it seemeth, in the xith of Deuteronomie, and the following chapters to the xxviii, which was also commanded to be written on Stones in their entry into the land of Canaan. And this also, did Moses himself write (Deut. xxxi. 9, 10) and delivered to the Priests and Elders of Israel, to be read every seventh year to all Israel, at their assembling in the Feast of Tabernacles. And this is that Law which God commanded that their Kings (when they should have established that form of Government) should take a copy from the Priests and Levites; and which Moses commanded the Priests and Levites to lay in the side of the Arke [Deut. xxxi. 26]; and the same which, having been



lost, was long time after found again by Hilki'ah, and sent to King Josiah [2 Kings xxii. 8], who, causing it to be read to the People [2 Kings xxiii. 1-8], renewed the Covenant between God and them." ¹

Although these views would now be considered highly conservative by modern critics, yet the publication of the book in which they occur raised a storm of opposition among the clergy who were in France with Charles the Second, and resulted in his dismissal from the royal party. It is interesting to notice that Hobbes, in assigning Deut. xi.-xxvii. to Moses, very nearly anticipated the view now held by some critics as to the original code embodied in the Book of Deuteronomy.

2. *Peyrere* (b. 1594 ; d. 1676 A.D.).

The second of the destructive critics was a Frenchman, who was born at Bordeaux. At the age of fifty he accompanied the French ambassador to Denmark. On his return he entered the service of the Prince of Condé, and went on a special mission for him to Spain. He followed him later (1648 ?) to the Low Countries. His work on the Preadamites was prepared during his residence of several years in Holland, and was published in 1655 A.D. It was condemned by the parliament of Paris, and in the following year he was cast into prison at Brussels by order of the archbishop of Mechlin, but was afterwards released through the influence of Condé. He then visited Rome, where he was graciously received by Alexander VII., on his retraction of his book and his abjuration of the reformed faith. He afterwards returned to France, where he spent his days. He is said to have been ignorant of Hebrew and Greek, and to have understood but little Latin.

The following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb :

" Le Peyrere ici git, ce bon Israelite,
Hugenot, Catholique, enfin Préadamite,

¹ Quoted from the original edition, London, 1651 ; see also the edition by Molesworth, London, 1839, Vol. iii. pp. 368, 369.

Quatre religions lui plurent à la fois;
 Et son indifférence étoit si peu commune
 Qu'après quatre vingt ans qu'il eut à faire un choix;
 Le bon homme partit, et n'en choisit pas une."¹

Peyrere, in his book *Praeadamitae*,² in which he seeks to prove, on the basis of Rom. v. 14, that there were men in existence before Adam, claims that the Pentateuch is not an autograph of Moses, for the following reasons:³

1. Because in the last chapter of Deuteronomy an account is given of Moses' death, which he himself could not have written.

2. On account of the expression (Deut. i. 1) "beyond Jordan." If Moses had written these words he would have said, on this side Jordan, since he had never crossed it. The author, however, who compiled Deuteronomy wrote "beyond Jordan," because he lived in the Holy Land. This expression is used many times in Deuteronomy.

3. As the Book of the Wars of Jehovah is mentioned in Num. xxi. 14, in which the things which were done in Arnon were by Moses himself, he holds that that book was neither written by Moses, nor could have been written by him. He believes that Moses wrote commentaries on all the remarkable occurrences, from which, long after Moses' death, this Book of the Wars of Jehovah was composed, from which finally the Book of Numbers was taken. Hence Numbers is not even an apograph derived from an autograph, but has rather come from an apograph.

4. The things which are related in Deut. iii. were written very long after Moses' death: (1) in verse 14 where we read,

¹ We suggest the following rendering:

"Peyrere lies here, that good Israelite,
 Huguenot, Catholic, Preadamite.
 Four religions bewail him together,
 But indifference, light as a feather,
 Brought him to eighty without choosing one.
 He has left the world, and declared for none."

² The book is not unfrequent as a 16°, and appears with the following title: *Praeadamitae Sive Exercitatio super versibus duodecim.o, decimotertio, et decimoquarto, capitis quinti Epistolae D. Pauli ad Romanos* [place not designated] 1655.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 185 ff.

"Jair the son of Manasseh took all the region of Argob, unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, even Bashan the tent-villages of Jair unto this day." Moses could not have said "unto this day" if he had written [this], "for Jair himself scarcely possessed that village at the time when Moses is introduced as saying these things. Hence it is evident that the author of this Deuteronomic passage wished to show from the farthest and most primitive origin how the village of Jair received its name, deriving it from the time of Moses, which was long before his own. (2) So, too, he argues that Moses could not have written Deut. iii. 11, as there would be no object in calling the attention of the people to the bed of the giant whom they had already seen. He says it is far more probable, that the historian in order to secure credence for his narrative mentions the iron bed as a most certain proof.

5. Since the reference in ii. 12 is to the Idumeans who were first conquered in the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 14), this passage of Deuteronomy was not written in the time of Moses, but first after the age of David.

Peyrere therefore concludes, in the most emphatic way, that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses. He holds, moreover, that many things which are obscure, confused, disarranged, omitted, etc. are due to the fact that the Pentateuch is an apograph, and maintains that contradictions and variations have arisen because these books have sprung from different authors.

Peyrere's theory of inspiration is interesting as having much in common with some of the theories of modern conservative critics. While he seems to hold that the autograph is human, and that it is difficult to separate between the divine and human elements, yet he thinks that with the divine assistance, as the hound, even where there are many footprints, is able to follow the game, and as blind Isaac could distinguish the voice of Jacob from the hands of Esau, so we can distinguish the voice of God from the hands of men.

Not to discuss his theories respecting the Pentateuch, which may be better treated when we come to the apologists of this period, we must remark that while the theory of human and divine elements in Scripture is of great importance, Peyrere makes the mistake of supposing that we can separate here between the soul and the body. The Scriptures are divine-human as Christ is the God-man.

The question cannot be easily solved as to the genesis of Peyrere's criticisms on the Pentateuch, whether they arose from his theory of the Preadamites or not. That theory was certainly favorable to such criticism, for when the question was raised why we have no account of these Preadamites in Genesis, he could not only reply, in accordance with this theory, that the plan of giving only the history which immediately bore on that of the Jewish nation would exclude such an account, but also as we have not the autographs, which are fragmentary in their composition, a reference to the Preadamites might well have been omitted.

3. *Spinoza* (b. 1632 ; d. 1677 A.D.).

By far the greatest name among the destructive critics of the First Period is that of Benedict Spinoza. His ancestors were Portuguese Jews,¹ who proudly claimed with the rest of their countrymen a royal lineage from the tribe of Judah, and who had sought for many centuries to establish harmony between science and religion.² His parents lived in comparative comfort in the Jewish colony at Amsterdam, which had been formed by migrations from Spain and Portugal.

Perhaps no one has exerted a greater influence on the methods of biblical study than Spinoza. As a boy he was precocious, and astonished his teacher by his attainments. Besides his knowledge of Rabbinical lore, he laid the foundation of a good classical education in the best school in Amsterdam. If we are to believe a not improbable story his early life had a touch of romance. It is said that he became enamored of the daughter of his teacher, but the gift of an expensive

¹ Colerus, *The Life of Benedict de Spinoza*, London, 1706, p. 1.

² Auerbach, *Spinoza's Sämmtliche Werke*, 1 Band, Stuttgart, 1841, p. xvi.

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necklace turned the scale in favor of a wealthy rival. If this story be true,¹ it is certain that he soon found consolation in philosophy.

Although he was a man of unblemished character, and reticent in regard to his views, his orthodoxy fell under suspicion, and failing to give a satisfactory account of himself, and at the same time declining to accept a thousand florins annually, which was offered him as hush-money in case he would preserve the semblance of a faithful adherence to the tradition of the fathers, he was excommunicated, at the age of twenty-three, from the synagogue. He endured this terrible blow, which separated him entirely from his kindred and people, with calmness, and supported himself by polishing glass lenses. Though this afforded a very slender income, he refused to receive the aid of friends, which was freely offered, and declined a flattering invitation to a professorship in Heidelberg, lest he should be compelled to abridge his liberty or give offence to the cause of religion by his speculations. While he was not a Cartesian, he was at first much influenced by Des Cartes' system of philosophy, of which he was at one time an expounder,² although he was afterwards exposed to the antagonism of the Cartesians because he did not follow their leader.³ Whether we speak of German rationalism, or of the modern historico-critical method in the treatment of Scripture, we find almost all the views now held by modern biblical critics germinally contained in his system. He is the first, so far as we are aware, who insists on a strictly grammatical and historical treatment of the text, and who lays the foundation for a true Biblical Theology by the exclusion of an *eisegesis*,⁴ which had been so prevalent, and

¹ Pollock, Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy, London, 1880, p. 13, pronounces the story of the necklace as mythical, since Clara Maria Van den Ende could not have been more than eleven or twelve years old when Spinoza was a student with her father.

² Renati des Cartes Principia Philosophiae, Pars i. et ii., Amstelodami, 1663.

³ In his second letter to Henry Oldenburg, he criticises the philosophy of Des Cartes and Bacon; cf. Auerbach in Spinoza's Sämmtliche Werke, 1 Band, Stuttgart, 1841, pp. xlvii-xlix.

⁴ See cap. vii. De Interpretatione Scripturae, in his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, at the beginning.

which still was the favorite mode of interpretation for a long period.

While we cannot follow him in making reason the supreme arbiter of religious and biblical questions, in his denial of prophecy, miracles, and the supernatural,¹ yet we must admire that love of truth which could neither be bribed nor intimidated, and which sunk every personal consideration in what he regarded to be the good of the many.

His method of treating Scripture is set forth in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which first appeared in 1670 A.D. He holds that we need to know as far as possible the circumstances under which the books of the Old Testament were written.² He maintains that on the whole we have a truthful record, although the facts of history may have been presented in a subjective way. He denies the supernatural, the miraculous,³ and the prophetic,⁴ so far as prophecy has to do with future events. He affirms that the books of the Old Testament were not written by command, but only casually, to meet the wants of some men, and that these books are chosen from many.⁵ He claims that it is not the object of the Scriptures to teach science,⁶ but simply obedience;⁷ hence he says that whatever is false or adulterated could only have happened in the circumstances of history or prophecy,

¹ See especially cap. vi. *De Miraculis*, *ibid.*

² See cap. vii. *De Interpretatione Scripturae*, iii.: "*Deinde ne documenta aeterna cum iis, quae ad tempus tantum, vel paucis solummodo ex usu poterant esse, confundamus, refert etiam scire qua occasione, quo tempore et cui nationi, aut saeculo omnia documenta scripta fuerint.*"

³ Cap. vi. *De Miraculis*, § 1: "*Nihil contra naturam contingere, sed ipsam aeternam fixum et immutabilem ordinem servare, et simul quid per miraculum intelligendum sit.*"

⁴ Cap. i. *De Prophetia*: "*Possumus jam igitur sine scrupulo affirmare, Prophetas non nisi ope imaginationis, Dei revelata percepisse, hoc est, mediantibus verbis, vel imaginibus, iisque veris aut imaginariis.* Cap. ii. *De Prophetis*: "*Sic etiam ipsa revelatio variabat, ut jam diximus, in unoquoque Propheta pro dispositione temperamenti corporis, imaginationis, et pro ratione opinionum, quas antea amplexus fuerat.*"

⁵ Cap. xii.: "*Libri utriusque Testamenti non fuerunt expresso mandato, uno eodemque tempore, omnibus saeculis scripti, sed casu, quibusdam hominibus. . . . Libri Veteris Testamenti ex multis electi fuerunt.*"

⁶ Cap. xiii.: "*Scripturae intentum non fuisse scientias docere.*"

⁷ Cap. xiv.: "*Intentum scripturae esse tantum, obedientiam docere.*"

and that it makes little difference in regard to salvation whether such things have been adulterated or not, although he considers it incredible that posterity delivered the main elements of history otherwise than as they had received them from their predecessors.¹

He is the father of rationalism in his treatment of all those parts of Scripture which seem to him to be contrary to reason.² But as he says that theology has no other object than obedience and piety, he concludes that it is not subject to reason,³ and hence that the requisitions of the Scriptures in regard to obedience and piety, which he considers the sum of religion, are not contrary to reason. He affirms that the Holy Scriptures, or revelation, are most necessary, since through the light of reason we could not see that simple obedience is the way to holiness, and there are very few who acquire the habit of virtue through the leadership of reason.⁴

For the same reasons as those already mentioned by Ibn Ezra he concludes that Moses could not have been the author of the Pentateuch as we now have it. But he adds the following, which he considers more weighty in disproving the Mosaic authorship:⁵

1. The author of these books not only speaks concerning Moses in the third person, but also testifies many things respecting him; e.g. Moses was the meekest of all men (Num. xii. 3); Moses the servant of God [Jehovah] died (Deut. xxxiv. 5); there never arose a prophet in Israel like Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 10). On the other hand, in Deuteronomy, where the law is described which Moses had explained to

¹ See the last part of chap. xii.

² Cap. xv.

³ Cap. xv.: "Quare tam hanc, quam illam Maimonidis sententiam explodimus et pro inconcusso statuimus, quod nec Theologia rationi, nec ratio Theologiæ ancillari teneatur, sed unaquæque suum regnum obtineat." Cf. cap. xiv.: "Superest jam, ut tandem ostendam, inter fidem, sive Theologiam, et Philosophiam nullum esse commercium, nullamve affinitatem, quod jam nemo potest ignorare, qui harum duarum facultatem et scopum et fundamentum novit, quæ sane toto coelo discrepant. Philosophiæ enim scopus nihil est, præter veritatem: Fidei autem, ut abunde ostendimus, nihil præter obedientiam et pietatem."

⁴ See the end of chap. xv.

⁵ Cap. viii. De Origine Pentateuchi.

the people, and which he had written, he speaks and relates his acts in the first person (Deut. ii. 1, 17, etc.). The writer, after he has reproduced the words of Moses, proceeds to speak in the third person, and to relate how Moses gave this law in written form to the people. Spinoza therefore says: "All this, namely, the manner of speaking, and even the entire connection of the history, make us thoroughly believe that these books were written by another, and not by Moses himself."

2. It is to be remarked that in this history it is not only related how Moses died, was buried, and that the Hebrews mourned for him thirty days, but also, besides this, a comparison is made between him and all the other prophets that arose after him.

3. Some places are not named with the names which they had when Moses was alive, but with those which they received long afterward; e.g. Abraham followed the enemy to Dan (Gen. xiv. 14), a name which the city received long after the death of Joshua (Judg. xviii. 29).

4. Some of the narratives extend beyond the lifetime of Moses; for it is related in Ex. xvi. 35 that the children of Israel ate manna forty years, until they came to the land that they were to inhabit; concerning which we find the narrative in Josh. v. 12. Besides, we read in Gen. xxxvi. 31: "These are the kings who reigned in Edom before a king reigned over the children of Israel." Without doubt the historian here names the kings which the Idumeans had before David conquered them and placed garrisons in Edom itself (2 Sam. viii. 14).

From all this Spinoza concludes that it is clearer than the sun that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but by some one who lived many generations after Moses. He also maintains that the books which Moses wrote, and which are cited in the Pentateuch, are different from the Pentateuch.

1. *The Book of the Wars of God.*—From Ex. xvii. 14 it appears that Moses at the command of God wrote a

description of the war against Amalek, but in what book does not appear from this chapter. But in Num. xxi. 14 a certain book is cited which is called Wars of God [Jehovah]; and in this book doubtless the war against Amalek, besides all the encampments which are attested as described by Moses (Num. xxxiii. 2) were narrated.

2. *The Book of the Covenant.*—Moses first read this book when Israel entered into covenant with God. It contains only those laws or commands of God which are narrated in Ex. xx. 22–xxiv. This appears both from the fact that Moses wrote out the things which were necessary for the covenant, as well as from the brief time which he had to place them in writing (Ex. xxiv. 4).

3. *The Book of the Law of God.*—In the fortieth year after the exodus Moses explained all the laws which he had given (Deut. i. 5), and pledged the people anew (Deut. xxix. 14), and finally wrote the book (Deut. xxxi. 9) which contained these laws as explained and the new covenant. This is called the Book of the Law of God, which is afterwards increased by Joshua through the narration of the covenant into which they entered with God the third time (Josh. xxiv. 25, 26). But since we have no book which contains this covenant of Moses and at the same time of Joshua it must necessarily be conceded that this book has perished. He holds therefore that Moses wrote no other books than those that have been mentioned and the song (Deut. xxxi. 30).

Although Spinoza admits that what he calls the senate may have communicated the commands of Moses in writing to the people, yet he holds that since much occurs in the Pentateuch which could not have been written by Moses, it is contrary to all reason to affirm that he is the author of the Pentateuch. He says: “The connection and the order of the narrative show that there was only one historian who wished to describe the old history from its first beginning to the first destruction of the city All these books, therefore, are directed to the one object to teach the words and commands of Moses, and to confirm them through the

result of circumstances." Spinoza concludes from the simplicity of their contents, from their close connection, and the fact that they are apographs, that they were written many centuries after the events occurred, and conjectures that their author was Ezra. He regards him as a sort of a compiler who was not able to put the finishing touches on his work, and says that he often took the narratives from the most diverse authors, and often only copied without examining his materials sufficiently, or bringing them into order.

The coincidences between the views of these three writers in denying the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch are indeed remarkable, but there is no evidence that they came from a perusal of each others writings, although Spinoza, as it seems, had the idea of his *Tractatus Politicus* suggested to him by Hobbes's *Leviathan*,¹ but we may not infer from this that he derived his critical views from him. Neither Hobbes nor Peyrere seem to have been versed in the original of the Old Testament Scriptures, as Spinoza was. They were not biblical critics, but men of the world, and yet they agree with Spinoza in their conclusions, and these are destructive.

We shall see how in the First Period, as well as in those that follow, there were two classes who sought to defend the faith,—one of constructive critics, who, while accepting the essential truth of Spinoza's criticisms, sought, as they thought, to raise the shattered edifice of tradition into a more beautiful and enduring structure, while the other, denying the validity of the critic's premises, strove to maintain the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch intact. It will be our aim in the next article to examine the views of the constructive critics.

¹ Pollock's *Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy*, London, 1880, pp. 88, 312–320.

ARTICLE II.

ESSENTIAL CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. J. W. WEDDELL, CHICAGO, ILL.

"NOT every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," said Jesus, "shall enter into the kingdom of heaven."¹ Profession is not necessarily salvation. Can the opposite be affirmed? Not all who gain entrance to the kingdom shall say to the Master "Lord, Lord." That is, salvation is not necessarily profession.

This some ardently hope; and this indeed we might all with devoutness wish. There are those who will continue to trust that the many who "shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven,"² shall include not a few who have never heard the name of Jesus, and so could not have called him "Lord." This we know, the grace of God is past human defining. There may be something yet beyond what our imperfect knowledge has grasped of divine mercy. At any rate, it is the happy lot of mortals that their case is submitted to a juster and kindlier tribunal than earth can show. We may all utter with meek sincerity, for that great day, the words of David to his prophet: "Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hand of man."³

This, we say, may be made subject for hope. It is not, however, the hope of the gospel. It is other than the preaching with which we have been commissioned from heaven. The word of that trust is plain, and there is no mistaking the import of the proclamation. There is that which engendereth speculation, but it is to be found elsewhere than in the words of the divine command, clear, direct, imperative: "Go ye into

¹ Matt. vii. 21.² Matt. viii. 11.³ 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.”¹ The gospel! Here is our theme! What is said in the following paragraphs refers to its explicit sanctions and limitations. That there is other truth beyond this, we believe; that there is other escape from sin and all its woe, many of us may hope; but here there is something that we *know*. We have revealed to us in clearest characters, which he that runs may read, a scheme for man’s redemption. It is simple; it is adequate. If our minds and hearts can lay hold of this in all its gracious fulness, let us be satisfied.

Christianity is too dear a name to be unconditionally disowned. Even those who have lost its spirit, yea, even, are possessed of the spirit of its opposite, would continue to speak in its fair name. Ludwig Feuerbach wrote a book some forty years ago whose animus and aim was unmitigated antagonism to the Christian religion. There is, he said, no external religion, no heaven, no hell, God is man idealized. To use his own expressive words: “Such as are a man’s thoughts and dispositions, such is his God; so much worth as a man has, so much and no more has his God. Consciousness of God is self-consciousness; knowledge of God is self-knowledge. By his God thou knowest the man, and by the man his God; the two are identical.”² And now observe, our German iconoclast does not call this, what in very truth it is, the centre and core of infidelity and irreligion. He names his work, *The Essence of Christianity*. Feuerbach has had a numerous train of followers, not only as regards the theory he expounds, but as pertaining to the method of attack which he adopts.

Of Christianity, in a peculiar sense, it may be said: “A man’s foes shall be they of his own household,”³ of Christ, “I was wounded in the house of my friends.”⁴ A book to destroy the historic Jesus Christ of Nazareth is conceived, and it is named, *The Life of Jesus*. A work whose design it is to take away the children’s Scriptures is constructed, and

¹ Mark xvi. 15.² Feuerbach, *Essence of Christianity*, p. 12.³ Matt. x. 36.⁴ Zech. xiii. 6.

it is called *The Bible for Learners*. Verily our old enemy comes to us in the garb of a friend, and we can no longer tell life and loyalty by the livery they wear.

We come down, however, to the development of latitudinarian tendencies within the church, and we find the same or a kindred spirit largely displayed. It is very natural that the old name should be clung to. The parent roof is still quite friendly. Brother and sister may frown, but the home-fires burn large and genial, and there is yet no shelter so pleasant as the old. Reformed Judaism is a decidedly different thing from the orthodoxy of the synagogue, but witness how ardently the new liberalistic faith clings to the garments of the mother. Wherever we look, the most serious digressions of late have been made in the name of the true faith, and the seceder has called himself not a rebel, but a patriot and a pietist.

A reasonable degree of divergence is to be expected. Every circle has its tangential lines, whether marked or not. And the circumference which is unscored with these encloses a dead area wherein there are no true radii. But the lines must ever be called divergent lines. They are never else than tangents, and need not be carried far to be proven such. If they continue on they cease to be part of the old system, except as they impinge upon it. They go to make up another figure and to circle about some other centre.

We take the new movement within the church at something like its own estimation. It does not renounce, though it hesitates not to denounce, the old. It will hold on to the substance or heart of the old, and with a nice discernment it will label that which is to be esteemed vital and indispensable. It finds for us the essential faith, the essential work, and the essential Christ. Let it, then, be called, and, we may say, at its own suggestion, *essential Christianity*; and let us, with a mind to gather up the fragments that nothing be lost, look to see what is left when essential Christianity has taken all it desires and departed.

Under the caption which heads this paper may properly

be considered several forms of recent religious dissent; viz. that which includes under it the wide protest against old ideas of Scripture authenticity and authority; that comprehending the denial of the long-accepted outlines of ordinance and service; that finally conveying the declinature to receive former ideas of the atonement and its promulgation. These refer in a general way to the creed, the church, and the Christ. For convenience sake, no less than for brevity, we may view the various departures after a triple division of this sort.

CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT CREED.

The basis of all Christian creed is the Bible. We might almost say that creed and Scripture are identical. One sect, at least, there is which professes to make the simple word of God its sole body of beliefs, and accepts the scriptural statement as sufficiently explicit. But manifestly progressive interpretation plays an important part in all our fellowships of faith, so that it is only safe to say that creed and Scripture are fundamentally the same. This, however, we may affirm with assurance that the contention with creed is in reality a contention with the Bible—the Bible of our faithful fathers and of our trustful younger selves. The blow which is delivered in the face of the statement of belief is intentionally to take effect upon some text of Scripture. Were it not for this, indeed, we should accept the stroke in all good feeling; for well we know that our propositions, drawn howsoever close from scripture truth, are all too faulty. But we know, too, that it is the Bible behind all that has provoked the attack, and we are naturally very jealous for our Bible.

There are several phases of this movement. Recent literature keeps bringing them before us once and again. There is the position of *extreme antagonism*, which assaults the Bible *in toto*. Miracle, prophecy, revelation, incarnation,—all the salient items of scripture doctrine,—are combated. A certain Mr. Westbrook, who refuses with a delicate con-

scientiousness to prefix the title "Rev." to his name, yet is very careful to append the cabalistic sign "D.D.," has recently written a work called *The Bible, Whence and What?* He wrote the question with the answer ready. The Bible, he says, is from man; part fiction, part fancy, part fraud — all an imposition on humanity. In his shadow or preceding him are others with a like voice to lift up in behalf of Bible-ridden man. They generally close, as they begin, with a prayer for the religion of humanity; and, whilst they describe it in Christian terms, they long for its emancipation from creed and superstition, that it may then go on to brighter days and more beneficent deeds. That brighter days with goodlier deeds may come we, too, shall hope with them; yet shall we expect to see the sun of that day still rising in the east.

There is an intermediate position — a kind of *modified hostility* to the traditional Bible — which has of late found copious exposition at the hands of the rector of All Souls' Church, New York.¹ His volume of March 1, 1883, in elucidation of the view, is admirable, so far as perspicuity and rhetorical strength are concerned. Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible, is his theme. What he esteems these to be his reported sermons have not permitted the public to remain in entire ignorance of. Some most excellent uses he recommends — uses to which all good books should be put. When he comes, however, to speak of the unique, spiritual design of the Scriptures, his uses are verily abuses. He is withstanding what he calls "the traditional view"; he means the popular conception of a written revelation. "We must exorcise a superstition," he says, "to save a faith. We must part with the unreal Bible, if we would hold the real Bible." He then proceeds to literally tear to pieces the so-called "unreal Bible," which is the Bible of the common people. The "real Bible" is thereupon constructed from the fragments which remain. This clever synthesis comprehends no direct revelation from God, but a series of interesting historical

¹ Rev. R. Heber Newton.

leaves, wherein we may read, yet only as it were between the lines, the faintly discernible mind of God. And thus are we taught, albeit by indirection, lessons of wisdom and righteousness for life and immortality. It is suggestive to read that a troubled woman said to the rector of All Souls' Church: "My children don't know anything about the Bible. I cannot read it to them, for I do not know what to say when they ask me questions. I no longer believe as I was taught about it. What, then, can I teach them?"¹ "What then," indeed! The mother's words are pathetic; they are at the same time instructive. What else than such distress will the new preaching bring to parental hearts?

What is most noteworthy in this work, and in other books of its class, is the manifest endeavor to build up an anti-biblical structure on a kind of biblical basis. Christ is exalted in strong, evangelical terms, as "the power of the Bible." The word is named, in literal accordance with Scripture, "a lamp" for the feet, and "a light" for the path; and its constant perusal is urged upon the church with words of earnestness. And yet the means of study employed would, for ordinary readers, rob the book of its power. Let Christianity adopt such principles, and she will soon be without an authoritative creed. This peril the writer alluded to recognizes as a present difficulty when he declares: "A crying need of our day is a hand-book to the Bible, in which the new critical knowledge shall blend, as it may blend, with the old spiritual reverence."² "A crying need," our friend may have also observed, there is for blending infidelity with piety, atheism with morality, and error in general with the fair accompaniments of truth and virtue.

A third phase of this especial controversy is to be found in the argumentative stand-point of what has been termed, though perhaps incorrectly, the *new critical school*. It was instituted, or at least re-instituted, in Germany, many years ago, by such headlong critics as Graf and his compeers. Ewald made numerous additions to it; Wellhausen interpreted

¹ Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible, p. 10.

² Ibid., p. 165.

it for later readers, and gave it more explicit signification. Colenso startled the world of English readers with it. Ort and Kuenen applied it in such a sweeping manner as to make it offensive to many who might otherwise have been drawn toward it. On British shores such elegant writers and acute interpreters as Professor Robertson Smith and Rev. T. K. Cheyne gave its somewhat modified, we may say anglicized, form their sanction and their voice; and its less combative features have obtained some acceptance from certain seminary chairs of our own country.

The view as regards its plain, logical trend may be summarized thus: The Pentateuch a post-exilic composition; Judges and Joshua the annals of lawless nomads, or little better; the prophecies, collections of the fragmentary utterances of men intensely religious and large in their hope, their writings "grouped under the name of some great prophet";¹ the Psalms, songs of Israel, mainly composed after the return from Babylon; Ezekiel, a sermon to bolster up the newly-fabricated law; Ezra and Nehemiah, a history of the institution of the new Mosaic economy; Haggai, Zechariah, and the later prophets, preachers of the novel priestly dispensation, though sometimes with denunciation. We come across to the times of the New Testament, and there we find writings growing up under the literary activity of a new reformatory period conducive to originality. Christ was a voice in behalf of the spirituality of the ancient prophets and in rebuke of the later priestly usurpation; the Gospels were partial summaries of a wonderful Life, but in themselves wholly uncritical and unreliable in their references to the Old Testament; the Acts, a record of the churches emancipated from Jewish exclusiveness; the Epistles, the remnants saved from the numerous writings of the early preachers of Christianity.

This perhaps sketches the ultimatum of the critical movement. It will doubtless not be acknowledged by all who have, nevertheless, determinedly pitched their tents that way.

¹ Rev. R. Heber Newton.

Taking the names of adherents mentioned above, and beginning with the mild American attitude, we have an ascending scale of doctrinal departure, extending, step by step, from a liberal orthodoxy to the boldest and most reckless latitudinarianism. Let us hope that this does not represent, even in similitude, the vital tendencies of scriptural criticism. The next two decades of interpretation will declare. The point to be noticed here is, that from one end of the line to the other the names are those of a Christian professorship or a Christian pulpit. The Bible is to be recast, but it is on the foundations of Christian loyalty and in the interest of the kingdom of earth's Redeemer. The critic is not seeking to undermine Scripture confidence, but is striving, we are told, to find an intelligent basis for latter-day credence.

Why not accept it? It is indeed a beautiful theory. No hypothesis of the theological schools has lately been broached which can afford such varied entertainment to the scholar. It holds within its length and breadth many genuine and important truths. Yet it cannot safely be espoused. The obstacles in the way of Christian adoption have already been clearly and cogently set forth by other pens. We need only here reiterate that there is one thing for which the Christian heart has a greater reverence than for schools of interpretation and schemes of criticism. It is the Bible itself. Rather than see that discredited and gradually destroyed it will turn a deaf ear and a cold shoulder to historical researches however discriminating, and philosophical speculations however refined. It has its Bible left, and that is enough.

Christianity without a creed, a perspicuous and authoritative summary of belief, a planet without an orbit, a republic without a constitution, shall we ever see such? Christianity without a Bible, clearly authenticated, pure and acceptable in all its parts, truthful, infallible, decisive, the Bible of the Christian ages, much abused, much neglected, but ever the Bible of the human heart, would be a pitiful thing indeed. A ship at sea with a rudder, but that broken; a compass, but the needle gone; a course unknown, and a destination un-

fixed — essential Christianity — Christianity without its Bible — there can be no such thing under the benign heavens.

CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT THE CHURCH.

Creedless Christianity must fail. Bishop Littlejohn was right when speaking before the students of Cambridge he called this an intensely practical age, one which insists on solid ground to tread upon. "It requires," he says, "a theology resting on outward realities, not on man's notions; on what the living God has said of himself and inclusively of man, not on what man has thought or felt, reasoned or conjectured about himself and inferentially or inclusively of a God."¹ Hence it is that the elimination of the supernatural from Christian documents will scarcely be tolerated. Hence, too, the separation of the supernatural from Christian worship will not be borne with equanimity.

There is such a thing as churchless Christianity, at least in the visions of men — Christianity apart from an institution. The so-called bars and hinderances imposed by the establishment of a definite organization are to be cast off. The kingdom of Christ must be made to dwell entirely in men's hearts. No need of external or of outward manifestations, save those which creature comfort or beneficence occasions. No forms, no ordinances, none at least from a divine source, nothing but the inbred principles of Christianity producing in society at large the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

The Unitarian movement in theology, in its most conspicuous features, was of this character. It found deeper occasion for difference and showed more lengthened lines of departure, but to the popular eye it was nothing more nor less than a recoil from institutionalism in religion. True, there are other denominations which have ever held to simplicity in ecclesiastical relationships, but these insist still, for the most part, upon the existence of the local church, and they urge the Christly and apostolical injunctions for such an institution. When we come to the later developments of the

¹ See Littlejohn on Individualism.

anti-ordinance movement we find even the simple forms which belonged to the early church refused. It will worship God and adore Christ without the help or hampering of outward sign and symbol. The individual heart the only shrine, the Christian life the sole sacrifice, and love the minister. "Love to God and man is Christianity. Not institutions, not successions, not sacraments, not faith, not works, but love."¹

Dean Stanley, speaking of Christian Institutions, sums them up in one place² as the sacraments, the clergy, the pope, the creed. The pope is a case of manifest usurpation. We may omit such a name from our list of the institutions of Christianity. There may be added, however, to the above summary the church itself, an all-embracing institution, whose reality and necessity are to-day denied.

One of the strangest anomalies of modern times is the foundation of churches which testily disallow in their articles of confederation the churchly idea.³ The members who associate together believe in no baptism, save, in their peculiar conception thereof — the baptism of the Holy Spirit, no table of the Lord, no separate pastoral office, no authoritative code of belief, no divinely-ordained society; yet do they assemble together and call themselves a church. They have a professional and formally consecrated preacher, they sometimes partake together in the name of Christian brotherhood, and perhaps with robes and roses and much of aesthetical paraphernalia go through the pleasing motions of other Christian services. Here is essential Christianity — Christianity denying the institution yet acceding to it at times from conventional motives — to gratify human whim rather than obey divine will.

East and west in our land may be found congregations of this sort, or tending in this direction. There is nothing to be said here of so-called ethical societies, whether founded on the agnostic or evolutionary basis. Such are outspoken

¹ Christianity the Science of Manhood. By M. J. Savage, p. 53.

² Christian Institutions. Preface. ³ E.g. The Unitarian Church, Theistic. Vol. XLI. No. 161.

in their opposition to the Christian system. What we speak of in this connection is that form of antagonism which goes under Christian colors — variance within the church. In New York our literary friend Mr. Frothingham carried some such organization forward for a while, and by his brilliant rhetoric held it together. In Brooklyn John Chadwick, of similar gifts, has made himself the centre of a respectable circle of such worshippers. In Chicago Professor Swing and Dr. Thomas in their respective theatre-halls preach, Sabbath by Sabbath, to large and somewhat enthusiastic throngs, and here and there in our various larger cities there are congregations gathered whose forms of service are concessions and conveniences rather than ordinances and rites.

The first-named gentleman, his utterances of late years, perhaps, more acceptable to evangelical workers than formerly, still indulges in reflections not wholly agreeable to the Christian mind. In a late number of the *North American Review* he makes some curious gratuitous concessions regarding Christianity.¹ He takes the position that in heart and soul it is above criticism ; it cannot be touched in its essential elements with the pruning knife. Men, he implies, may even disbelieve in Christ, in ordinances, in the church ; yet will Christianity remain. It has a constituent genesis and incentive in all hearts.

Does Mr. Frothingham mean by this what he intended when in a former essay on *Modern Irreligion* he said ; “ Banish the doubts, let the questions go answerless ; let the fears subside ; let God stand for the best we can imagine ; let immortality stand for the best we can anticipate ; let religion stand for all educating, refining, soothing, animating, resting, inspiring, consoling influences ; let religious belief be considered as the most complete statement faith can make to-day, without distrust of the finer statement she will make to-morrow ; let religious usages be considered in the light of aids, useful in the pressing emergency ; let the ministers of religion lay aside their sacerdotal character and

¹ *Criticism and Christianity*, *North American Review*, April 1863.

base on sincerity and goodness their claim to human respect; let the administration of religion be generous, sympathetic, wise, and tender; in a word, let religion take its place frankly among the human and humanizing agencies of society, and the dread of it will be dispelled.”¹

Mr. Chadwick probably signifies the same when he exclaims in a January sermon of '79; “Banish the religions, each and all, but only that religion may the more remain!”² And he adds: “that which has so long been coming to maturity will never perish in the night.” This utterance may be understood as following in the wake of Dean Stanley's more liberal tendencies. The institutions of religion have done good service in the past. They are now to be discarded, yet merely as vestments outgrown. Not so, however, another class, who seem to find in the fixed religious forms of the centuries simply shackles and fetters. Amongst those who mourn over the received offices of religion we may place Matthew Arnold as prominent. His contention is for conduct, the three-fourths of life, good conduct, an upright and self-denying behavior. This, he says, is the “natural truth of Christianity.” It is what we find in the “more reasonable Jesus;” in the tempest which sweeps away “traditional religion” it abides. The church of England — and he would doubtless include the Christian churches of other name — will grow by “opening itself to the glow of the old and true ideal of the Christian gospel, by fidelity to reason, by placing the stress of its religion on goodness, by cultivating grace and peace.”³ That is, Christianity will live as a spirit in the hearts of men; the straitness of ecclesiastical creed and practice which nurture dissent — and how Matthew Arnold loathes dissent! — being allowed to pass away.

The idea of the new religion as expounded by Professor Swing, at Central Music Hall in Chicago, is a contempt of authoritative form and dogma, and an exaltation of the underlying essential of Christianity. All is mutation as re

¹ Creed and Conduct, p. 70.

² The Faith of Reason, p. 48.

³ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 188.

gards externals. "The revivals, the service, the sermons, the prayers, the hymns, the music, the ceremonies change like the toilets of the worshippers. More than this, doctrines change," etc.¹ "True liberalism" does its duty in rejecting that which is outward and penetrating to the inner substance of religion, thus at last becoming able to "worship in all temples;"² In the famous ecclesiastical trial wherein Professor Swing's doctrinal departures were considered there were two charges, one having reference to the words of Scripture, the other relating to the articles of the Presbyterian church. In neither case was the offence the mere teaching of error, but the promulgation of what was esteemed to be error under old names which were not applicable. Unitarianism in the name of Presbyterianism, the "new religion" in the name of Biblical Christianity. And it was this same distaste for misnomers in matters of religion which drove the Rock River conference, when Dr. Thomas was seeking in his sermons to find what he called "that middle-ground theology where the faith of mankind will at last find rest," to request their clerical brother to withdraw from Methodist auspices. His teachings regarding future punishment, inspiration, and the atonement, though acceptable to many, were hardly consistent with his ordination vows. "Middle-ground theology" was something else than Wesleyanism.

These quotations might be still farther extended. But enough has been cited. It is to be seen that in the end we are to be given a Christianity without formal establishment; no divine sanctions, no divine ordinances, no divinely-accredited ministers, simply a regulated mode of life, a scheme of humanitarian reform. It is in short Christianity without the church. There may indeed come a time when filialism will be rated above fidelity, when liberality will be preferred to loyalty. But first Christianity must lose its Scriptures, and forget that it has a history. In a sermon preached before the students of Yale College, and afterward published in the

¹ *Truths for To-day. Second Series*, p. 280.

² *Ibid.*, p. 289.

New Englander (July 1869), the venerable Dr. Woolsey drew a picture of what this emasculated "religion of the future" might be expected to do for mankind. No history to tell, no authority to inculcate, no doctrine to preach, no church to uphold, much that is visionary, naught that is positive and sure, "the world of the future will be doomed, and the religion of the future will turn out a miserable raft, unfit, after the shipwreck of Christianity to carry the hopes and welfare of mankind down the ages."¹

CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT CHRIST.

The tragedy of King Lear with the distressed monarch left out would scarcely be tolerated on the stage or between book-covers. A not less absurd idea is that which exists among us as a more or less pronounced endeavor to give us Christianity without its king and hero, a body without its soul. In consequence of this attempt, in some latitudes all too accessible, not a few sad hearts are saying to-day, each for himself, what the woman spake, albeit unwittingly: "They have taken away the Lord."²

Christianity without creed, without revelation, and without authoritative belief is bad enough; Christianity without the institutions of the church, without direction or limitation, without divinely-appointed form and symbol is augmented evil; Christianity without Christ is impotency and disheartenment itself. Said Schelling: "The chief matter of Christianity is Christ himself."³ Leave out the Christ, and what have we left? The grave-clothes, forsooth; and we are asked to be satisfied with these. With these, or with another embodiment clothed upon of these. Hence, Herbert in the *New Republic* speaks of "our modern atheism trying to hide its own nakedness for the benefit of the more prudish part of the public in the cast-off grave-clothes of a Christ, who, whether he be risen or no, is certainly not here."

There are varying phases of this position, some of them

¹ Religion of the Present and Future. Last Discourse.

² John xx. 2.

³ Lorimer's *Isms Old and New*. Sermon on Liberalism.

diverging but slightly from the strictest orthodoxy. The real animus of the movement, wherever discoverable, is a denial of the historical-divine element in Christianity, a disregard of the Christ of the Gospels. However far short of such an allegation some of the disciples of this school of thought may come, the stream of tendency to which they have joined themselves, it may be remotely, is started in the hills of unbelief, and is set toward the sea of an open disavowal of the Son of God.

It need barely be mentioned that the estimation of the work of Christ adopted by a number of our theological brethren, and called "the moral theory" of the atonement, is a decided step in this direction. If Jesus is man, even though he be called divine man, and yet is not God with us, suffering in man's stead as well as in man's behalf, then be this sent-one never so perfect and never so God-like, he is still not Christ, and the Christianity which adopts such a view has put away its Saviour. It may justly be denominated, in its ultimate result at least, Christianity without Christ.

But aside from this wide departure which yet retains much of the truth — too much for us to say it nay till yet its fruits may more fully be seen — there is a more insidious form of detraction from the world's hope and trust in Christ. It began, perhaps, with Chillingworth's famous tract, *Christianity as Old as Creation*, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature. According to the old English essayist, faith in God is identical with faith in the one whom God sends.¹ "Natural and revealed religion," he says, "only differ as to the manner of their being constituted."² Elsewhere he expatiates: "It follows that the *Christian* religion has existed from the Beginning, and that God both *Then* and *Ever since* has continued to give all Mankind sufficient Means to know it; and that 'tis their duty to know, believe, profess, and practise it; so that *Christianity*, tho' the Name is of later Date, must be as old and as extensive as human nature, and as the Law of our Creation, must have been Then im-

¹ Chillingworth, p. 41.

² Ibid., p. 5.

planted in us by God himself."¹ Why, then, one naturally inquires should Christ die? Were his suffering and death not extravagant expenditure? Such an objection Chillingworth anticipates by saying that Jesus came for the sake of those who could not be saved through the influences of natural religion. He came to "the lost," that is, as he avers, only a part; the Christ was a concession to the weak. This is Christianity before Christ. Manifestly it describes also a Christianity without Christ.

There were two acknowledgments of Christ during his days in the flesh. One was the partial acknowledgment of the multitude. In answer to the query, "Who is this?" "the multitude said: This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee."² And we may believe it was this same huzzaiing people who a few days later preferred Barabbas. Peter's was the full and blessed confession: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God";³ and Peter was one of those who, tradition says, died for his Lord.

That there should be some to-day who yield to Christ a half-way acquiescence surprises no one. There stands in India Keshub Chunder Sen, the Hindu sage. He accepts of Christianity, and cheerfully gives it a place in his religious mosaic. The principle he follows is to be found in his "Proclamation to the Church Universal." "Gather ye," he exclaims, "the wisdom of the East and the West, and accept and assimilate the examples of the saints of all ages." The effect of this will be to "merge all differences in universal brotherhood"; and hence his exhortation, in the same deliverance: "Beloved brethren, accept our love, and give us yours, and let the East and the West with one heart celebrate the jubilee of the New Dispensation." And Chunder Sen has learned, what some of our English-speaking brethren know so well to do, to use the terms of a warm devotion to the Christ, yet to withhold supreme allegiance. Jesus is to him but one of the prophets. But a divided fealty is no fealty with Christ; a measured homage is mock homage—

¹ Chillingworth, p. 4.² Matt. xxi. 10, 11.³ Matt. xvi. 16.

sacrilege. And so an astute critic¹ is doubtless correct in speaking of the religion of the Indian preacher as wanting, among other items, in two fundamental respects, viz. it affords no effective method for deliverance from the guilt of sin; it does not manifest the power to deliver men from the love of sin. And why? It knows of Christ. Yes; but it knows not the uncompromising Christ of the New Testament.

Yet we can see very little difference between this "Dispensation" which the liberal Chunder Sen is endeavoring to make universal and the residuum of faith which the author of *Ecce Homo*, it would appear, and other apostles of "natural religion," would commend to Christendom. Eliminate the supernatural, and you have a religion very easy to accept. Leave out the healing simples, and you make a cordial pleasant enough to the palate; but it is medicine no longer. Omit the supernatural, omit Christ. Christianity with the Christ left out is the emptiest imposture that ever came petitioning the patronage of men.

Allusion might properly be made here to the "unconscious Christianity" which some exceedingly tender-hearted biographers have discovered in the writings of the heathen philosophers, Marcus Aurelius, Plutarch, Plato, etc. These in their sayings indicate an acquaintance with the Christ spirit, though an apparent ignorance or indifference regarding the Christ man. That the later ones among these were indebted to the new light which had dawned, and unconfessedly so, and that the earlier writers caught something of the prophecy which was in all the air, may be readily admitted. At the same time, a glance into their completed writings and into their private conduct might be sufficient to convince us how utterly vain and inoperative a thing unconscious Christianity actually is. There have been good words said, and good deeds done; yet, alas, as yet history testifies, what the Scripture sadly intimates, that only he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father, and proveth that knowledge through life, with head and hand and heart.

¹ Joseph Cook, Monday Lectures.

"Spiritual Christianity" is another sort of religious denial that it would not be fitting to pass by without a word. This has not so much come short of Christ, as gone beyond him. It is a highly elaborated scheme of religion, quite esoteric in character, using the historical Christ simply by condescension to "anchor or define" a higher spiritual thought. Its Christ has "no existence or personality" apart from "the divine love and wisdom in union with every soul of man." Says Henry James, Sr.: "Spiritual Christianity drops out the carnal Jesus, or no longer sees Christ after the flesh. It drops the man born of the Virgin Mary, — six feet high more or less, of an uncomely aspect, bent and seamed with sorrow, — to see henceforth the glorified or divine man, who is the intimate and omnipresent secret of creation. Spiritually viewed, Christ is the inmost and vital selfhood of every individual bosom, bond or free, rich or poor, good or evil, whether such bosom be reflectively conscious of the truth or not." ¹

What sort of Christianity would this be? There is nothing like it in God's word. There has appeared nothing like it in history. To forget Christ in his human nature, "the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," is to forget the soul of the gospel; to neglect the one "smitten of God and afflicted," ² to get beyond "Christ and him crucified," ³ is to dispise the gospel itself, and the "power of God unto salvation." ⁴

There, too, is the Christ of the "Christian consciousness," so called, — the Christ of "faith." We should look for this conception in the highly wrought idealism of Dörner and his school. The Christ of the Christian consciousness is longer lived in his redemptive mission than the Christ of Scripture. It is for this very reason that the former may be denominated a usurper. He overshadows and crowds out the Christ of history. There is, says Dörner, both "an historical and an ideal-divine side to Christianity." Scripture

¹ Henry James's Christianity the Logic of Creation, p. 6. ² Isa. liii. 3, 4.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 2.

⁴ Rom. i. 16.

gives us the first; faith, of equal authority, gives us the latter. It is by a use of faith, or the Christian conscience, that we determine what is Scripture, and what is the essence of Christianity. To use the words of a reviewer, who is at the same time a disciple: "It is not enough for a doctrine that it be apparently contained in Scripture; it needs also to be recognized as Christian by faith, as sooner or later all the contents of revelation will become also part of the life of faith; for both are of God. Faith wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost is 'the eye for that which is Christian in the Scripture.'" ¹ It is this newly-discovered organ which reveals to us, along with other things, the second Christ—a Jesus after death. Let us accept of the disclosures of this so-called infallible eye of faith, and adjust our steps to its dictation. Whither shall we be led? No one can tell. But this we may dismally expect: it will be away from the path in which simple Scripture confidence has been content to run heretofore. We shall go seeking a plan of redemption better suited to our half-sanctified sensibilities, following a religious will-o'-the-wisp. "Only those views should be rejected which prevent faith," is the dictum ascribed to Dorner. Yes, we will accept it, if the positive principle is added, or rather premised: Only those views should be adopted which accredit Scripture. For faith itself is lame and halt without the word.

Neither can we see in the Christ of a highly illuminated consciousness, the Jesus of the death-vision, anything else than a supplanter of the true Christ. *Post mortem* or *inter mortem*, it is other than the Christ of this life, the Jesus of Nazareth; "and in none other is there salvation." ² "The essential Christ," they choose to call this; essential *anti-Christ*, it is. For once let man hope in such a fictitious Saviour, and through these waking days of earth he has no ear for that One who said, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." ³ Essential Christianity in its various forms is pecu-

¹ Newman Smyth, Dorner on the Future State, p. 12.

² Acts iv. 12, N. V.

³ Rev. iii. 20.

liarily an American growth. Germany has its distinctive phase of unbelief; France, its special species of unfaith; English-speaking liberalism, and especially that of the cis-Atlantic complexion, has its own plainly-marked features. It is quite iconoclastic as regards old doctrines; it is very reverential as respects old names. The work of the present is to bring American latitudinarianism to its logical confession. Then, with its position clearly stated and its ground fairly taken, let it stand or fall. But away with deceitful banners!

For the pure Christianity of the centuries we have no fear. It has two witnesses and wardens on earth—the common acceptance of honest-hearted Christian men and women; the strong, clear endorsement of the simple Scripture. Yea, and the everlasting arms are around about it. It is a Christianity with a creed that the past assumes; a Christianity of the heaven-appointed church that the present with its deed and doctrine enforces; a Christianity of the Christ “that liveth and was dead”;¹ this the future with its increasing fruits will more and more disclose. Men may speculate as to “essential Christianity.” The Christianity that saves will be the Christianity that lasts, and that not a few will continue to believe is the Christianity of the creed, and of the church, and of the Christ.

¹ Rev. i. 18.

ARTICLE III. ,

IMMORTALITY AND SCIENCE.

BY PROF. JAMES T. BIXBY, MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

THE venerable Bede, the monkish historian of the early days of England, relates that when Paulinus, one of the missionaries sent out by Pope Gregory to convert England to Christianity, entered the domain of Edwin king of Northumberland the priests and warriors were assembled to deliberate whether they should allow him to preach, or not. Then a gray-haired chief arose and said, "Thou mayest remember, O king, a thing which sometimes happens when thou art seated at thy table with thy men of arms and captains, in the winter season, when the fire is kindled and the hall well warmed, while without wind and rain and storm are raging. Then comes a little bird, which traverses the room on fluttering wing, entering at one door and flying out at another. The moment of the passage is full of sweetness for it; but this interval is brief. It vanishes in the twinkling of an eye. It came out of the darkness, and it goes out into the darkness. None knows whence it came, and none knows whither it goes. So is our life. We come, and our wise men cannot tell us whence; we go, and they cannot tell us whither. Therefore, if there be any that can teach us more about it, in God's name, let us hear them."

Yes; if there be any that can tell us more about our whence and whither, in God's name let us hear them! This is the cry that has gone up from many and many a heart beside that old barbarian's—hearts of Christians as well as of heathen. Immortality! That single word awakens a whole world of thoughts. No theme more magnetic. No question of the many between science and religion which comes closer to our hearts. That mysterious realm of the

beyond has engulfed the myriads of the past. Many dear to us have already entered it, never to return. We ourselves are fast moving forward to it—at any moment may break through the thin veil that alone divides us from it. What is it that awaits us there? At the present day we ask that question with an intenser eagerness than at any previous time. Through the revelations of science the horizon of our existence has come to appear comparatively so small; the limits of our range upon this terrestrial speck, so petty; this globe where the law of gravitation holds captive our body has been weighed and measured and analyzed so exactly, that our whole being leaps forward from this domain where scarcely a shred of mystery seems still left, to scrutinize the perspective of the future, and unriddle, if possible, its eternal enigma.

It is to the scientific Delphi, also, that we turn our footsteps to find the oracle that may solve the anxious problem. Theology long ago told her story, and gave us her solemn assurances. Earlier ages did not doubt them. But science has of late overthrown so many of the dogmas of theology that the modern world is not satisfied without something more than its authority. It would have indorsement from science also before it feels ready to discount the notes of another world. Weary with the painful balancing of ecclesiastical dicta and rationalistic objections,—of weighing the heart's hopes against the mind's suspicions,—it turns to this solver of so many previous problems, as an umpire from whom, if any, it may receive a trustworthy decision.

Well, what is the judgment of this high court of science? It is by no means an undivided judgment. On the one hand, we see such books as the recent works of Figuier, and Professors Tait and Stewart; the one picturing a physical theory of the possible localities and conditions of the to-morrow of death; the other sketching the opportunities furnished by a possible unseen universe for a continuance of memory and personal existence. Or we may notice the faith disclosed by the public Christian position of a Faraday, or the lectures of

a Dawson, a Peirce, or a Le Conte, or the belief in spiritual life disclosed in the writings of Wallace, Crookes, and others. On the other hand, there is that band, led by Vogt, Moleschott, and Büchner, who positively declare that science cannot tolerate belief in a future existence; that it is but the chimera of the religious imagination—a product at once of man's cowardice and overleaping desires, destitute of any support from the testimony of life and nature. This band is one that by its loud and confident assertions impresses the world as much larger than it really is.

The larger body of scientists, probably, would pronounce neither of these opinions. The average position of the scientific world—that which is with little doubt the judgment of such representatives of modern science as Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall—is, that in the name of science they can neither affirm nor deny immortality. It is a problem which the balances and lenses that have solved so many other problems cannot effectually grasp. In such a confession of the inadequacy of scientific methods to deal with the question of a future life, the main body of the scientific world would, I think, agree. But here it would divide into what the French would call a right and a left centre. The left centre would tell us that, inasmuch as we can never adequately solve the problem, we must content ourselves with our ignorance, and ought to occupy ourselves with these questions of the future life as little as with the politics of the inhabitants of the moon. The right centre,—that part which contains, it seems to me, the clearest-headed representatives of science,—while equally confessing the insufficiency of scientific methods to give any full answer or definite settlement, would recognize, nevertheless, that, as all truth is related, science in many points has that which throws more or less light upon the subject. Its investigations into the nature of matter, force, life, mind, are all contributing something to one side or the other of the question. It can furnish in this way, to be sure, nothing more than dim intimations, analogies, and comparisons. These may only hint as to the probable,

and sketch vague boundary-lines, showing something of the wide sweep of the possible and its line of demarcation from the impossible ; yet they do supply thus much. This, indeed, falls far short of what is desired. But even these vague hints are to-day precious to anxious inquirers, are valuable as contributions to a stock of knowledge all too scanty.

What evidence, then, may we gather from the domain of nature and the fields of scientific research in regard to a future existence of the soul ?

The evidence, like the weight of authority, is found on both sides of the issue. Science has both its objections and its confirmations to suggest. In the first place there is the familiar objection that the spirit is inseparably bound up with the body. "Physiology," says Carl Vogt, "decides definitely against individual immortality as against any special existence of the soul. The soul does not enter the foetus like the evil spirit into persons possessed, but is a product of the development of the brain, just as muscular activity is a product of muscular development." Daily observation shows us, that when the body dissolves the life ends with it. The soul, the man that we had known, we never see again. No after-sight, touch, speech, witnesses to any continued existence of him whom the grave has once closed over. The only conclusion is, that the person has ceased to exist as surely as the frost-forms which appear on the window-pane and vanish before the sunbeam's touch."

These would be fatal objections were they entirely valid and without answer. But these views of the materialistic physicists are not by any means supported by undivided scientific authority. The more cautious voice of science fails to bind up the soul inseparably with the body. When Socrates was about to drink the hemlock, his friend Crito asked him, "How and where shall we bury you?" "Bury me," said Socrates, "in any way you please, if you can catch me to bury." And, at the same time, smiling and looking gently around, he said, "I cannot persuade Crito that I am this Socrates who is now arranging each part of this dis-

course ; but he obstinately thinks I am that which he shall shortly behold dead."

Yes ; the true man, the real self, is not the body, nor its result ; but something earlier than it and different from it. The soul uses the body and lives in it ; but our consciousness assures us we are something different from our organs and fleshly tabernacle. They are things extended, tangible, visible, divisible. But who will venture to attribute the like to the qualities of our inward self ; assign figure or extension to our thoughts ; touch with any finger a feeling ; weigh an aspiration, or divide into parts the Self ? This Self is no abstraction, no mere ideal. Every ordinary process of sense-observation implies it. Every thought proves it. You say your scientific studies all point to the existence of nothing except matter. What is it that studies matter ? Analyze clearly the perceptive process. It always contains two elements, each implying the other. An object is perceived by the sense ; but it is not sufficient that an impression be made upon the material organ. The image formed on the retina of a dead or unconscious man gives no perception. Before it can be perceived it must come into consciousness. The perceived object implies the perceiving subject. I cannot know an impression on my senses without knowing myself impressed : and, if I know myself impressed, then I know my Self — not as a baseless and vanishing state, but as a permanent power or existence to which this present transitory state belongs. As a vibration must be a vibration of something, so a mental impression must be an impression upon something. If we deny reality to the subject we make the object also illusory. If we cannot trust this inward reality, the distinct Self, we can trust nothing ; for it is the clearest testimony of consciousness, the mirror in which all other things are discerned. Nor can you explain the conscious self as a mere result or action of the body. Vibrate cells as you please, no vibration is the same thing as an idea. Compound motions as you please, you can never weave them into thought. The most subtile spinning of

nerves will never change them into faith or love. These physical structures and forces form the wonderful instrument by which the soul, while on earth, works and manifests itself. They are not to be confounded with the conscious self, any more than the musician's harp is to be confounded with the musician's self. Because an injury to the musician's harp ends his music, it does not carry with it the destruction of the musician. So the death of the body does not involve the annihilation of the soul. In point of fact, the body here on earth dies again and again, while the soul lives on. When at last, all at once, an injury comes to its habitation too great to be remedied, and that habitation dissolves, what reason is there for supposing that the soul does not retain its life? Body after body has gone, yet the *I* has still lived on unchanged. This dissolution is no worse than the many previous ones that the soul has withstood, save that it is less gradual. What is there in it to compel the soul out of existence? What is there in the intangible spirit that is liable to crumble in pieces? What chemical reactions is it to be believed are going to consume the imponderable soul? What material process shall ever disintegrate the unit of the personal self? As Martineau says, if our life should be prolonged a thousand years, no one would imagine we should need new souls, only new bodies. The soul preceded the bodily organs. The latest and most careful researches of science show that life is anterior to organization, impelling it and directing it according to rational plan. When the structure which it sustained here at last, in spite of its efforts, wears out and dissolves, and the soul is set free, why may it not with the same organizing force build up another body in some more harmonious realm? Why may it not even before death have organized, preparatory to the change, an ethereal body which, released from the outer sheath of grosser matter, shall glide, invisible and intangible, into its home in that ether ocean in which we are constantly immersed? We see the earthly career of life end; but there is no witness or proof that it may not still go on

in another realm of existence. If the cessation of signs of life argues annihilation of the soul we might as well believe the soul to pass into non-existence every time the man goes to sleep, and the state of waking consequently to be the coming into existence of a new being. Death does not testify to the ending of life, but simply fails to give any report at all, leaving us free to pronounce such verdict as other reasons suggest.

In the second place, the immortality and future existence of the soul is liable, on scientific grounds, to a number of objections.

The law of unity and continuity — the uniformity and oneness of nature — are first principles of science. In all the infinite variety of the universe, one thing shades insensibly into another. "There are no sharp dividing lines, no sudden leaps in nature, but all is gradual unfolding."

Now the spirituality of the soul, and its bound at death into an immortal life, contradict this, it is said. All other forms of life — the plant, the tree, the insect, the bird, the quadruped, are mortal. On what ground should man be immortal? Why this sudden interruption of the law of death, — this abrupt release of one member of creation from the conditions of the finite into infinite relations and capacities? Again, it is urged, all other things known to us are material. "Imponderable matter," Burmeister declares, "is a contradiction." "Immaterial soul-substance," says Vogt, "is a speculative fable." "The knowledge which science has attained of the heavens and the universality of the laws of nature," says Büchner, "show from a scientific stand-point that there neither exists, nor can exist, any spot beyond the earth where souls separated from their material substance could congregate." "That the soul after death," says Büchner, "should enter a more perfect body, is unsupported by physiological facts, which teach that the human body is composed of the most delicate and perfect organs, and cannot conceivably become still finer and more perfect." How, it is demanded, can immaterial spirit be brought at all into harmony

with the material world that we know? "How," asks Strauss, with similar blindness, "from an extended, non-thinking thing, such as the human body, can impressions be conveyed to a non-extended, thinking thing, such as the soul is alleged to be, and how can impulses be re-transmitted from the second to the first? Will not the matter be much more intelligible if we have only to do with one and the same being, of which, in one respect extension is predicable, in another, thought? If we suppose at a certain time and place in the organic scale such an intervention of a radically different element, then, as Tyndall and Maudsley ask, "what is this soul? How did it come into the body, and from whence? Is it localized in any one point, or diffused through the whole? At what moment did the soul come in? Did it enter at once or by degrees? What intelligible or consistent idea can we form of it, and if it is thus beyond our comprehension, is it credible that it exists?"

Can the belief in immortality retain any scientific standing when opposed by such objections and difficulties?

It seems to me that these objections are by no means conclusive, by no means without answer. While it is the faith of science that Nature never leaps, yet to observation, certainly, many gaps and sudden leaps appear. Though science believes that all is at bottom one, yet within the limits to which alone man's vision can extend numerous and irresolvable distinctions have to be admitted. That which is abrupt and startling in its manifestation may yet occur in accordance with regular law and with gradual transition processes. When water is cooled until it freezes, or heated until it turns to steam, the process is gradual until a certain point is reached, when, at the next increase of the same amount of force, a great and sudden change takes place. Similarly in the bursting forth of the winged insect from his cocoon, or the birth of the infant, gradual processes, at last culminate in an event which suddenly transfers the creature altogether to another scene and realm of existence. So the passage from the mortal to the immortal life, from the



material to the spiritual realm, while apparently sudden, may not violate at all the law of continuity. Neither is that law violated by the attainment of life after death only by man, and not by plant or animal, if such be the case. In a common seed we see how there is a certain particular stage of the ripening process, anywhere before which the seed is incapable of renewing the species, but which once reached, the new life becomes possible. So with the ripening of the soul. The human stage is that where the developing process has reached such maturity as enables it to run a fresh career.

Neither does the immaterial nature of the soul, and the invisibility and intangibility of the spiritual realm, violate the unity of the universe. For even in the natural realm in which we now live there are varied phases of existence; such as the amorphous, the crystalline, and colloidal forms of matter, the lifeless and the living domains of being, the unconscious and the conscious orders of existence which can be reduced to no single substance, nor brought under any one law. Neither does the most rigid science, in fact, confine its belief merely to that which is material—which it can see, touch, or weigh. Ask science what is the kind of physical energies that it now believes in. Were it to answer frankly, it would tell you they are no longer perceptible things, but the correlates to them which thought supplies. Electricity is not a material entity, but the hidden cause inferred by the mind to account for certain results. “The forces of modern science,” says Lewes, “are as transcendental as anything in the scholastic philosophy.”

Consider such a common phenomenon as that of gravitative attraction, acting from sun to earth without the consumption of the smallest observable fraction of a second, and drawing atom to atom and star to remotest star, in spite of the necessary non-existence, in more or less of the space leaped over, of any intervening medium. Or recall the character of the luminiferous ether, whose existence is an accepted fact of science, and is inseparably involved in the

whole theory of light. This ether is the bridge by which every wave of sunlight or starlight comes to us. It surrounds, we are told, every particle, penetrates every body, and fills all space, possessing at every point, whether in atmospheric vacuum or stellar void, a coercive force thirty thousand million times that of gravity. Yet, if we cite this omnipresent ether before the bar of sense, we find no warrant from direct observation to establish its existence. Though the medium of vision, it and its motions are further beyond all visibleness than the tiniest atom. Though more tenacious than steel, we move through it without feeling it. Though pressing on us from every side with so enormous a pressure, no touch of ours can detect it. Imponderable matter a contradiction? The immaterial a speculative fable? Then, Professor Vogt, science is just as guilty as religion. "No room for spiritual beings in the universe, and our present bodies the most delicate kind of substance known!" Verily, Herr Büchner seems to have forgotten that which constitutes the bulk of the universe. For in comparison merely with the invisible, intangible ether, how much is ordinary matter? In the proportion of one to eleven trillion, say the mathematicians. Here surely is room and verge enough for as much invisible life as you please; for as many imponderable beings as need to be provided for. Here is an element, impalpable to the senses, yet whose existence is vouched for by science itself, vast enough to furnish a home for all the invisible life one can imagine.

And as to the objection drawn from the incomprehensibility of spirit acting on matter or entering into the realm of life, no one knows from whence nor at what point,—one might disprove the most common facts, the best accepted scientific theories, by such objections. Whence springs that gravitative force which no number of solitary atoms possesses, but which arises the moment they are placed within acting distance of one another, and multiplies itself with every new atom brought within the sphere of influence, and increases when the distance is diminished according to the

square of the distance? How can one wheel set another in motion or hold itself together when, as most physicists admit, and as the fundamental attributes of matter require, there are separating intervals between all atoms? How can the imponderable ether of light act upon the ponderable matter of ordinary bodies? Here are questions just as perplexing, putting just as good a bar to material hypotheses as any difficulties that attend the hypothesis of spirit acting upon matter.

You object that you cannot understand this soul. Can you understand your matter? When we attempt to comprehend matter, we find ourselves in the midst of insoluble enigmas and contradictions. There are conclusive reasons, say the men of science, against matter being infinite in extent, and against its not being so; against its being infinitely divisible, and against its not being so; against the cohesive force which binds molecules together conforming to the ordinary law of gravitation, and against its failing to so conform; against the ether possessing friction, and against its not possessing it. In religion as in science, we must accept that which, on the whole, is most consistent and least improbable, in spite of the many things about it that we cannot explain. If it seems incomprehensible that inextended spirit should act on extended matter, or a conscious soul should enter from a spiritual realm into a material germ to direct physical forces, build up a body, and progressively manifest its spiritual capacities in proportion as its material instrument is developed and perfected, surely it is more incomprehensible how this extended matter and inextended spirit can be, as the materialists would have us believe, only one and the same thing; the essentially inert, the spring of spontaneous motion and free-will; the unconscious, multiple, and shifting, transformers of themselves by mere addition and re-arrangement into a thinking unity with conscious identity. Here, indeed, is an improbability vastly greater.

The fact is, we must recognize that our experience does not begin to be exhaustive. Neither our observation, our

reason, nor our power of conception is infinite, and there must be immense fields of existence about which we cannot even guess. To the scientific Horatio, I would say with Hamlet: "There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in your philosophy." Nothing has done more to stretch out the bounds of the universe, and exhibit its infinite variety, than science itself. Its magician's wand, in these last two centuries, has been exhibiting to the world marvel after marvel before unimagined. "Science," says Professor Jevons, "does nothing to reduce the number of strange things that we may believe." These larger draughts upon our faith which science, from year to year, constantly makes, open the door simultaneously to the grand hopes of religion. As a great man of science has said, "Every step I have advanced in knowledge has lightened the physical difficulties in the doctrine of immortal life, by revealing to me, more and more, the infinite possibilities of nature."

We may maintain, then, I believe, that there is nothing in the spirituality of the soul or its future existence necessarily inconsistent with the facts of observation or the unity of nature.

And now, having disposed of these objections which often are, or may be, drawn from science, we may advance to the inquiry if there are not some positive intimations or analogies furnished by science which hint at a future existence? It seems to me there are some very striking ones.

1. The law of continuity would suggest another and higher existence.

When we survey nature we see that it is not a single plain, nor two or three sharply discriminated plateaus; but a pyramid, as it were, step rising above step in a gradual succession. And when these successive steps are closely examined,—says the modern scientific school,—there are found no decided gaps, but the lower class shades almost imperceptibly into the other. Nor is this shading of class into class all. The modern scientists assure us that there is a blood connection—that each lower, by a process of

gradual unfolding and improvement, produced a higher, until existence has attained to the man of to-day. Standing on this, our human plane, and looking down, we see the close, successive, and countless gradations of existence that slope gently up to us. Looking up, what do we see? If there is no future life, only, at an infinite height, one Supreme Being; between us and him an immeasurable gap, absolutely unfilled. Is this in conformity with the law of continuity? Does not the same mental need and scientific faith that presuppose formerly existing in the animal scale the transition links now missing from the paleontological record, suppose also above man, between him and the Supreme Life, some intermediate life to fill that vast gap?

"Think you this mould of hopes and fears
Could find no statelier than his peers
In yonder hundred million spheres?"

If the law of continuity holds from matter up to man, is it in accordance with scientific method to believe that there it suddenly stops, and leaves an immense gap between man and God entirely unfilled? If from apes—nay, worms—we have become men, as we are told, then, in accordance with the law of evolution as well as that of continuity, we have good grounds for trusting that, going on, we may become spirits and angels. The one transition is no greater than the other. There is, indeed, the dark gulf of death between; but if the laws of evolution and continuity are good for anything, that break, like others, should be reckoned only a covered passage onward.

It is true, we do not know anything of such a higher life. Neither does the chicken before it has broken through its shell know anything of the world outside that unbroken wall around it. The grub at the bottom of the pool knows nothing of the air above, nor of its life or denizens, to which, nevertheless, it will soon ascend. There is nothing in the mechanical or chemical properties of matter to give knowledge of life, or inform of consciousness. The ignorance of the lower about the higher, were it even an absolute incapability of conceiving it, would not make the higher life impossible.

Doubtless it will be objected that it is by the race, not by the individual, that progress in the world has been made. The evolution process is one only of types and species. While, therefore, it may point to a superhuman race hereafter to be developed from man, there is nothing to be argued from it in favor of personal immortality. But the evolution process in the case of man works, in point of fact, as Wallace has so well pointed out, in a radically different manner from what it did with the lower animals. With them it had wrought upon the physical system, perfecting the physical organs and form. With man it takes a different and higher course. Development in man becomes inner, instead of outer, mental instead of physical, spiritual instead of material; sweeping on, by the shifting of its scene, with vastly greater speed and power, and achieving far grander victories. Why may we not suppose that, simultaneously with this significant change of method and state, it changed also from a race development to a personal development? The consciousness that gave occasion for the one change — from the physical to the mental evolution — would at the same time give opportunity for the other change — from the successive evolution of better species or individuals to a continuous evolution in the unbroken eternal life of each individual. The creatures below man had no power of comprehending Nature's plan, and voluntarily carrying on the progress of the world. But in man there has been reached a being capable of taking up Nature's thought, and by its own creative energy freely carrying it forward. Through that combination of consciousness, memory, reason, and will which constitutes the personality of man he is able to advance upon himself within his own life. The individual no longer, then, needs to be cleared from the path of progress as so much rubbish, but merely transferred to a fairer clime and fresher soil, when he has completed what growth is possible in this nursery of earth. The development of species gives way now to the conscious development of the immortal personality.

2. The eternity of the fundamental elements of nature suggests most strongly the eternity of the soul.

“No proof of the soul’s immortality,” says Papillon, “is so strong as that from the necessary simplicity and eternity of all the principles of force.” Take the most fragile form, the most delicate substance you please,—a withered leaf, a melting snow-flake, the gossamer of a spider’s web. No effort or device of art or science can enable you to get rid of its substance. Burn it with fire, the same amount of matter is still there, either in the ashes or the smoke. A balance delicate enough would show that it weighed as much as before. Crush it with a trip-hammer, scatter it to the ends of the earth, dissolve it with acids; the old shape, the old combinations disappear,—new ones succeed. But it is no new matter that arises; it is the original matter itself, in the same quantity and in the same constituent elements, that emerges in the new form. The same atoms of carbon and oxygen that fought together in the gaseous nebula, are with us to-day. They have witnessed the terrible struggle of fire and water that took place when the first rain fell upon the glowing rocks, and rose again in steam, that it might be condensed and descend in cooling vapor. They have seen the mountains reared on high and submerged again beneath the waters. They have built up the ferns of the carboniferous age, and slept in hidden coal-beds, as many centuries as Rip Van Winkle slept years. Called out from their lurking place by miner’s pick and touch of fire, they have heated our houses, cooked our dinners, passed into the air around us, and to-day pass into our lungs and blood; to-morrow, out again, to be taken up by plant or vine, and recommence another cycle of existence. Thus ceaselessly circulating from object to object, from form to form, not a single atom has ever yet been lost to the world.

Indestructible and immortal as matter are also the forces of nature. I accept here, and make the basis of a spiritual argument, what Büchner urges as logically pushing one on to materialism. The physical forces revolve in the same

never-ending circles, and emerge from any form in the same quantity in which they enter. No force proceeds from or passes into nothing. It is the consequence of a preceding motion, and becomes immediately the cause of an equivalent succeeding one. Not the fall of a single drop of water, nor a motion of limb, nor a vibration of sunbeam, passes out of existence. Its form may have been changed. But through whatever transformations the cunning hiër may pass, however long it may sleep in any of its dynamic caves, he who will pursue it long and carefully enough will find again at the end the same quantity of force as at the beginning. If we had power to follow and detect the minutest effects of any disturbance we should find, as Mr. Babbage has pointed out, that each particle of existing matter must be a register of all that has happened. A movement anywhere in the world starts changes in other and larger portions of surrounding matter, which in turn, once moved, communicate motion to others in endless succession. When a man utters a syllable, though in the most secret recess, that syllable passing out of his mouth causes pulsations of the air, which expand in every direction till they have passed around the globe, and affect the whole atmosphere through all future time. When a man makes the slightest motion, he makes a certain impression on the waves of light, and prints on the substance around him or the luminiferous ether a photograph of the deed of that moment. No matter how many centuries ago the wave of light commenced its journey in the ethereal ocean, no matter what an infinity of space it has passed over, it will retain its identity through its whole course, so that there can be inferred from it just what disturbance of the ether started it, and even the chemical elements found in its source. Moreover, as sound and light require a certain time to pass over space, it will be seen, as the author of *The Stars and the Earth* has pointed out, that the various words and deeds of a man's whole lifetime may be recorded in the air, and in the luminiferous ether at the various distances off corresponding to the intervals of time

required to reach the different points: At the distance of twelve miles, the sounds of a minute ago; seven hundred and twenty miles away, the words said an hour previous. At the sun, the sights of eight minutes before; at Alpha Centauri, the scenes of three years ago; in the star Virgo of the constellation Lyra we should see going on the battles of the Austro-Prussian war. At a star of the sixth magnitude, we might behold the flash of the revolutionary cannon; at the distance of a star of the twelfth magnitude, there might be seen the condition of the earth when Memphis was founded and Abraham wandered over Palestine, four thousand years ago. Thus the universe is, as Babbage suggests, one vast whispering-gallery and photograph-chamber, where the history of each individual is recorded indelibly. Were a being with eye and ear delicate enough to decipher these records to move in toward the earth from the remotest bounds of space, this being would successively observe every scene in the earth's whole past history.

Such is the indestructibility of matter and force, such the permanent record of every one of its changes. There is clearly shown by it this truth at least, viz. that eternal life is not an impossible nor incredible thing for finite existence. There is strikingly exhibited the feasibility of an immortal existence for the soul, and that indestructible preservation and registration of past events and knowledge which, if not absolutely necessary to the maintenance of memory and personal identity, would certainly be most serviceable to it. And not only does it show the natural, scientific possibility of eternal existence for the finite, but it suggests emphatically whether it is in harmony with the imperishability of every other substantial existence that the soul should enjoy only the existence of a fleeting moment. Is it to be credited that brute matter is immortal, while the spirit that alone comprehends it, that transforms it into shapes of beauty and intelligence and service, rearing with it pyramid and Parthenon and cathedral, carving from it forms that seem instinct with life, making it draw and push and lift and run and sew for him,

—can it be that this spirit is only the creature of an hour? If every atom of most common, inert earth is indestructible, why are we to judge that this forceful personality must soon, beyond a peradventure, dissolve into nothingness? If every act and thought of a man is still inscribed and will forever leave its trace upon the vast sensitized plate of nature, wherefore should the man himself be removed utterly out of existence? All these shows of sensible appearance, all these bubbles of phenomenal existence, all these indirectly inferred results of our experience to be immortal in substance, but the consciousness alone directly known — the sole assured reality — to be but so much dissolving mist in the sky of time! What greater improbability than this!

Doubtless it will be said, that in material as in spiritual things every form, every aggregate, must perish; that life and mind will continue to live, as the heat and light of an extinguished flame, in their effects, — in diffused, latent, or transformed modes, — but in this there is no reason for supposing the personal identity is preserved, any more than the personal identity of the flame or continual heat-vibrations. The only things retaining an eternal identity are the indivisible atoms, the units composing each varied aggregate. Very well, what else is the testimony of consciousness, except that the soul is just such an indivisible unit? Like Lucretius's atoms, every personality "stands firm in solid singleness." The strongest acids of scientific and philosophical analyses have failed to resolve the indivisible person into parts. Without this indecomposable unity of consciousness "nothing," as Kant says, "can be thought or known, because they could not be connected in one self-consciousness." The self, then, is absolutely one — a spiritual monad, — and, like the material atom, no change can decompose its ultimate singleness into anything else. As "the particle of iron," to use Büchner's words, "rushing along in the wheel of the locomotive, flashing through the sky in the meteor, or circulating in the veins of the poet's brow" has essentially the same qualities, eternal, inalienable, and untransferable, —

so, I say, the soul, wherever it shall go after its earthly existence, shall carry with it its own indivisible life, and its own inseparable, untransferable, indecomposable personality. The only way that it can cease to exist is by an absolute annihilation of its whole being—an event inconceivable as a result of natural processes, possible only by an exercise of the same divine power that created it. Whether it is likely that God would choose to interpose to annihilate a soul is, of course, a question beyond the reach of science—a question, however, you will permit me to say, which in that court of religious inquiry where alone it can be legitimately discussed cannot well receive any answer unfavorable to the purest hopes of the soul.

3. A future life of the soul is suggested by the law of correlation. The harmony and completeness of both physical and human nature would seem to demand it.

In all that part of the universe open to thorough examination, viz. the surface of our globe, we find life everywhere abounding. The land has its two, four, or many-footed inhabitants; the waters are stocked with swimming denizens; the air with flying creatures. Even those parts of nature that seem to us uninhabited we find, on closer examination, to rejoice in animate existence. The torrid deserts and the polar sea and snow have their respective tribes. The pool of water, that seems to us empty, swarms with millions of infusoria. The air is alive with pollen-germs, yeast-plants, and bacteria-spores. The depths of ocean teem with the hosts of globigerinae and countless other tiny forms of life. Every spot where animate existence can sustain itself, and add its mite to the world's stock of happiness and service, is carefully utilized.

But, if life exists only within these material conditions and visible form in which we see it, what an opposite spectacle does the rest of the universe exhibit! What infinite waste of space and energy! For in what proportion would the unoccupied space around our planetary system—extending, say, to the nearest fixed star—stand to the material plane-

tary matter, where life similar to our terrestrial life can exist? As millions of millions to one. And what proportion of the mighty energy incessantly radiating from the sun is intercepted by the planetary system, and therefore (if there is no other kind of life than such as this terrestrial life) alone of any use? Only, as Proctor tells us, one two hundred and thirty-millionth part. Surely, it seems, as he suggests, not at all in accordance with the economical utilization for life purposes of everything here on the earth's surface that these enormous opportunities of space and supplies of first-class energy should be totally and continually squandered. It seems as if there must be some invisible life, which may be improving its opportunities. Whether or not there would be an incredible wastefulness in the absence of life everywhere save on the surface of our globe, certainly there would be the strangest wastefulness in Nature developing and perfecting with such care as she does reason and consciousness in man, and then, at the climax of success, blotting out her work. All the forces of the universe have co-operated to the production of the conscious individual. From age to age, as Mr. Darwin has been showing us, Nature has selected and preserved the best, till at last the reasoning personality, capable of progressing indefinitely within its own individual life, has been reached. Year by year, Nature has instructed the man in wisdom, righteousness, self-government, and capacity for useful action. And now, with this highest and most precious of earthly things, will Nature change her law, and, instead of preserving her best, undo all her previous work? Will Nature reverse her hitherto continuous ascending course, subvert her grades of existence, and give the ascendancy at last to the lowest forces of all, suddenly making vain all her previous travail and care and hard-earned upward progress? Surely, this were a senseless squandering of Titanic forces, out of all harmony with that Nature which according a scientific axiom, always does its work, with the least possible expenditure of force. This were an incredible wastefulness that can only be compared, as Mr. Alger

has so well done, to the tyrant's mocking task, which Michael Angelo spurned, — to scrape up the snow in the Via Larga, and with his highest art mould from it a statue to dissolve in the glow of the Italian sun.

Again, in the rest of nature we see a correlation of supply to every innate demand. Organs are fitted to their elements. Attractions are proportionate to distances. The oyster does not yearn to fly, nor the grasshopper to swim, nor the chicken to suckle. But when the young duckling scarce out of its shell betakes itself to the water, when the young bird hastens to try its wings, or the infant nestles for the mother's breast, the instinct is a prophecy of that which shall meet its need. It is in the strength of this great law that the worm makes its chrysalis, the bird broods over its eggs, or starts on its migrations. It is in reliance on this law that the scientific world, upon finding in a creature any faculty, — such, for example, as the power of vision, — affirms the existence in that creature's habitat of the corresponding element of light; although, as in the case of the creatures recently found at great depths of the ocean, the previous calculations of scientific investigators had led them to believe sunlight could not penetrate to such depths.

Now, if in the light of these great laws of nature we survey man, what do we see? Do we not observe in him the most deeply planted yearning for continued existence? the most universal, inborn instinct in a life beyond the grave? This yearning is not a mere shrinking from death, though even regarded in this light it would be in marked contrast to the absence of such shrinking in other domains of animal life. It is not a mere projection forward of our vital energy; for it is as active, or even more so, in old age and vital feebleness, as in health. It is a yearning for something which here we have had but a taste of — a longing for the fulness of the divine light, waxing clearer to our eyes the more the veils of the flesh are thinned away. This instinct in another existence is common to the earliest and the latest times, the rudest savagery and the highest civilization. The burial

rites of the cave-dwellers of the stone age testify to it. And a Renan dedicates his *Life of Jesus* to the pure soul of his sister. The barbarians, who have not yet risen to a belief in a God, confide in a future existence of the soul; and the sceptics, who have outgrown the belief in Deity, still cherish in their heart of hearts this immortal faith. As the grub, in its preying instinct, prepares for its transformation into the winged insect, so in the heart of man is the innate drawing toward a higher existence.

"Here sits he, shaping wings to fly;
His heart forebodes a mystery;
He names the name eternity."

With this forefeeling of a future life man has the limitless desires and possibilities corresponding. The aspiration for perfection, for growth in knowledge and goodness, is an unending yearning and an unending capacity, save as annihilation may end it. The tablets of memory never come to an end. No heart loves so much that it could not love more. The more we know, the more we desire to know. Conscience is ever spurring us on towards the ever-receding goal of absolute rectitude and complete spiritual unfolding. Every achievement is to the earnest soul but the height where it awakens to the ambition of something grander, and takes a new start for the achievement of something better. Humanity in this world, then, is always incomplete. The greater the man's achievement, the more conscious is he of his imperfection; the wider the gap between his real and his ideal, the more manifest is it, even to the onlooker, that the human spirit has heights and depths which it has never measured, and can never experience in this hand-breadth of time and rough mould of clay. When a saint or a hero dies we feel, with fresh conviction, how inadequate a stage for the full drama of humanity is all that this earthly life can afford. Is it really all, or but a prologue to the swelling act of the imperial theme?

Wherever else in nature we find an end naturally and actually reached, the result, whether great or small, is com-

plete and rounded. Individuals in a species may perish before they have attained the full development normal to the species, but, as Horace Mann has pointed out, there is no whole species, no race, whose natural term of existence necessarily causes every one of its members to perish prematurely, before it has had half time enough to unfold its powers. When fruit or brute or our own bodies come to their normal end they fall into the granary of Nature as ripened products, each having finished all it is capable of doing. But every single soul, if it die with the body, dies unripe; a bud that has but commenced to develop; an existence whose possibilities of perfection can never be fulfilled here below. If such phenomena of immaturity, of unfinished beginnings, are sometimes seen elsewhere in nature, it is — as in the chrysalis, the egg, the embryo — the promise of a future fulfilment. Is man the one false prophecy of Nature? Is the world's highest work its greatest discord? This grand cosmos itself has taught us to expect grand things of it; not such an impotent conclusion, such a flagrant anti-climax, as this.

Such intimations and pregnant suggestions as to the possibility and probability of a future life may be drawn from nature and science. Of the local place and scenery and circumstances of that future life science can say nothing. All that science can contribute, is to show by its own physical infinities and marvels, the boundless and hitherto unimagined possibilities of the universe to shelter invisible life. The molecule, too fine for the most powerful microscope to discern, may be, say men of science, a stellar or planetary system; and, on the other hand, the vast suns of our Milky Way may be, perhaps, but the atoms circulating in the veins of some creature as much larger than they as they are larger than their smallest constituent atoms. Our senses give us but the narrowest glance through the minutest loophole at the infinite gradations of existence; and life in boundless quantity may exist both below and above the petty range of our powers.

Science, then, leaves the question entirely open, without the least unfavorable balance of presumption, to whatever positive proofs religion may bring forward, drawn from faith in the power, wisdom, and goodness of God. It is in the arguments furnished by a consideration of the only worthy conceivable action of an Infinite, Holy, and Perfect Father dealing with his conscious children that faith derives its best guarantees of a life beyond the grave.

ARTICLE IV.

PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PENTATEUCH

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IV.—DEUTERONOMY AND THE RELATED CODES.

THE subject of the relation of the Pentateuchal codes was considered, in a number of important particulars, in the preceding article. In the present one it will be concluded; the special point of view, however, being the code of Deuteronomy (chaps. xii.—xxvi.), which will be compared with those associated with it as far as the legislation covers common ground. A matter of no less importance in the criticism—the laws of Deuteronomy which are original with that book, and the question of the harmony of Deuteronomy with itself and its historic surroundings—must be reserved for later treatment.

1. *Destruction of Idols and of Heathen Shrines in Canaan.*—The code of laws found in Deuteronomy is consistently introduced (xii. 1) with the words: “These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe and keep in the land which the Lord God of thy fathers giveth thee as a possession.” And the first requirement is no less so (vs. 2–4): “Thou shalt utterly destroy all places where the nations whom thou drivest out serve their gods,” etc. It is something to which attention had been already repeatedly called in the preliminary history (iv. 15–19; vii. 5, 25, 26), and to which the present code also, under another form, reverts in this and a

subsequent chapter (xii. 29, 30; xx. 18). Such a requirement, moreover, was naturally to be expected when the essential character of the Israelitic religion is considered as contrasted with that of the Canaanites. And that it is found in all phases of the Pentateuchal legislation will not surprise us when we reflect on the extreme difficulties that, notwithstanding, always attended its execution, even down to the Exile (Judg. ii. 2; viii. 24-27; xviii. 11 f.; 1 Kings xii. 25 f.). The Deuteronomic form is somewhat more pictorial and detailed, but is no more emphatic than that of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiii. 24; cf. vs. 33; xxxiv. 12-17), or that of the middle books (Num. xxxiii. 51, 52), and covers in general the same ground. We have alone in Deuteronomy and Exodus an allusion to the peculiar image of Astarte (אֲשֵׁרָה, אֲשֵׁרִים), falsely rendered "groves" in the common version, and in Numbers certain forms of idolatry are mentioned which do not appear in the other books (מַסְכֵּי, cf. Lev. xxvi. 1; בַּמִּדְבָּר צִלְמֵי מַסְכֵּי). But as the former does not indicate a kind of false religion prevalent only in the earlier times, so the latter just as little are evidence of a later origin for the literature containing them. The "Bamoth" of Numbers (cf. Lev. xxvi. 30) are no doubt included in the more circumstantial description of Deuteronomy: "All the places wherein the nations . . . served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills." And while the word מַסְכֵּי is not unknown to other biblical books (Prov. xviii. 11; xxv. 11), the thought expressed by it here in connection with אֲבֶן, whether it be that of an engraved stone or of an image made of stone, can only suggest the rudest forms of idolatry, which would hardly have been first introduced at the time of the Exile. Here, then, while we find the three codes differing, it is without disharmony. Each has its peculiar characteristics, and gives, in its own way, the one charge against the idolatry of Canaan; but evidences of conflict or of widely diverse circumstances of time and place there are none.

2. *The Worship of Moloch.*—Moloch (called also Molech, Milcom, Malcom, in the Bible) was a fire-god, allied to

Baal, and the tutelary divinity of the Ammonites. This people, as such, are first mentioned in Deuteronomy (ii. 20; cf. Gen. xix. 38), and continued to exist as a distinct nation down to the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 6). In just what the worship of Moloch consisted is not altogether clear. But the weight of authority inclines to the view that children, having first been put to death, were actually consumed by fire in his honor.¹ Now, of the several codes, that of Exodus has nothing to say of this special form of idolatry. Deuteronomy refers to it twice (xii. 31; xviii. 10); in the first instance, however, only in the form of an allusion to a horrible and apparently well-known custom of the heathen, without prohibiting it. In the second case, it is prohibited, but in the most general terms, and as subordinate to another and the principal matter. In neither case is the name of the god, which must have been familiar (cf. Amos v. 26), so much as mentioned. In the middle books, on the other hand (Lev. xviii. 21; xx. 2-5), the law appears in definite shape, and the name of the god is made particularly prominent, being found in both passages, and three times repeated in the longer one. Under such circumstances, it cannot be doubtful which form of the law is original; or better, which is the law, and which the warning that is based upon it. That of Leviticus is presupposed in Deuteronomy. As a statute, the latter would be quite too indefinite without the other; in fact, it would be unintelligible.

It may be noted, also, in passing, that we have here in Leviticus itself an example of the repetition of a law in an enlarged form — a proceeding which the later critics find so difficult to understand, in the case of separate Pentateuchal books, on the supposition that they all originated in the Mosaic period. It is assumed that this Levitical legislation belongs to one, and that a late, period. Why, then, this iteration within the space of two chapters? It is not to be overlooked that with the Hebrew there was no stronger form of emphasis than just such a repetition. In this case, there-

¹ Cf. Dillmann, *Com. ad loc.*, and Schrader s. v. in *Riehm's Handwörterbuch*.

fore, as in others, it was with them no literary defect to repeat a law which was to be modified or amended, or to repeat a law without essential change to which special importance was attached; its importance was thereby only the more enhanced.

We find, moreover, in one of these passages (Lev. xx. 4, 5), the possibility intimated in the very law itself that it might not be executed, and provision made for such a contingency. With what propriety, then, can the failure to execute a Pentateuchal law be considered as conclusive evidence of the non-existence of that law?

And still further, there is abundant evidence that the present law, whether first promulgated in Moses' time or in Josiah's time, was at no time fully obeyed, up to the period of the Captivity, and even later (1 Kings xi. 5; 2 Kings iii. 27; xvi. 3; Isa. xxx. 33; Jer. vii. 31; Zeph. i. 5).

3. *Destruction of Canaanitish Cities.* — With a regulation peculiar to itself concerning other cities on which war should be made (xx. 10–15), the Deuteronomic code combines, also, rules of warfare to be observed in the case of the cities of Canaan (xiii. 13–19; xx. 15–18, 19, 20; cf. vii. 1–6). In this particular, however, it had been anticipated by the previous books (Ex. xxiii. 23, 24, 27–33; xxxiv. 12–16; Num. xxxiii. 50–56), and while repeating for substance the injunctions there laid down, directly refers to them in the words, "As the Lord thy God hath commanded thee." It might be claimed, it is true, that this citation is only of the Book of the Covenant. But there is nothing gained by excluding the passage in Numbers. It contains nothing new or peculiar of any sort by which a later origin could be predicated for it. The Deuteronomic law, moreover, plainly distinguishes in its introduction between a new and an old element in itself. "Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities very far off from thee, which are not of these nations here [Note the correspondence with the supposed situation of Moses]. But of the cities of these peoples thou shalt save alive nothing that breathes, as the Lord thy God hath com-

manded thee" (vs. 15-17). The sweeping form of the command, too, agrees better with Numbers than with Exodus, where a gradual driving out is in view. "By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land" (Ex. xxiii. 30). And it may be remarked, incidentally, that this law, in any of its three forms, would be an anachronism in any period of Israelitish history subsequent to the time of David.

4. *Forbidden Mourning Customs.*—At Deut. xiv. 1, 2, we find heathenish mourning customs forbidden, such as shaving the head and cutting the flesh. The motive assigned is that Israel is a holy people to the Lord their God, and has been chosen by him for a peculiar possession from all the peoples of the earth. Parallel passages are only found in Leviticus (xix. 27, 28; xxi. 5, the latter for the priests), and they show no essential differences, certainly none that indicate a later origin. There is nothing, indeed, to stand in the way of the traditional view, that the Deuteronomic law here is a repetition of the Levitical, and that both belong to the earliest period. On the contrary, it is strongly supported by the marked hortatory and rhetorical character of the former, nicely harmonizing, as it does, with the supposed circumstances of its promulgation. We find, moreover, in this connection a striking disproof of the position that the code of Deuteronomy originated in Josiah's time. The prophet Jeremiah began his work in the eleventh year of this king's reign. And yet we discover numerous passages (vii. 29; xvi. 6, 7; xli. 5; xlvii. 5; xlviii. 37) in his prophecy where the mourning customs—here so emphatically forbidden—are recognized as fully in vogue, and the prophet's attitude towards them is by no means such as it must necessarily have been if they had been the product of his own age, or, much more (as some suppose), of his own pen. It is simply one instance, of many, where a Pentateuchal law had so far fallen into disuse that even a true prophet can seem to act in almost total unconsciousness of it.

5. *Food as Clean and Unclean.*—The long passage, Deut.

xiv. 3-20, treats of the various kinds of food which the Israelites were forbidden or allowed to eat, and there is every reason for believing that it is based on the still longer passage, Lev. xi. 1-21, 22-43, where alone in the Pentateuch, outside of Deuteronomy, this most important topic of the ceremonial law is dealt with. Such a conclusion is forced upon us not alone by the minute dependence of the Deuteronomic form of the law, in the matter of arrangement and language, on that of Leviticus, but also, and especially, by its noteworthy variations. For example, Deuteronomy, instead of saying with Leviticus, simply, that all quadrupeds that divide the hoof and chew the cud may be used as food, proceeds to specify, as well it might on the entrance into Canaan, a number of varieties under this head. And then, secondly, while faithfully enumerating the three classes — quadrupeds, fishes, and fowls — of Leviticus prohibited as food, it omits to mention a fourth class, reptiles, eight species of which are forbidden in the other code. And still further, it passes over in silence a list of insects, including locusts, that in Leviticus are allowed as food. Now, both the additions and omission are significant, being precisely such as might most naturally have been expected under the circumstances. In Canaan, into which the sons of Israel are just now passing, the quadrupeds particularly named in Deuteronomy are those which would be their main dependence for food. On the other hand, the reptiles prohibited in Leviticus, but passed over in Deuteronomy, are such as in their new home, they would have neither occasion nor desire to eat. While the several varieties of locusts allowed to be eaten by the Levitical legislation (xi. 22, 23), and the following details (vs. 24-43), are apparently left unnoticed in Deuteronomy for the reason given by Riehm,¹ because the latter contents itself with calling attention, to this extent, to the express provisions of the old law. Indeed, the enlargement in Leviticus is devoted merely to an explanation of what is meant by *אֲרֵב רֶגֶל*, forbidden in both codes. At least the practice of

¹ Gesetzgebung Moses, etc., p. 56.

John the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4) shows that the omission in Deuteronomy to cite locusts as permitted food was not understood as an interdiction of them.

But this is not all. A singular textual variation already alluded to sets, as it would seem, almost beyond the shadow of a doubt the dependence of the Deuteronomic form of the law on the other. In the Levitical code (vs. 14), according to the common version, the following species of unclean birds are named, "the vulture and the kite, after its kind." In Deuteronomy (vs. 13) these become, "And the glede, and the kite, and the vulture, after its kind." If, now, we place the original words of both codes, as they appear in the present text, side by side, we shall see how the discrepancy was possible and most likely arose.

(Lev.) אֲדֻמָּה וְאֶדְמוּמִית לְמִינֶהּ

(Deut.) דִּימָה וְאֶדְמוּמִית וְהִיָּה לְמִינֶהּ

A copyist read in Deuteronomy דִּימָה for דִּמָּה a most natural and not infrequent mistake; and then he, or some one else, added דִּמָּה in its phonetic form (דִּימָה), since being found in Leviticus, this species could not be properly omitted here. The Targum and the Vulgate agree, indeed, with the present text of Deuteronomy. But the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX, as well as four Hebrews mss. cited by Kennicott, read in harmony with Leviticus, אֲדֻמָּה, as the first species, instead of דִּימָה, and it seems reasonably certain that this was the original text of both codes. Dillmann¹ and Delitzsch² think that there should be no doubt of it.

6. *Animals eaten to be Properly Slaughtered.*—With the law just noticed there fitly connects itself this one forbidding as food the flesh of animals accidentally killed, or dying a natural death. It is really the old Noachian precept (Gen. ix. 4) in another form, which forbade eating the blood with the flesh (cf. Deut. xii. 16, 24; xv. 23), and which was held by the Jews of later times to be binding on all proselytes (cf. Acts xv. 20, 29; xxi. 25). The present enactment is found in each of the three codes, but with considerable difference of

¹ Comm., ad loc. ² Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft, etc., 1880, p. 6.
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detail. The differences will be best displayed by placing the several codes side by side.

Ex. xxii. 30.	Lev. xvii. 15.	Dent. xiv. 21.
"Flesh torn in the field ye shall not eat; ye shall cast it to the dogs."	"Every soul that eats of a carcase (נבלה), or what was torn of wild beasts, be he citizen or stranger . . . shall be un- clean until the evening."	"Ye shall not eat of a carcase (נבלה). to the stranger who is in thy gates thou shalt give it, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it to the foreigner."

One thing strikes us at once on looking at these laws, and is very instructive as it respects the form of the Pentateuchal legislation as a whole, that, while the same general principle underlies them all, there has not been the least apparent effort made to bring them into a merely formal, literary harmony. They seem to have been confidently entrusted, just as they are, not only to the good sense, but to the good will of contemporaries and of posterity. Moreover, their very diversity of form, like the costumes of strange peoples mingled together in the same city, often enables us the better to localize them and assign them their true place in the history of Israel. In the present case there is nothing strange in the fact that the more technical and concise Levitical code, followed here by Deuteronomy, should use the term "carcase" instead of the circumlocution of Exodus, or that it should otherwise repeat, as not overlooking it, the prohibition in its original form. Again, it is not singular, but quite in keeping with the circumstances, that the law in its Levitical shape, as applicable especially to life in camp, should put both citizens and strangers under the same rule; while the Deuteronomic, looking toward changed conditions in Palestine, takes on a considerably milder form as it respects the latter. In fact, the permission to sell the carcases of fallen animals to "foreigners" would have been without special pertinence during the forty years' wanderings. Such a class was then almost entirely wanting; while the stranger (גר), belonging to a wholly different category, was necessarily subjected, as we have seen, to Israelitish laws. And, further, it is natural and fully answers to supposed historical relations, that in

Leviticus, the law for the priest alone excepted (xxii. 8), there should be a letting up in the severity of the restrictions imposed in the matter before us, with clear reference, again, to the difficulty of obtaining food of any sort during the long sojourn in the wilderness; while in both the earliest and latest forms of the law, no such contingency being directly in view, the prohibition is absolute. For it is clear that mere ceremonial uncleanness, from which one might be freed by simple ablutions in water, and lasting only until evening, could not have been regarded as a complete interdiction. And, finally, it is natural to find the more developed form of the law in Deuteronomy, rather than in Exodus. It is true that both alike are of the nature of prohibitions, but it is only this one of all the codes, that makes the distinction between Israelites and strangers. This shows a growth in the sentiment that the people of God were to be a holy people.

7. *The Sabbatic Year*.—The term "Sabbatic Year" is found only in Leviticus; but there is no doubt that the same thing is referred to in all the three constituent parts of the legislation (Ex. xxiii. 9-11; Lev. xxv. 1-7; Deut. xv. 1-11). That of Exodus could not, indeed, be properly understood, might be open to a wholly false interpretation, without the limitations offered by the code of the middle books. And that of Deuteronomy is no less dependent, being really a result of experience in the practical workings of the law. For the temporary release of a poor debtor had come to be demanded from the circumstance that during the Sabbatic year he was naturally less able to meet any indebtedness which he might have incurred. To say, with some, that the code in Exodus recognizes no absolute period of rest for the whole people and land at once is to overlook the context (vs. 12), where the obligatory universal rest of the Sabbath directly appears as the norm of the new regulation. It is true that the Levitical code positively enjoins rest on the seventh year, while that of Exodus does so only constructively; nevertheless, it does it. The command to sow the fields six years, taken in connection with the fact that one might not harvest

crops on the seventh year, might be considered an indirect, but no less a real injunction to desist from agricultural pursuits during that year. As thus considered, the three forms of the law nicely fit together, like so many mutually dependent pieces of a mechanism. To substitute one for the other, or to regard them as representing a slow development, the form in Leviticus being the final outcome, is clearly impossible. The close relation of Deuteronomy to Exodus here is shown by the unusual word *שמיטה*, occurring in both, and in the entire Pentateuch only found in these sections; while to the code of Leviticus it holds, as we have already intimated, the relevancy of a by-law, intended to guard against a possible evil consequence of the original enactment. It may be observed, moreover, incidentally, that the tithe enjoined for every third year (Deut. xiv. 28, 29), seems to presuppose the institution of the Sabbatic year as such. Otherwise, there would be needful a double system of reckoning, one on the basis of seven years, with respect to the year of release, and one on the basis of three years, with respect to the tithe. Now, the two exactly harmonize in the cycle of seven years, the special tithe falling on the third and sixth, and there being none at all on the seventh year.

8. *Release of Hebrew Servants*.—Associated with the Sabbatic year and the law concerning the release of debtors we find an enactment relating to the discharge of Hebrew servants. As a rule such service was in repayment of debts, the meeting of which was otherwise impossible. Each of the three codes takes cognizance of the matter, devoting to it nearly the same amount of space, but in other respects having many points of divergence, though all are within the bounds of perfect harmony (Ex. xxi. 2–6; Lev. xxv. 39–46; Deut. xv. 12–18). It is with these divergences that we have here principally to do. Exodus, for example, speaks only of Hebrew men as servants; so, too, Leviticus. But Deuteronomy specifies also women of the nation, who, in a similar way, and for a similar reason, may have sold themselves into bondage to their Hebrew brethren. The first code, again, enjoins

that after six years of service — having no direct reference however, to the Sabbath year — these bondmen are to go free. As they came, so are they to go; that is, without compensation from their masters. With this — excepting only a new period of release to be hereafter noted — Leviticus agrees. Deuteronomy, however, as in the former case, has an important addition. Exactly as they came they are not to go. They are to be set free, but not sent away empty. They are to be loaded down (פָּרִי) with gifts from the flock, the threshing-floor, and wine-press, in remembrance of the fact of a once common bondage in Egypt. The first code, still further, commands that in case a Hebrew servant elects to remain permanently in the service of the Hebrew master, a contract to that effect may be made, slave and master appearing before the Lord (i.e. the priest or judge who represented him), and the master there, against the post of the door, boring with an awl the ear of his slave as a symbol of his servitude. Of this Leviticus has nothing, another limitation already hinted at, the year of jubilee, being in view. And Deuteronomy, properly enough, from its new point of observation, changes it in so far as that it does not require, in the ceremony described, appearing “before the Lord.” It might be performed, in the case of men-servants and maid-servants alike, at the owner’s house. Now, thus far, excepting only the provision respecting the year of jubilee, whose relations to the present law remain to be considered, there is nothing that requires any disturbance of the relative position of the codes, as fixed by tradition and history. There is only the natural expansion in Deuteronomy which its whole spirit and the alleged circumstances of its origin might have led us to expect.

But as yet we have failed to notice a peculiarity of Leviticus besides its introduction of the year of jubilee, which, according to some, shows a development beyond the plane of Deuteronomy. It forbids in the most emphatic language treating the Hebrew brother as a slave (vs. 39, 42, 45). It is not for a moment to be forgotten that he is still a “brother

of the children of Israel." I have called this a peculiarity of Leviticus. It is so *only in outward form*. The spirit of it appears just as clearly in Deuteronomy, and the form in which it is there clothed is not one whit less striking or impressive. He is to be enriched with presents on the ground of a common brotherhood and a former common thralldom in Egypt. The author of Deuteronomy, with the passage in Leviticus before his eyes, might, indeed, have consciously and deliberately chosen so to express himself, putting thus in the concrete and in the form of an illustration what is there abstractly enjoined.

But how is to be explained the provision of Leviticus that a Hebrew servant is to remain with his master till the year of jubilee? Is it not a clear contradiction of that which speaks of a term of six years and of the so-called perpetual servitude of the other codes? By no means. It simply offers still another limitation to the principal injunction of the code, showing, in fact, *how it was related* to the year of jubilee. The observance of such a year had been independently enjoined (Lev. xxv.). And it was to forestall possible conflict, not to precipitate it, that the matter is here treated. The law respecting six years of service is not repealed, but so far modified, as well as that of otherwise life-long servitude, as that both kinds of service should terminate with the year of jubilee. To suppose that the Levitical code was meant to stand by itself, as a later form of the other two, is to be guilty of the absurdity of supposing that any one in that later period could be capable, in the face of his own appeal for brotherly consideration and leniency, of condemning a Hebrew servant, willing or not, to serve out the whole period, long or short, that preceded the year of jubilee. Hence the only reasonable conclusion is, that these different forms of the law, as in other cases, were simply meant to supplement, and not to obstruct or supersede one another.

9. *Animal Sacrifices to be Faultless*.—The Deuteronomic code (xvii. 1; cf. xv. 21) like the Levitical (xxii. 19-27) allows for sacrifice only such animals as are absolutely with-

out blemish. The same general term is used in the original of both codes for blemish (מים); but the Levitical alone gives anything like a detailed list of defects to be reckoned under that category. How either priest or layman could have determined what, in the eye of the law, constituted a blemish without some such guide as is furnished by the legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch, it is not easy to see. Deuteronomy furnishes only a hint in that direction, and in its almost studied generalization (כל מום רע and כל דבר רע) seems clearly to presuppose information as obtainable from other sources. Malachi (i. 8) is the first of the prophets to refer definitely to the subject, and it is in such a way as to give anything but encouragement to the theory of a post-exilian origin of the law in Leviticus.

10. *Oppression of the Poor and Strangers.* — A series of enactments enjoining kind treatment of the poor and strangers appears in each of the several codes. All are of like tenor. That of Exodus (xxii. 21–24) treats of the stranger, the widow, and fatherless; to mishandle or afflict them is to expose one's self to the severest visitations of the divine judgments. Leviticus (xix. 13, 33, 34) and Deuteronomy alike (xxiv. 14, 15; cf. xvi. 19, 20) direct the attention particularly to hired servants, whether citizens or strangers: their wages are to be promptly paid, and they are to be in nowise oppressed. Both the latter codes are remarkable for the motives given for obedience. The former says (vs. 33): "The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be as one born among you; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The latter (vs. 15): "For he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it [the money due]; lest he cry against thee to the Lord, and it be a sin unto thee." There is nothing here to show that the Levitical law is a later development, but rather the reverse. It alone of the three glances backward to the land of Egypt. Yet this must be looked upon as simply fortuitous. The three forms of the law are all from one period, and only serve to enforce by repetition and the urging of different incentives the same obligation of tenderness toward the weak and helpless.

11. *Number of Witnesses in Capital Cases.* — The Deuteronomic law relating to idolatry (xvii. 2-7 ; xiii. 1-19) is, in general, but an expansion of the brief regulation of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxii. 19). It has one important specification, however, in which it covers ground common to that of the middle books. In Numbers (xxxv. 30) it is forbidden to put to death one charged with murder on the testimony of a single witness ; there must be witnesses. In Deuteronomy (xvii. 6 ; cf. xix. 15), on the other hand, the number of witnesses declared to be necessary in such cases is fixed expressly at two or three ; and, still further, it is made binding on these witnesses, in the execution of the sentence, to raise their own hands first against the criminal. Can it be considered in any sense probable that this legislation in Numbers originated after that of Deuteronomy, especially in view of the uniform Jewish practice, which was undoubtedly based on Deuteronomy (John viii. 17 ; Acts vii. 58 ; Heb. x. 28) ? In the introduction to the Additions to Daniel¹ it is shown to be likely that the Book of Susanna had for its real object a reform in the method of conducting legal processes, and especially to correct abuses springing from the dominance of the principle that two witnesses were sufficient to convict of the most heinous offences.

12. *Magical Arts and Divination.* — There was nothing more common among all the peoples of antiquity, including the inhabitants of Canaan and adjacent lands, than the practice of magic in some of its numerous forms. Ancient Egypt abounded in it, and the monuments of Assyria and Babylon show that these nations, in their religious, social, and even political life, were no less under its influence. And as one of the most subtle and fascinating forms of idolatry, it was natural that the Mosaic law should take cognizance of it, and denounce the severest penalties against it. In this particular all the codes agree ; there is not one of them that does not adjudge so gross a violation of its fundamental principles as worthy of death (Ex. xxii. 17 ; Lev. xix. 26, 31 ; xx. 6, 27 ;

¹ Old Testament Apocrypha, New York, 1880, p. 447.

cf. Num. xxiii. 23; Deut. xviii. 9-14). But there is a marked gradation in the fulness and emphasis with which the several books characterize this sin. Exodus speaks only of the female magician (מכשפה); Leviticus and Numbers of five other sorts; while Deuteronomy combines in its list all of them together under their technical names (having the masculine מְכַשֵּׁם, however), adds to them three other kinds not found in the parallel accounts, and puts the sin on a level with the offering of human sacrifices. There is but one conclusion to be drawn from such a fact, and it is far enough from agreeing with that theory of gradual development for these laws, with Leviticus and Numbers at its crown, that has sprung up in our times. And the history of the matter as it appears in the Hebrew literature is quite as irreconcilable a factor in such a theory. Centuries previous to the time when, according to our critics, the code of Deuteronomy began to have force, during the reign of Israel's first king (1 Sam. xv. 23; xxviii. 7-9), we already find its severe penalties executed against this crime; and long after the supposed post-exilian introduction of the Levitical legislation it still continues to flourish, and remains a prominent sin of the intractable people of the Exodus down to the Christian era (Zech. x. 2; Mal. iii. 25).¹

13. *Cities of Refuge*. — No less prevalent than superstition and idolatry among the peoples with whom Israel had to do was the immemorial practice of blood-revenge. The Shemitic races, it is well known, were particularly given to it, and are so to this day. To what terrible excesses it naturally led, since retaliation in its turn provoked retaliation, what wild feuds arose among families, which could only be suppressed by their total extermination, may readily be conceived; in fact, is matter of history, sacred, as well as profane. This terrible custom, now, the Mosaic laws aimed not to do away with, for it was founded in a natural and proper sentiment of justice, but to restrict and regulate in keeping with the spirit of all its institutions. Murder was a crime against

¹ Cf. Hamburger, s. v. "Zauberei" in *Reäl-Encyc. für Bibel und Talmud*. Vol. XLI. No. 161.

society, indeed, but a greater crime against God. He would avenge. The man-slayer should be his instrument, and no longer self-appointed and self-moved. At the same time there must be scrupulous care exercised. It was only the guilty who should suffer. Provision should be made not only that fathers should not be put to death for sons and sons for fathers (Deut. xxiv. 16), but to rescue the involuntary homicide himself from the hands of offended relatives while their "blood was hot." This was the real occasion for the cities of refuge. And the three codes present the matter much as we might expect them to do on the supposition that they appear in chronological order, and that all of them originated within the Mosaic period. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi. 13) recognizes the necessity for a law on the subject, and announces that some place will be provided to which one accidentally taking the life of another may flee and be safe. In the fuller legislation of the Book of Numbers (xxxv. 1-38), in natural connection with instructions concerning the Levitical cities, such provision is duly made, and a sufficient number of conveniently situated asylums of this sort appointed. In Deuteronomy (iv. 41-43) we find Moses, in harmony with the law of the middle books, designating three cities of refuge on the eastern side of the Jordan; and subsequently, Joshua (Josh. xxi. 13, 21, 27) selecting the other three called for by the statutes on the western side. The Deuteronomic code (xix. 1-13; cf. xxiv. 16), evidently presupposing what Moses is recorded as doing previously (iv. 41-43), is much of the nature of a commentary on the law in Numbers. It makes still more explicit by illustration what class of persons might find domicile within the refuge-cities (vs. 4, 5), gives comprehensive though brief directions for rendering the cities easily accessible, and, what is most important of all for our investigations, adds the concession that, on certain conditions, three cities more, making nine in all, may be used for this purpose. The conditions are, that the people prove obedient and faithful — which, unhappily, they do not — and their boundaries are ultimately enlarged to the extent promised to Abraham

(Gen. xv. 18). In this provision for additional cities found in Deuteronomy critics of the Wellhausen school profess to find a special stumbling-block. They do not see how it is possible that such a concession could have been made in Deuteronomy, if it be the latest form of the law, in the face of the allotment of six cities for that purpose in Numbers. It is only, however, because they are unwilling to acknowledge that Moses was equally concerned in both codes. If it be granted, as it should be, that he was fully competent (always, of course, under divine direction) to modify as circumstances might demand his own earlier regulations, the difficulty at once disappears. On the other hand, from their own point of view, we do not see how the difficulty is made any less serious by supposing that the legislation of Numbers, if it followed long after that of Deuteronomy, would venture so to counterwork established and ostensibly Mosaic institutions as to ordain that three of its six cities of refuge should be on the eastern side, and three on the western side of the Jordan, when the Deuteronomic *code* (xix. 7-9), taken by itself, as it is assumed it should be, allows but three cities altogether for such a purpose, or six on the western side on conditions that were never actually complied with. No one can fail to see that this horn of the dilemma is fully as embarrassing as the other.

14. *Bearing False Witness.*—In addition to the regulation already considered concerning the number of witnesses needful to establish capital offences, there is another in the Pentateuch relating to the bearing of false witness. Its first appearance is in the Decalogue itself, and then again in the same Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiii. 1, 3), forming what Ewald and others name a “pentade,” that is a law having five separate injunctions, all sustaining a relation more or less close with a central theme. The “pentade” here, however, is somewhat arbitrarily made up, and might be considerably enlarged by adding the prohibitions recorded or implied in vs. 6, 8, immediately following. The same topic is taken up in Leviticus (xix. 11, 15, 16), but in a very general way,

covering in the main the same ground, but with no greater fulness, and much less definiteness, than Exodus. It is not till we come to Deuteronomy (xix. 16, 21) that we find anything like detail. Here directions are given concerning what is to be done to test the matter whether a witness be true or false; and in case he is proved false, what penalty is to be visited upon him. The other two codes seem, certainly, to be before the legislator of Deuteronomy, and his direct object to supplement them. And of the last two, if one's judgment is to be based solely on the laws in form and substance as they now appear, there could be no reason for assigning a later date to that of Leviticus.

15. *Rights of Inheritance.* — The unwritten law of inheritance in Israel was that the eldest legitimate son should be his father's heir, receiving a double portion of all his possessions, the father's special blessing, and all other rights and privileges appertaining to the proper head of the family. This law is recognized by incidental allusions in the history and the codes, but is nowhere made the subject of an enactment, except in the way of restriction or supplement. Deuteronomy, for example, provides against the possible partiality of a father for the first-born son of a favorite wife, (xxi. 15-17), prohibiting his making him his heir in preference to the real first-born; while Numbers (xxvii. 1 ff.; xxxvi.; cf. Josh. xvii. 3 f.) provides for the case where there are no children save daughters, constituting them equal heirs of their father's estate, on the understanding that they marry within their own tribe. In the same connection, it is shown what is to be done if there are no children at all. The second case is an exceedingly interesting one, from the fact that it is special legislation, and arose, in its original form, from an actual appeal to Moses on the part of the daughters of a man who had died leaving no son. Moreover, it was subsequently amended because of a similar direct appeal to the lawgiver in view of certain difficulties expected to arise under it if it were left as first drafted. It is quite probable that the legislation in Deuteronomy was the result of a similar though unrecorded

emergency. Such instances, in fact, serve to account, in some measure, for the journal-like character of a large portion of the Pentateuchal laws. So-called discrepancies are often nothing more or less than amendments called forth by altered circumstances, or revision suggested by further thought. In the case before us there is certainly no just occasion for predicating a later date for the law in its Levitical form. We see, indeed, the very circumstance of the history that called it forth passing before our eyes. And incidentally, attention may be called to the fact that the Deuteronomic code at this point makes use of the otherwise unused expression of Jacob in his address to Reuben, found in a document usually ascribed to the second Elohist (cf. with Deut. xxi. 17; Gen. xlix. 3, רַעֲבֵן אֵינִי).

16. *The Property of a Brother Israelite.* — In Deut. xxii. 1-4 we have the command to restore the straying animal of a brother, or anything else he may have lost. And added to this is another of similar import, to the effect that help is to be given in case the animal of a brother falls under its burden. It is altogether but a somewhat changed reproduction of a passage in Exodus (xxiii. 4, 5), which, however, contains the thought that this brother whose animal is astray or in trouble is one with whom the person addressed is not on friendly terms. Still, the epithet "brother" used in Deuteronomy may be understood as comprehending the special case mentioned in Exodus, together with all others of a similar character; while this form of the code alone extends the rule to anything which might be lost (אֲבִירָה, only used elsewhere in Ex. xxii. 18 and in the codes of the middle books; Lev. v. 22, 23). Considering, moreover, the secondary character of the legislation in Deuteronomy, it is remarkable to what extent its language differs from that of Exodus, while expressing the same general thought (אֲבִירָה is used for אֲבִירָה, רֶבֶן for רֶבֶן, רֶבֶן for רֶבֶן).

17. *Kindness to Animals.* — In harmony with the fourth commandment, which enjoins rest for animals as well as man, we find in Deuteronomy (xxii. 6, 7) the command not to destroy a bird and its young or eggs at the same time.

Doubtless the purpose of the law was partly economic; but the special motive urged, "that it may be well with thee," shows that higher considerations also ruled (cf. Ex. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21; xxv. 4). It seems to be but another specification, or illustration, under the law given in Leviticus (xxii. 28) which prohibits the killing of an animal and its young, "whether it be a cow or ewe," both in one day. There is no evidence whatever that the Deuteronomic law antedates the Levitical. The one looks simply toward the open fields and ordinary life; the other, towards the sanctuary and its sacrifices.

18. *Mixing Diverse Things*. — The law in Deuteronomy against sowing a field with diverse seed, ploughing with an ox and an ass yoked together, wearing garments of mingled woollen and linen, and forbidding one sex to wear the clothing of the other (xxii. 5, 9–11) is, as it would appear, but an enlargement of that of Leviticus (xix. 19), two of the particulars being precisely the same, and the unlike one in the latter code — that cattle of diverse kinds shall not be allowed to gender together — not being of such a nature as to suggest priestly improvements of a later date. The peculiar dual form (בִּלְאִיִּם) is found only in these two places. The same is true of the word שִׁבְטֵי־בָּשֶׂת, which is explained in the more popular code as meaning a material made up of woollen and linen. Deuteronomy speaks of "vineyard," in place of "field" found in Leviticus; but it is an unimportant variation. The motive urged in Deuteronomy for not sowing with diverse seeds is worthy of notice (פֶּן־תִּקְדָּשׁ), "lest it be made holy," that is, be confiscated to feed the priests and Levites of the sanctuary (cf. Lev. vi. 11).

19. *Fringes on the Garment*. — In the Book of Numbers (xv. 37–41) Moses is represented as enjoining upon the Israelites, in the name of the Lord, that they should wear fringes (צִיצִית) on the borders of their garments (בְּגָדֵיהֶם), and that these fringes be ornamented with a ribbon of blue (פִּתְיוֹל־תְּכֵלֶת), the whole to be a memorial of what God had done for them and of their duty to him. In Deuteronomy (xxii. 12) the

word "borders" is changed to "four borders," for "garments" we have "upper garment" (כְּתֹרֶת, cf. Ex. xxii. 26), and the fringes themselves, instead of צִיצִית (found only here and in Ezek. viii. 3) are called גְּדִלֵּה (cf. 1 Kings vii. 17). All the changes seem to be in the interest of clearness and definiteness. The employment of צִיצִית (from צִיץ, *to bloom*) in Ezekiel has no bearing on its use here, as it is there used for quite a different thing, the forelock. The Deuteronomic name, which is derived from the process of manufacturing גָּדַל, *to twist*), is surely an improvement, for such a code, over the more technical designation of Numbers, being a common word, and having the same meaning in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.

20. *Sins against Chastity.* — The only law against unchastity in the Book of the Covenant is contained in the two injunctions (Ex. xxii. 16, 18), the one relating to the seduction of a bondmaid who is a virgin, the other to lying carnally with a beast as with mankind. Leviticus devotes to the subject a series of enactments, extending, altogether, over more than thirty verses (xviii. 6–30; xx. 10–26). The legislation of Deuteronomy is largely special (xxii. 13–29; xxiii. 1), having nothing in common with Leviticus except a command concerning adultery in its narrower sense (vs. 22; cf. Lev. xviii. 20; xx. 10), which it defines and punishes in the same way; and the one concerning the seduction of a virgin (vs. 28, 29; cf. Lev. xix. 20–22), which, however, it considerably enlarges, and makes cover three distinct cases, all of them different from the one adduced in Leviticus. Of the two codes, taken simply by themselves, the priority of date would naturally fall to the form in Leviticus, that of Deuteronomy being of too limited a character to stand by itself, and its enactments, as we have intimated, of the nature of amendments. Attention, moreover, may well be called to the fact that in xxiii. 1 of the passage in Deuteronomy the law of incest as found in Leviticus (xvii. 7 ff.) seems to be recalled, and renewed by a repetition of the first enactment of it. "The lawgiver had together with the one chief instance of

incest the others, which were almost equally criminal, in mind, as the anathemas (Deut. xxvii. 20, 22, 23) show.¹

21. *Cleanliness in Camp*.—True to its historical background, Deuteronomy has a number of laws relating to methods of conducting warfare upon the inhabitants of Canaan and the adjacent countries. As was to be expected, they are all, to a large extent, peculiar to it; and the present one has been selected for special remark only because, in its principal features, certain laws of the books immediately preceding are so clearly reflected in it (with Deut. xxiii. 10–15, cf. respectively, Lev. xv. 1–33; xviii. 19; xx. 18; Num. v. 1–4; xxxi. 19–24). The particular uncleanness specified in vs. 10, 11 of Deuteronomy is provided for in the same way in the other code (Lev. xv. 16, 17; cf. Num. v. 2), and the same degree of ceremonial impurity is imputed to it. That of vs. 12, 13, while special in its character, is wholly of one spirit with that of the Book of Numbers. And so, too, the motive assigned for what is required in the people's code is fully up to the standard of that of the priests': "Sanctify yourselves, therefore, and be ye holy; for I the Lord am holy" (Deut. xxiii. 15; cf. Lev. xx. 7). And this is not an unimportant circumstance in view of current theories of development in this particular direction.

22. *Prostitution*.—The code of the middle books forbids male prostitution, otherwise known as sodomy, in the following terms: "Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind; it is an abomination" (Lev. xviii. 22); and female prostitution with equal explicitness in the following chapter (xix. 29). Deuteronomy combines the two enactments in one (xxiii. 18, 19), using a technical term for prostitute (קִדְּשָׁה, קִדְּשָׁה) first employed in Genesis (xxxviii. 21 f.), but frequently found in the later historical and other books (1 Kings xiv. 24; xv. 12; xxii. 47; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Job xxxvi. 14; Hos. iv. 14). It also adds to it an injunction, perhaps suggested by this very term as used by Phoenician and Canaanitish neighbors, to the effect that money obtained

¹ So Delitzsch, *Ibid*, p. 446.

by such means "for any vow" was in no case to be brought into the house of the Lord. There is every indication that Deuteronomy represents the latest form of the law. The expression "house of the Lord," otherwise strange to the book, occurs in Exodus (xxiii. 19), and is no proof that the temple was already built. The epithet "dog" (זֶבֶב) applied to the male prostitute, is as remarkable for its literary precision as for its exalted moral tone.

23. *Usury*.—Demanding interest for what was loaned to Israelitish brethren is forbidden in each of the three forms of the Pentateuchal law (Ex. xxii. 24; Lev. xxv. 35–37; Deut. xxiii. 20, 21); but they are by no means simple repetitions of one another. Each furnishes something peculiar to itself.

EXODUS.	LEVITICUS.	DEUTERONOMY.
"If thou lend money to one of my people among you, thou shalt not be to him as one exacting interest; thou shalt not charge him with interest."	"And if thy brother have grown poor... or the stranger (זָר) and sojourner with thee, thou shalt relieve him. Thou shalt not take interest from him or increase. Thy money thou shalt not give him for interest, nor thy food for increase. I am the Lord your God."	"Thou shalt not exact interest of thy brother, interest for money, interest for food, interest for anything for which one might exact interest. Of the foreigner (זָר) thou mayest exact it, but of thy brother thou shalt not exact it, in order that the Lord thy God may bless thee."

In Exodus the poor Israelite is spoken of as one of God's people, and this thought supplies the place of the motives urged in the other laws. In Leviticus, not only is interest for money loaned prohibited, but for food. In Deuteronomy this is extended to anything loaned. Leviticus enjoins that its provisions shall be applied to strangers (proselytes) and sojourners who are casually dwelling among the Israelites. Deuteronomy adds, in harmony with its special outlook, that from *foreigners*, interest for anything loaned may be legally received; that is, from Phœnician, Canaanitish, and other professional traders with whom they may have dealings. It is plain that there is no call here for any adjustment; the sacred laws are completely self-adjusting. They nicely fit

and complement one another, and the three taken together form one harmonious whole. The question of conflict, or of development in the line of Exodus, Deuteronomy, Leviticus, with a space of centuries between the separate codes, cannot for a moment be entertained.

24. *Vows*.—The Pentateuchal legislation neither imposed vows nor treated them as particularly meritorious. They might be wholly ignored without sin (Deut. xxiii. 22). And this attitude was to have been expected; since it is what God requires, and not what one voluntarily takes upon himself, that these laws make it their object to prescribe and enact. Still the subject could not be wholly overlooked; for vows had in all times and countries a great deal to do with the religious life as popularly understood and practised. Hence the Mosaic laws undertake to regulate the matter in harmony with their own fundamental principles. If, for example, one had actually made a vow, it must be fulfilled at the exact time and in the manner originally assumed (Num. xxx. 3; Deut. xxiii. 22, 23; Judges xi. 30 ff.). Everything of which a person had the proper disposal, that is, which did not already come under the head of appointed offerings, it was presupposed in the law might be voluntarily devoted to God, and it does not accordingly refer to the matter except, as we have already seen, by forbidding that the gains of prostitution shall be brought into the house of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 18). And such an exception gives just the local coloring to this phase of the legislation which its supposed circumstances admit, and serves also to display its true relation to the others in this matter. It is the middle books that have the most to say concerning vows (Lev. vii., xxii., xxiii., xxvii.; Num. vi., xv., xxix., and especially xxx.). What is said in the people's code (Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17, 26; xxiii. 22 f.) is to be looked upon less in the light of any attempt to lay down rules, with the exception just noticed, and more as designed to impress an important principle underlying all vows, that what had been once vowed could never be recalled (cf. its *כִּרְחִיר נִיר*, and *כִּי צֵא שְׁפִתֶיךָ* with Num. xxx. 3, 6, 7,

13). It is true that in the degeneracy of the later Judaism an ever greater stress came to be laid on self-imposed duties and restraints (Mal. i. 14; Matt. xv. 5; Mark vii. 9), and it might therefore be claimed that the minute injunctions of the middle books reflect the spirit of a post-exilian Israel. But when it is considered that nothing at all is said of vows in the laws of Exodus, and that what is said in Deuteronomy is of a hortatory, or a purely emendatory character, the legislation of the middle books seems to be positively demanded to meet the requirements of so fixed and wide-spread a custom of the earliest periods and one so ethical in its bearings.

25. *Pledges*.—Deuteronomy treats the matter of pledges given for loans, relatively, at considerable length (xxiv. 6, 10–13, 17, 18), and altogether from its uniformly merciful and humane point of view. In form, what it has to say is evidently based on Exodus (xxii. 25, 26), whose provisions, or more properly illustrations, it simply enlarges. Neither form of the law has anything to say about the pledging of land, which first came into use after the time of Nehemiah (Neh. v. 3); and the same is true of the code of the middle books, which is silent on the entire subject.

26. *Man-stealing*.—The law concerning man-stealing is also limited to the same two codes. In the first form of the law (Ex. xxi. 16) the matter is not confined to the stealing of Hebrews alone; and if the one stolen were either found in the thief's hands, that is, as a slave, or had been sold by him, the thief was to be put to death. In the second form (Deut. xxiv. 7), the matter *is confined* to the stealing of Hebrews, and the thief is to be put to death if he *be found stealing or selling* one of his brethren. The law in Deuteronomy is either a milder form of the other, or to be understood as putting a proper interpretation upon the other.

27. *Leprosy*.—Delitzsch¹ has laid down the safe principle that where there are "in Deuteronomy references to the laws which are fully codified by the Elohist, these laws, as well as those of the Book of the Covenant, are to be looked upon as

¹ Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft, etc., 1880, p. 446.

antedating Deuteronomy." "That this," he goes on to say, "is true of the law of Leviticus relating to the leprosy we think we have shown in our first article.¹ The impressive exhortation, Deut. xxiv. 8, to hold one's self obedient, in case of the leprosy, to the directions of the Levitical priests, which themselves, in turn, rest on divine instructions (כִּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָם; cf. with this the expression referring to the law of the Sabbath, vs. 12), presupposes the existence of such special norms, products of divine revelation, as stand recorded in Lev. xiii., xiv." It is not easy to see how this conclusion of Delitzsch can be avoided. The Book of the Covenant does not take up the subject. Deuteronomy refers explicitly to instructions somewhere given to the priests concerning it. They are found in full in Leviticus, and found nowhere else. The allusion to Miriam in Deut. xxiv. 9 is incidental, and is made, apparently, for the sake of warning, lest one expose himself by disobedience to the danger of the leprosy. It should not be used so to limit the preceding verse as to make it teach that if the people are not submissive *to the priests* they will be liable to attacks from this dreadful disease. It was not against the priests, but against Moses that Miriam and Aaron, himself the head of the priesthood, had shown a rebellious spirit. And the rendering of vs. 8, which even Schultz and Keil favor: "Take heed against the plague of the leprosy by observing and doing according to all the Levitical priests," etc., is not only grammatically less to be recommended, but introduces by the but-end an incongruous thought into the context. It is possible, indeed, that the reference is to Miriam's exclusion from camp, and solely to that, showing that the strictest rules were enforced even in her case, and hence should be in that of all others.

28. *Gleaning*.—Of the law in Leviticus in behalf of the poor (xix. 10), that the corners of the fields and the gleanings as well of vineyards as grainfields are to be left for them, Dillmann² remarks that its age is witnessed to not only by its form, but by its repetition in xxiii. 22, and in Deut. xxiv.

¹ Ibid., pp. 3-10.

² Com. ad loc.

19-22. In the last passage the gleanings of olive-trees and sheaves forgotten in the harvesting are also included among the perquisites of "strangers, the fatherless and widow." It was a goodly land upon which the people looked over from the steppes of Moab. What wonder that the heart grew generous in view of it?

29. *Just Weights and Measures.*—As it has just occurred, and not infrequently occurred, so here, we find Deuteronomy doing little more than simply repeating a regulation of Leviticus (xix. 35, 36, cf. Deut. xxv. 13-16) in a slightly altered form. The language of the latter (on כִּטְיִירָה cf. Dillmann),¹ betrays no sign of a later age, and still less does the motive which is urged as an incentive, the fact that God had brought them from the land of Egypt. The style of Deuteronomy is more popular (אֵלֶּה — אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּה — אֵלֶּה), it has fewer specifications than Leviticus, but it is one with it in spirit and conveys essentially the same message. The motive it offers, as over against that of the parallel code, is strikingly appropriate to the alleged circumstances of its origin: "In order that thy days may be prolonged in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee" (cf. iv. 26, 40; v. 16, 30; vi. 2; xi. 9; xvii. 20; xxii. 7; xxv. 19; xxviii. 8; xxx. 16; xxxi. 13).

This concludes our investigation concerning the chronological order of the Pentateuchal codes as determined by matters in which they cover common ground. And it cannot but be plain to those who have followed the discussion in the last two papers, that if there are some laws in the middle books of such a nature that it would be impossible to determine, if taken simply by themselves, whether they chronologically preceded or followed Deuteronomy, this number is exceedingly small. A very large proportion of them, according to all fair rules of internal evidence, and tested by these only, appear as fixed, original sources. And we are quite certain that a thorough examination of the many independent regulations of the several codes would but serve to confirm this conclusion and fully justify the Mosaic tradition which from the first has covered and hallowed them all.

¹ Ibid.

RELATED PASSAGES IN THE PENTATEUCHAL CODES.

Subject.	Deuteronomy.	Exodus.	Leviticus and Numbers.
1 Introductory,	12: 1 (see Hebrew text throughout).		
2 Destruction of idols, etc.,	12: 2-4, 29, 30; 4: 15-19; 7: 5, 25, 28; 20: 18.	28: 24, 33; 34: 12-17; cf. 23: 13.	N. 33: 51, 52
3 Centralization of worship,	12: 5-28; cf. 28: 2 ff.	20: 24, 25; 34: 23-28	L. 17: 1 ff. <i>et passim</i> .
4 Worship of Moloch,	12: 31; cf. 18: 10	...	L. 13: 21; 20: 2-5
5 Seduction to idolatry,	13: 1-19; 16: 21-22		
6 Destruction of Canaan- itish cities.	13: 13-19; 20: 15-18	28: 23, 24, 27-33; 34: 12-16	N. 33: 50-56.
7 Forbidden mourning cus- toms.	14: 1, 2	...	L. 19: 27, 28; 21: 5
8 Food as clean and unclean,	14: 3, 20	...	L. 11: 1-21, 22-43
9 Animals eaten to be properly slain,	14: 21	22: 30	L. 17: 15
10 Offerings,	14: 22-29; cf. 12: 17-19; 15: 19-23; 26: 12-19.	22: 29; 23: 18, 19a; 34: 19, 20, 25, 26a.	N. 18: 21-32 <i>et passim</i> .
11 Sabbatic Year,	15: 1-11	23: 9-11	L. 23: 1-7
12 Release of Hebrew ser- vants.	15: 12-18	21: 2-6	L. 25: 39-46
13 Sacrifices to be faultless,	15: 19-23; 17: 1	...	L. 22: 19-27
14 The feasts.	16: 1-17	23: 14-17; 34: 21-23,	L. 23: 4 ff.; N.
15 Judges and Officers.	16: 18-20; 19: 8-13		28: 11 ff.
16 Oppression of the poor,	16: 19, 20; 24: 14, 15	22: 21-24	L. 19: 33, 34
17 Punishment of Hebrew idolaters.	17: 2-6; cf. 4: 19	22: 19.	
18 Witnesses needful,	17: 6, 7; cf. 19: 15, 16	...	N. 35: 30
19 The king,	17: 14-20	...	
20 Priests and Levites,	18: 1-8	...	L. 7: 8-10; 10: 14 15; N. 18: 8-20.
21 Magical arts, etc.,	18: 9-14	22: 17	L. 19: 26, 31; 20: 6, 27; N. 23: 23.
22 The prophet,	18: 15-22	21: 13	N. 35: 1-34
23 Cities of refuge,	19: 1-13; cf. 4: 41-43; 23: 16.		
24 Removing landmark,	19: 14		
25 False witness,	19: 15-21	28: 1-3	L. 19: 12, 15, 16
26 Preparation for battle,	20: 1-9; 24: 5		
27 Hostile cities,	20: 10-14, 19, 20		
28 Purification for murder,	21: 1-9		
29 Female captives,	21: 10-14		
30 Right of inheritance,	21: 15-17	...	N. 27: 1 ff.; ch. 36
31 Disobedient son,	21: 18-21		
32 Hanging,	21: 22-23		
33 Property of a brother Israelite.	22: 1-4	28: 4, 5	
34 Kindness to animals.	22: 6, 7; cf. 14: 21; 25: 4	23: 19 b; 34: 26 b	L. 22: 28
35 Regard for human life,	22: 8		
36 Mixing of diverse things,	22: 9, 10-11	...	L. 19: 19
37 Fringes,	22: 12	...	N. 15: 37-41
38 Charge of unchastity,	22: 13-21		
39 Sin against chastity,	22: 22-29, 23: 1	22: 16, 18	L. 18: 6-30; 20: 10-26.
40 Persons shut out of the Congregation.	22: 2-9		
41 Cleanliness of the camp,	22: 10-15	...	L. 15: 1-33; N. 5: 1-4 <i>et passim</i> .
42 Fugitive slave,	22: 16, 17	...	L. 18: 22; 19: 29
43 Prostitution,	22: 18, 19	...	L. 25: 35-37
44 Usury,	22: 20, 21	22: 24	L. chs. 7, 22, 23, 27; N. chs. 6, 15, 29, 30.
45 Vows,	22: 22-24; cf. 12: 6, 11, 17, 26.	...	
46 Divorce,	24: 1-4		
47 Pledges,	24: 6, 10-13, 17, 18	22: 25, 26	
48 Man-stealing,	24: 7	21: 16	
49 Leprosy,	24: 8, 9	...	L. chs. 13, 14
50 Gleaning,	24: 19-22	...	L. 19: 9, 10; 23: 22.
51 Forty stripes,	25: 1-3		
52 Levirate marriage,	25: 5-10		
53 Punishment of immodesty	25: 11, 12		
54 Just weights and measures	25: 13-16	...	L. 19: 35, 36
55 Amalek.	25: 17-19		
56 Offering of first-fruits, etc.	26: 1-19		

ARTICLE V.

CHURCH HISTORY AS A SCIENCE, A THEOLOGICAL
DISCIPLINE, AND A MODE OF THE GOSPEL.

BY REV. JOHN DE WITT, D.D., PROFESSOR IN LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE first duty which the occasion calls me to discharge is the duty of expressing gratefully my sense of the high honor which you have conferred upon me in inviting me to the Chair of History in this school of sacred learning.¹ I need not say that my sense of this honor is made livelier by the reflection that I succeed one so highly and so justly esteemed as was the late Dr. Zephaniah Moore Humphrey. My life as a pastor in Philadelphia began not long after Dr. Humphrey had accepted your invitation to become Professor of Church History. His exceptional ability, his large and varied culture, and the charming grace of character and life with which in that city he adorned the office of Christian pastor, enabled him to exert a large and beneficent influence both as a citizen and as a churchman. The universal regret with which his decision to leave that important field of labor was received, prepared those even who did not know him well for the far deeper sorrow of many hearts in many states when your message was received, that God had called him from his earthly labor to his heavenly reward. To the depth of this sorrow you have already testified. To the fact that it was wide-spread no testimony is needed. The event is too recent for us to have forgotten it. "We might know," wrote the honored pastor who succeeds Dr. Humphrey in the pulpit of Calvary Church, "We might know that a prince has fallen by the universal expression of regret and affectionate regard. The tree indicates its magnitude and weight when

¹ The following article was delivered as an Inaugural Address on the occasion of the induction of the writer into the Chair of History in Lane Theological Seminary.

the echoes of its fall fill the forest.”¹ The act of God which removes such a man just at the time when his usefulness is the largest, and “when,” to quote your own words, “the promise seems given of a long period of successful labor on his part,” is deeply afflicting and mysterious. But we are justified in believing — and the belief is our highest consolation — that the powers with which God endowed his servant, and which by his providence and grace he nurtured and disciplined for service so effective and distinguished, are not lost to the eternal kingdom of God. “Because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.” May God grant to me, his successor — may God grant to us all — the devotion always manifested by Dr. Humphrey to him who is the central figure, and whose glory is the final cause of all history!

You have invited me to teach Church History; to teach it as a branch of theological study; to teach it to those who are to become preachers of the gospel. In these three elements of the call I have accepted I find a not inappropriate theme for an inaugural address. I shall speak of *Church History — as a science, as a theological discipline, and as a mode of the gospel.*

I. CHURCH HISTORY AS A SCIENCE.

In endeavoring briefly to present the idea of Church History, permit me to recall to your attention some obvious distinctions. As all of us know, there is a general sense and there is a special sense in which this great word “History” is employed in our language. Sometimes it is used to designate a narrative of events, to whatever class or classes the events may belong. But in a special sense, it designates a narrative of those events alone of which man is one, at least, of the causes.

The ground of this distinction is the fact that events in whose production man has no active share are in their nature

¹ Rev. Charles A. Dickey, D.D.

wide apart from those to which he sustains the relation of a cause. Below man lie the three great regions of necessity. The second causes of events which occur in inorganic matter, in the vegetable world, and even in the brute creation are absolutely involuntary. The story of the changes even in unorganized matter is, indeed, a profoundly impressive narrative. Although too vast for the senses to apprehend it, yet because the visible universe is reduced to order and unity by means of pervasive *law*, Emanuel Kant found in the starry heavens the highest example of the material sublime.

More impressive than the history of the heavens is the history of the vegetable world; for the latter is the narrative of the energetic movement of *life*. We are brought into the presence of a power — not, indeed, so pervasive as the laws that constitute the inorganic universe a harmonious whole,— but a power immeasurably higher in kind. For life not only employs, but within the limits of its body dominates the laws of matter. It thus effects between itself and the matter which it organizes a relation far higher than that between matter and laws of matter. Its simplest product is a nobler product than sun or system; for the laws of matter are but the properties of matter; but life is an active principle. It is enthroned within the matter which it organizes. It gives to matter not only form, but individual character. Working from within outwardly, it constitutes out of heterogeneous elements a unity — a unity whose identity is no mere sameness of form or material, but in the abiding life itself; a unity of which the parts labor each for the other. Moreover, to the product of life belongs a *quasi* immortality. For it lives in its descendants in generation and generation. Thus the history of the humblest and most evanescent flower is the history of a higher movement than the movement of the ancient stars.

But there is a higher movement than the movement of life. Passing over from the vegetable to the brute creation we find ourselves in a world of organisms, the activities of which are controlled by new powers. I do not stop to dwell on

the more complex organization of the individuals of the brute creation and their positive power of locomotion. These, after all, are not the traits which indicate the impassable gulf between the brute and the vegetable worlds. That gulf is indicated by the presence of *consciousness*, of instinctive impulses, of understanding to which the instinctive impulses give the regulating law, and of a faculty by which the judgments of the understanding are executed. The story of animal life derives from the presence of these new powers a dignity which can never belong to the story of the vegetable world.

The movements in each of these worlds become the subject of history. The idea which in each case should organize the history is obvious. In the history of inorganic matter, the organizing idea is *law*; in the history of the vegetable world it is *life*; in the history of the brute creation it is *conscious life*, obedient to instinctive impulse and the judgments of the understanding. For these designate the causes of the historical events in the several kingdoms.

But while the histories of these kingdoms must differ widely among themselves, they have one feature that binds them in a single class. All have impressed upon them the trait of an absolute *necessity*. In every case, interesting and impressive as the history may be, it is the narrative of involuntary action. And, therefore, while we bow before the mysteries of pervasive law or of dominating life, or the higher mystery still of conscious life, we feel that the loftiest dignity and the consummate charm with which history may be invested are wanting. Our own consciousness of freedom in action reveals to us that there must be another history, — the history of man, — not only immeasurably higher in dignity, but distinct in kind, because the idea that organizes it cannot be brought under the category of necessity. Thus it is that our consciousness of freedom leads us, and leads us wisely, to employ the term history in a specific sense — which, after all, is its proper sense — as the narrative of that free, that self-determined activity which can be affirmed of man alone among the creatures on the planet.

Indeed, so all-compelling is this consciousness of freedom in its demand that voluntary activity shall be the organizing idea of history, that the intellect refuses to contemplate even the histories of the kingdoms below man as narratives of necessary action alone. It is a true psychology that speaks in the line of poetry :

“The undevout astronomer is mad.”

The mind of the race in all ages has failed to find repose in the study of the mere material laws of the stellar world ; and in this failure it has simply been true to its constitution. That constitution forbids the mind in its search after an ultimate cause to stop at force or law. It compels the mind to regard all causes as themselves effects until it finds a cause that is will and adequate intelligence. Such a cause the mind, when true to its constitution, always does find. “For the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.” Thus it is that the heavens have ever been telling to man the glory, the presence, and the activity of the living and voluntary Deity.

We need recall only the most recent philosophical discussions in order to learn that man instinctively looks for freedom in the ultimate cause of even necessary events. What is it that has given an interest so intense and painful to the long debate on evolution ? The cause of the highest interest felt in that debate is not in the question whether this or that species is separated from every other by a boundary so deep and wide that it cannot be passed ; but in the deeper question, — which, as all of us know, the debate has raised, — whether, as we study the world of nature, we must banish from our minds as without foundation the world's belief in final cause — in intelligence and will as the fountain and origin of the teeming forms of life about us.

Man, then, is compelled by the constitution of his mind to regard the history even of necessary action as ultimately the narrative of voluntary causation. But this also is true. He recognizes the voluntary cause as *without and distinct from*

the activity which the history narrates. The will of God, if I may so say, goes out from himself in providence, to produce through law and life the changes which as beheld by us are involuntary. The student of natural history does not reach the attributes of freedom and morality until, ceasing to move backward by the long chain of causes which because necessary are also effects, his mind leaps upward out of the kingdom of nature, and rests in the thought of the living, free, and holy Creator and Governor, who by his providence is present and powerful at every point of the history.

Now, it is the distinctive glory of man that the mind is not compelled, in contemplating his history, to move beyond man himself in the search after voluntary causation. As I shall hope at a later point to make clear, I am by no means endeavoring to banish the thought of God from human history. But at this point, and for the purpose of making more clear hereafter the precise relation of God to human history, it is important to insist that it is the distinction of the history of man that it is the narrative of activities whose causes, *within* the race, are "unforced and self-moved will."¹ In studying this history we find ourselves not merely in a world of conscious life, of impulses and of understanding, but in a world of spirit and moral relations. Every leaf of this history, however humble the acts it records, belongs to the awful and sublime drama of good and evil, of right and wrong. Let it be but the history of a single soul; there still attaches to it the dignity of the active life of the image of the living, free, and holy God in the world in which he is not only a cause, but, aside from God, the chief of causes; in which he "has been given dominion"; in which the forms of inorganic matter and the forms both of unconscious and of conscious life are the theatre and the instruments of his free activity, as well as the subjects of his rule. The term history is employed in its special and proper sense only when it is employed to designate the narrative of this free

¹ Will is here used to designate not the mere faculty of volitions, but the whole voluntary nature.

activity of man. It is in this sense that we employ it when we say that "history became possible only when man began to act." As a science, therefore, the distinctive idea which its narrative must unfold and display is not law or life, or even conscious life, but man as a rational and voluntary, and therefore a moral, cause.

Since this is the high theme of history, it is obvious that its narrative must move from cause to effect, and not simply from century to century. Primarily it must be determined by the idea of cause, and subordinately only by the idea of time. Its formula is *propter hoc*, rather than *post hoc*. It must be not only a sequacious, but a consequential narrative. A history, therefore, is a far higher and profounder literary product than a chronicle. There is, indeed, a peculiar fascination that belongs to vivid and picturesque chronicles, like those of Herodotus or Froissart, which we shall look for in vain in histories like that of Thucydides, who, before he proceeds to the narrative, compels his reader to study a labored dissertation on the historical causes of the Peloponnesian war. On the pages of Herodotus or of the parish priest of Lestines actions follow one upon another just as—to use what in this connection is a most expressive phrase—they *happened*, but not just as they were *caused*. Their places are determined, as the name chronicle imports, chiefly by time. They recall the current of one's thoughts in the pleasing, but passive, state called *reverie*; in which we stand, as it were, apart from our minds, and let the stream of suggestion move on as it may chance to move. In this state of reverie one image will rise before the mind, and, having vividly presented itself, will disappear, and be succeeded by another, and this by a third; and so varied will the procession be that often we shall be unable to say by what law of association it was that the second image succeeded the first, or the third succeeded the second. Such is the order, or rather the historical disorder, of the movement of the chronicles. For it seldom happens in the life of the world that effects follow their causes with the immediateness and obviousness with

which the conclusion follows the premises of a syllogism in Barbara. The sun rises when the cock has crowed. So, for the most part, events occur. The statement is true, and may befit the chronicle. But the rising sun and the crowing cock are not effect and cause; and the statement, though true, is not historic. Reverie is a fascinating employment; and the chronicles of the Middle Age have all the fascination of reverie. But the student must cast off the spell of delicious and indolent reverie, and, holding himself severely to a course of thought determined by the laws of thought, must seek developed causes in effects, and the germs of effects in causes; knowing that to such a worshipper alone will Truth vouchsafe the vision of her awful and majestic form. So, also, the historian must determine to be more than a chronicler. His is a harder and nobler labor, and his is a higher reward. Not time, but cause,—and above all man, the voluntary cause,—must organize his profound and lofty narrative.

But the phrase “a narrative of human activity organized by the idea of cause” defines biography as exactly as it defines history. It becomes us, therefore, to ask in what respects, if any, do biography and history differ? Our answer to this question will depend entirely upon the reality which we deny or assign to that which is expressed in the term “humanity,” when set over against the term “personality.” If the former term is a general name only—a name given to the likenesses between individuals after these likenesses have been ascertained by abstraction and generalization; if we regard the likenesses as ultimate facts requiring no explanation; if we hold with the nominalist that the great term humanity is only a *flatus vocis*,—we must, of course, deny that there is any profound and natural distinction between biography and history. But if the term humanity, or human nature, designates a real existence, and if this existence is to be affirmed of each man; if the common nature so binds together the individuals of the species as to constitute—what is more than an aggregation of likenesses—a real and organic

unity ; if, to quote the words of another, " side by side in one and the same subject, in every particular human person, exist the common humanity with its universal instincts and tendencies, and the individuality with its particular interests and feelings " ; the difference between the idea of biography and the idea of history is a profound and physiological difference. In this profound difference I am compelled to believe, just as I am compelled to believe the anthropology of Augustine, and to dissent from the anthropology of Pelagius. It is true that there is no sharp division between them in actual literature. Every biography must be historical, as every history must be biographical ; for the humanity exists in the individual, and each individual shares the common human life. But though the two must be united in the literary product, the difference between the two ideas exists. Biography separates a man from his fellow-men, sets forth his distinctive traits and the special circumstances of his life. History associates man with his fellows, and contemplates the society or the race as one. Biography preserves the record of the brief lives of men. History narrates the abiding and developing career of man. In a word, biography, even when universal, deals with the race as existing in distinct and separate units. History, however special, though dealing with a single man, contemplates him as organically related to all men, as sharing the life and spirit of humanity.

In our search for the idea of human history up to this point, we have found, by the contrast of man with nature, that its organizing idea must be voluntary cause. By the contrast of chronicle with history we have found that we do injustice to this organizing idea when we determine the narrative simply by time ; for the order of events in time is by no means necessarily or always the order of cause and effect. And by the contrast of biography and history we have found that history, though it may properly narrate events that are due to the individual and separating spirit, must hold them subordinate to those larger and deeper, those ecumenical

movements which are the products of the human as distinct from the merely personal in man. At this point, therefore, we are entitled to describe history as a narrative of the movements of the human race, so constructed as to exhibit the relations of these movements as causes and effects.

But we have not yet presented the idea of history in its completeness. For the historian may not leave out of view the obvious truth that the human will, "self-moved and unforced" though it be, *is conditioned as a cause by its material environment*. It was an inspired apostle who wrote the sentence, "We that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened." Who that has thought of it at all does not realize how many and how striking are the limitations which this body, the very instrument of its activity, puts upon the efficiency of the human spirit in space and time? At a point only a few thousand feet above the surface of the earth, or at a point only a few thousand feet below its surface, the limitation becomes absolute; death ensues, and historical activity ceases. The mind and will wait, through how many years of infancy and childhood, until the body is clothed upon with strength; and through how many other years, during the process of the body's decline? I gladly repeat, holding them to embody a sublime truth, the noble lines of Lovelace:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone, that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty.

But, though expressing the sublime truth that the spirit may be free while the body is imprisoned, they still confess the iron bars and the prison walls. I have spoken of the kingdoms of necessary activity that lie below man. It is not only true that they lie below man; but man is of them, as having a body. In these realms are the conditions of historical activity. These conditions, by force of law and life and

instinctive impulse, react upon the will as it moves forth to efficient action in time and space. They meet man, the voluntary cause, sometimes as instruments ready to his hand, sometimes as enemies confronting him with hostile purpose, often as obstacles too formidable to surmount or too vast to destroy. They meet, they aid, they baffle, they woo, they resist the human will in a thousand forms—as climate and soil, as mountain and plain, as river and ocean, as sunshine and storm, as gold and silver, as coal and iron, as steam and electricity, as the fertile prairie and the desert waste, as the beast of burden and the beast of prey, as instinct and passion, as hunger and thirst. And so formidable to some writers have these conditions appeared, that they have declared it to be their belief, and have written great volumes to defend it, that in these *conditions*—and not, after all, in *man*—is to be found the central theme of history. “For these,” they say, “are the only potent historical causes. Man is their victim, and man’s activity their effect.” Of course, we shall deny their conclusion, if we are true to our spiritual nature, the image of God in which man was created. But while denying their conclusion, we must still confess the power of these uncounted conditions in which the human will engages in activity beyond itself. It is these that give to history its variety and dramatic action; and, what is far more important, it is these that invest the great problem of the philosophy of history with the difficulties that make it well-nigh impossible of solution.

For what is the problem of the philosophy of history, but to find the unity underlying this variety; to discover and formulate the single law which binds together this uncounted multitude of cause and condition? Though the problem be difficult, it stands before us imperatively demanding solution. For if this unifying law cannot be found and stated, if this vast multitude of historical events absolutely refuses to be reduced to a system, upon what possible ground shall history make good its claim to a place among the sciences?

It may appear presumptuous in a discourse limited as this
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must be by the occasion that assembles us to pursue the unifying law of history through this complex multitude of conditions. And, indeed, the pursuit would be hopeless, even though no limitations were put upon the discourse, except this only: that the law must be sought in the *conditions* of activity, and not in the "unforced and self-moved" human *will*. For with the postulate that the conditions are the causes of the movements of the race, and that man as he appears in history is the effect, a profound philosophy of history becomes an absolute impossibility. A barren positivism becomes the final statement of truth. The historical narrative becomes a table of statistics. The highest labor of the historian becomes the classification, under the law of resemblance, of essentially external phenomena. And the ultimate revelation of history is a doctrine of averages, more or less thoroughly confirmed by observation.

Doubtless, while I have been speaking, you have recalled the two profoundly interesting volumes of Mr. Buckle's unfinished *History of Civilization in England*. That great fragment — for fragment as it is, and radically vicious as it is, it is as strong and massive as a torso of Hercules — derives a pathetic interest from the relation of its author to his work. For twenty years Mr. Buckle gave himself, with an enthusiasm that never abated, to the severest study, in order to its composition. He brought to the preparation of the work itself a mind singularly gifted, and an amount and variety of historical knowledge that has rarely been equalled. But he brought also the vicious theory of history, which Mr. Froude¹ has accurately described in the statement, that "human beings act necessarily from the impulse of outward circumstances upon their mental and bodily condition at any given moment"; the theory, in short, that the unifying law of history must be found, if at all, in the external conditions of human activity, and not in man himself. When only forty years of age, soon after his second volume had issued from the press, Mr. Buckle found himself obliged, by broken

¹ Short Studies on Great Subjects (first series), p. ii.

health, to discontinue his labors. He travelled in the East in search of a renewed vigor which he was never to find. In a few months he lay on his death-bed in what, perhaps, is the oldest existing city of the world; in the Damascus that has had a continuous life since it gave to Abraham "Eliezer, the steward of his house." The last words uttered by Mr. Buckle, as he lay dying, were: "My book! my book! I shall never finish my book." And regarded as a search for the law of history his book could never have been finished. Had his life been as long as the career of the city which heard his last mournful regret he would, at the term of his prolonged labors, have still been as far from the discovery of the law of history as he was at the close of two-score years. What could he have done but continue, through the centuries to tread his dreary round of averages? The book might have been finished; but the law of history would have been a secret still.

Whoever would find and formulate the law that gives unity to the movements of human society must begin by recognizing man as both the efficient cause of his own activity and the constant factor amid the shifting conditions under which he acts. Then only will his search become fruitful. But then it will be fruitful. Before the mind of such a student of man will emerge the two traits which yield, in general terms, the law, and so far forth solve the problem of the philosophy of history.

Of these traits, the first appears in the statement that the unity of the race is an *organic* unity. The fact of this organic unity would seem to be too obvious for argument. It is almost self-evident that the bond of union between the first human pair and their uncounted descendants must strikingly contrast that which holds together the molecules of a body of inorganic matter. Whatever may be the power of gravitation or of chemical affinity, it constitutes a bond which is weakness itself when compared with continuous and throbbing life; for it is a bond which the feeblest life is competent to sunder. The forces in virtue of which the

particles of matter cohere can organize nothing. But life does organize; and the race of man is *one* in virtue of this powerful, continuous, and organizing life. If this be true, the movement of humanity in history is an organic movement. Nor because the word has been employed in the interests of an anti-Christian theory without historical evidence to support it, should we hesitate at all to apply to human history the one term by which alone organic movement is adequately designated; I mean, of course, the term "evolution." It has more than once been clearly shown that all the elements of development appear in the great movements of the race of which history is the narrative. The evolution of humanity from the first pair is an evolution as really as the evolution of an oak forest from an acorn.

But the historical evolution of humanity — and here we come upon the other trait — is separated from every lower evolution by a quality distinctly its own. This quality is, of course, *freedom* or *self-determination*. The development of the germ out of which is evolved the spreading forest is a movement as necessary as the movement of the sun in his orbit. But the evolution of humanity has been determined in and through man's voluntary nature. We are started upon the right path, therefore, in our search for the unifying law of history when we begin with the truth that it is the law of self-determined human development.

But we are only started upon the path. For though this statement brings into clear view both the beginning and the *nature* of the historic movement, it asserts nothing at all as to either the *moral quality* of the movement or its *conclusion*. And no philosophy of history can be regarded as in any sense complete which does not pronounce upon the moral quality of humanity and, at least intimate the consummation of all things. These are the two subjects which are invested with the profoundest interest for the historical student. The mind, when brought face to face with a large period of history, or even with the life of a single member of the species, asks first of all questions upon these great themes.

But to such questions the statement that the historical movement is a free development, contains no answer. The life of humanity on earth would have been just as free, and just as clearly a development, had our first parents maintained unsullied the holiness in which they were created.

Still, it is only as we hold before us this voluntariness in the development of the race that we see clearly the truth that the historic movement must have moral character as its pre-eminent and distinctive quality. It is in virtue of this distinctly spiritual power of self-determination alone that human history possesses moral character; for the self-determination of man is wide apart from the mere volition of the brute. That the brute creation possesses a power of volition we need not hesitate to admit; if only we are careful to distinguish it from the voluntary nature of man. In the case of the brute, the outer world acts upon its instinctive impulses. These instinctive impulses regulate the judgments of the brute's understanding; and these judgments, in turn, are necessarily executed by a faculty which, because it seizes the most appropriate out of, perhaps, several means at hand, may not improperly be denominated a faculty of volition. But in all this movement there is no proper freedom. In all this there is no choice of *end*. The end of the whole process is fixed, and fixed as necessarily as it is in inorganic matter. The difference between this mere brute volition and the voluntariness of man is as wide as the difference between heaven and earth. For in the case of man the very end and purpose of life is self-determined.

Just here, then, we begin to grasp the awful import and unity of human history. It is the narrative of man's choice of the purpose of his life, and of human development as fixed by this tremendous act of self-determination. The human history must begin with an all-important and morally-determining choice, and must proceed with the exhibition of the development which that choice has determined. This is the unifying law of human history.

And now, to advance from the nature of human history

to the terrible objective narrative which under this law of its unity constitutes the substance of history,—it is first of all to be said that we do not need to read the inspired Book of Origins in order to learn that the choice which must determine the moral quality of the development *has already been made*. It is the distinction of an organic movement that its character reappears at every point of the movement, both in space and time. Take up the history of humanity in any zone and in any century, and the revelation will be clear enough that the race has made a sinful choice—a choice against God and against its own spiritual nature—and is therefore a fallen and guilty race. A study of the race as we find it to-day will not, indeed, reveal to us when or under what conditions the choice that fixed human character was made. But we shall be compelled to believe that at some time, and under some conditions appointed by the race's Governor, man, by the free and unforced exercise of his supremest power, chose evil, and fixed the moral quality of the development of humanity as fallen and guilty before conscience and in the sight of God. To us the sad and terrible story of the race's self-determination to evil has been distinctly revealed.¹ We read the inspired history of the race's creation in the image of God the Creator. We follow the narrative up to the catastrophe, in which all is lost, and

¹ The historical character of the narrative of the Fall in the Book of Genesis has more than once been attacked by writers who profess to study it from a theistic point of view, and it has been proposed to interpret it as allegorical. But the narrative, regarded as history, is certainly not inherently incredible. If the race was to be tested, there must have been a test. What test more congruous with the simple life of the garden can be conceived than the test of the forbidden tree? If the narrative is allegorical, it is an allegory of the fall. But how could our first parents have fallen in the circumstances without a positive command to violate? And what command more appropriate could there have been than the one given them? Those who call the narrative an allegory are bound to fill up the blank which they make by allegorizing with a more credible and congruous narrative, as an hypothesis. But, I take it, one such cannot be found. It is no harder to believe that refraining from eating the fruit of a particular tree was at the beginning of human probation made the sacrament of obedience, than it is to believe that eating and drinking the bread and wine were at the beginning of the Christian dispensation made the sacrament of remembrance and faith.

which occurs by the united self-determination of our first parents, who at this time constitute the *whole human species*. That self-determined fall of the race from God did not put a period to the race's development; but the moral character of the development was revolutionized. It became the development of a fallen and guilty race; and the consummation, which the historical development has intimated at every point in space and time is absolute spiritual disaster.

Whatever may be said of the process by which this conclusion has been reached, the conclusion itself is, in substance, the necessary basis of a Christian philosophy of history. If the movement — apart from the influence of Christianity — which history records is not the development toward deeper evil of a sinful and guilty race; if this is not the profoundest unity of history unmodified by Christianity, upon what possible ground can we assert the absolute need of the gospel of Christ in order to the salvation of mankind? I know, indeed, — and am by no means disposed to ignore the fact — that theologians, when formulating the philosophy of history or systematizing the doctrines of our faith, have not all given the emphasis and importance which in this address have been accorded to the solidarity of the human species. It must, indeed, be confessed that the subject is among the most mysterious of those on which theology is employed, and is beset with great difficulties. Many great theologians, partly in order to escape some of these difficulties, and partly in order to conform their system to what they believe to be the teaching of the word of God, have selected as their point of departure the *representative* relation sustained by the first Adam to his posterity, instead of the substantial oneness of the human race. And others, shrinking from the real or supposed ethical implications of both of these solutions, have started with the sin manifested in the active transgression of individual men; and moving backward to the birth of the individual, and upward through a sinful ancestry to the fall of the first human pair, have maintained that personal guilt succeeds, and yet rests upon the vitiated nature which

has been derived as a *natural inheritance*. The differences between these views are not unimportant. Regarded as theories of original sin, they are the products of three different, but noble and powerful intellectual tendencies. The first theory, that of real oneness, seems to have been conceived in the *historical*, the representative theory, in the *theological*, and the remaining theory in the *ethical* spirit. Dissimilar, however, as they are, their agreements are far more profound than their differences. Uniting in the declaration, that the descendants by ordinary generation of our first parent "sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression," they unite also in teaching, that just as far as the movement of history is a development at all, just so far, apart from Christ, it is the development of a sinful society, whose end is a merited destruction.

In the light of this solemn truth and under the law of this terrible unity, must the Christian historian interpret the narrative of the human race. When, turning to the age of Nero, he reads the awful description of society for which we are indebted to the Stoic Seneca, or gazes in horror upon the still darker picture painted by the Christian Paul, and then searches for the historical cause of this seething mass of evil passion, breeding death, he is compelled to confess that its historical cause finds exact expression in the solemn words of inspiration: "By one man sin entered into the world; and death by sin: and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." This would be the final and terrible philosophy of history but for the revelation and bestowment of the grace of God.

I say but for the *grace of God*. It is in the grace of God, his sovereign and redeeming grace, that we find the last, but also the regnant element, to be considered in formulating the philosophy of history — in declaring the law that gives unity to its large and majestic narrative. The time at my command does not justify an endeavor to connect in any detailed manner this last element with the preceding elements we have considered. This much, however, let me say. We

have moved through a series of increasingly potential elements of the historic movement; from law to life, from life to conscious life, from conscious life to man, the voluntary cause — mightier than all the conditions that lie below him. We have found the beginning of history to have been the employment by man of his supremest power in a self-determined act, which concluded the race in sin and guilt and fixed the character of the historic movement as a sinful and guilty development. But, to the praise of the glory of the grace of God, let it be told with adoring gratitude, that we have reached, in the grace that redeems man, by far the most potent element of the series. For, “where sin abounded, grace did much more abound: that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Doubtless, this address would possess a unity more distinctly obvious were I to unfold the radical modification of history effected by the grace of God as the creation and development of a new germ, instead of presenting it in the form which I shall adopt. I prefer, however, at this point, even at some peril to rhetorical unity, to employ another conception. For upon occasions like the present it is fitting, by recalling their services and repeating their words, to honor the illustrious dead. No American student of Church History should forget, in circumstances like those in which I find myself to-night, gratefully to recall the labors and pronounce the name of Henry Boynton Smith. It would remove me too far from the subject before us were I to mention his abundant toils for the church of God, or to refer adequately to his noble contributions to this department of sacred learning. But since I am now upon the high theme of the last and dominant element in the historical movement, I think I shall best honor his memory if I turn from the conception which has prevailed in this address, in order to employ, for the time, the conception which to him seemed most true to the facts, most scriptural, and most majestic — the conception of the gracious *kingdom of God*. “That,” said Dr. Smith, in his

inaugural address as Professor of Church History in Union Seminary, "that which shapes the whole character and determines the final destiny of a people, that which has always done this, and from the nature of the case must do this, is its religious faith; for here are the highest objects acting on the deepest and most permanent wants of the human heart. And in the whole history of man we can trace the course of one shaping, overmastering, and progressive power, before which all others have bowed, and that is *the spiritual kingdom of God*, having for its object the redemption of man from the ruins of apostasy. If we could but realize the majestic simplicity of this kingdom, its spiritual nature and sublime intent; if we could make present to us the full idea of it, which is not an idea alone, but also a reality; if we could see that holiness is the great end of our being, and that sin is its very opposite, and that redemption is for the removal of sin and for the establishment of a *holy kingdom*; then were we in the right position for reading, in their highest meaning, all the records of our race."

Here, then, at the close of our search for the organizing idea and the philosophy of *universal* history, have we found the idea of *Church History*; for Church History is itself the universal history. It is the universal history organized by the profoundest idea, and governed in all its narrative by the ultimate philosophy of history. No events are too secular for its regard; no objects are too unimportant for its serious study; no distance of time or space is too great for its narrative to traverse. And in the consummation of all things, when prophecy shall be read as history, it will be revealed to all that *the universal history is the history of the church of Christ*. "For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist. *And he is the head of the body, the church.*"

II. CHURCH HISTORY AS A DISCIPLINE.

If I have correctly, however inadequately, unfolded the idea of Church History, we shall be at no loss for grounds on which to justify the practice, uniform in our schools for theological study, of assigning to the science of history a place not second to that assigned to any of the other disciplines. These grounds I shall not now attempt directly to state. Permit me, however, briefly to set forth the relations sustained by Church History to the other departments, for the purpose of bringing into view the precise influence which it exerts upon the student's mind.

Setting aside, for the moment, Church History itself, the several departments of the theological course arrange themselves under the two great divisions of science and art. Not only are systematic divinity and apologetics (the latter a department to which both the sceptical tendencies of the age and the increasing evidences of Christianity have during late years given great prominence) entitled to be called theological sciences. The word science best describes the knowledge derived from what have too often been regarded and classified as mere propaedeutic studies — Hebrew and New Testament Greek. For in these departments the study of language is subsidiary to textual and literary criticism, and this, in turn, to exegesis; each of the departments finding its consummation and final cause only in the Old Testament or the New Testament theology. The reasons to be urged for giving the name science to systematic theology are quite as forcible when urged for applying it to biblical theology. On the other hand, the department of homiletics and the pastoral office may not inaccurately be described as the department of theological art. The methods employed in the other departments are investigation and analysis, and the products yielded are classified or scientific knowledge. The method of this department is synthetic, and synthesis is the characteristic of art. Its function is to enable the student to recombine the classified knowledge which he brings from the

study of the theological sciences in the forms in which as a preacher and pastor he can best employ them.

It is the distinction of history that, more thoroughly than any of the other disciplines, it is both scientific and artistic, both analytic and synthetic. In one aspect of it, history is a body of knowledge organized by an idea; in another aspect of it, it is a *belles lettres* product. On this account, it is more largely indebted than any of the others to the departments with which in the theological course it is co-ordinated. On the one hand, more distinctly than does any other theological science, it owes its literary form to the art of discourse. Upon the rhetorical excellence of its form it is even more dependent than is systematic theology. On the other hand, it owes its principles of organization to the theological sciences. The facts of history cannot be known in their highest and profoundest relations by the student who is not prepared for their study by the discipline and culture of the mind to be obtained only by a careful study of the laws of the Christian evidences, of the doctrinal system, and of the meaning of the words of revelation. But if history is thus a debtor, it is also a creditor. In unfolding the benefits by which its obligations to the other studies are discharged, I can speak of the historical discipline only as it affects the student in the two departments of systematic and biblical theology.

The influence exerted by history on the student of systematic theology will be made evident by holding before our minds the difference between a theological judgment and a historical judgment. The former is simple and positive; the latter is complex and comparative. The one is qualitative; the other is quantitative. To make this more clear by means of a well-known and interesting example, let us take the case of Arminianism. Both the teacher of theology and the teacher of history are compelled to pronounce an opinion upon Arminianism. It rises into most prominent view in both departments. The duty of the theologian is absolute. Arminianism is truth, or it is error; and between truth and error there can be no compromise. To the view of the

Calvinistic theologian the truth is upon the side to which Arminianism is opposed. It is his function to pronounce Arminianism an error, and to set forth the grounds of his judgment. Here his work as a theologian terminates. But Arminianism rises into view also in the history of the church. The historian, however, meets it not as a system pure and simple, but as a system in action; not as an idea simply, but as an idea in its realization. He meets it in the lives of the Wesleys; in the rise of that great evangelical communion which during the closing years of the past century and throughout the present century has so abundantly blessed both England and our own country. It is obvious that the judgment of the historian, however strong his Calvinistic prepossessions may be, must be very different from that of the theologian. It is not that he will disagree with the theologian; but associated with the system to be judged will be a congeries of modifying facts; and the whole will constitute the Arminianism of history as contrasted with the Arminianism of theology. The judgment pronounced in the one case will be upon the relation of a system to the truth. The judgment pronounced in the other case will be upon the influence of the system under actual historical conditions. Of course, the judgments will conspicuously differ. And, in point of fact, both of them have been pronounced by the ministry of our own church.¹ Theologically we are compelled, when loyal to our vision of the truth which God has revealed, to assert that Arminianism is not only an error, but an error at the centre of theology, and at the centre of soteriology. But historically, we welcome the Arminian Wesleyan as a brother beloved to our pulpits and to our meetings for prayer. We acknowledge the validity of his ordination and of his administration of the sacraments; and we gladly unite with him as one of the host of the elect in labor for the redemption of the world.

¹ Several passages containing references to the denomination with which Lane Seminary is connected have been retained in the paper, in the form in which they were delivered.

This familiar example will serve to bring vividly before us the exact influence exerted by the study of history upon the student of systematic theology. Its influence is to imbue the student with the catholic spirit. Let the history of the church be studied apart from theology, and its profoundest truth will never be disclosed. So far as this profound meaning is concerned, the facts of history might as well be a loose and insignificant aggregation. Let the influence of theology unmixed with history be exerted upon the student, and the result will be that which it has been in what, let us hope, is the absolutely vanished past — it will be the generation of the *odium theologicum*. That the study of history abates and tends to destroy this baleful passion, which has already done so much to impede the advance of the church of Christ, and induces a catholic temper in the student of theology, were ground enough on which to justify its presence and eminence as a discipline in a school of sacred learning.

It is another merit of history, regarded as a branch of theological learning, that it exerts a distinct and beneficent influence on the student when engaged in those departments the aim of which is the interpretation of the written word. If it were proper to institute comparisons between the several disciplines, I would be compelled to assign the most important place to those which bring the student into most intimate communion with the words of inspiration, and seek to elicit from the Bible its exact historical significance. It is in these studies that Protestant scholarship has achieved its noblest victories. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the labors of biblical scholars since John Reuchlin, in the face of the narrow mediaeval prejudice, sought instruction in Hebrew from a learned Jew, and Desiderius Erasmus gave to the church his edition of the New Testament. The two-fold department which enters into and continues their labors is the chosen home of the spirit of Protestant Christianity. In this, as in no other department, is the right of private judgment asserted and exercised; for here, in its most exact meaning, is the answer sought to the question of questions, "What does God teach in his written revelation?"

But the emphasis of the right of private judgment is not unattended with danger. It is the danger of too highly estimating individual opinion when it pushes itself against the continuous current of the church's belief. The reality of this danger and the seriousness of the evils that flow from it have not seldom been exemplified in the history of biblical study. It was from the point of view of biblical criticism that Strauss reconstructed the life of Jesus. It was from the same point of view that Baur wrought out the bold hypothesis that Christianity owes its existence to-day to the compromise which ended the wars and contradictions between the Pauline and Petrine sects, in whose bitterness the primitive church had been well-nigh destroyed. It is a significant fact that, as against this destructive criticism, the faith of the church found its ablest defender in a scholar deeply imbued with the historical spirit—in that great man whom we must still mention when we would name the church's greatest historian I mean, of course, Augustus Neander.

As all of us know, the close of that controversy left the faith of the church in the New Testament unimpaired. But, though that has closed, another controversy, born also of biblical criticism, is upon us. Nor can we indulge the hope that upon its conclusion our peace will not be troubled by a third. For the glory of biblical study—the glory, I mean, that it brings man face to face with the word of God—is the source of the danger that attends it: the danger that undue importance will be attached to individual opinion. It seems, therefore, too plain for argument that there is needed, in close association with the biblical course, another discipline, which by its emphasis of the value of tradition, will moderate the tendency to welcome new hypotheses as though of necessity they are the heralds of new truths. Such a moderating discipline, it is unnecessary to show, is found in history itself. The spirit with which it imbues its earnest and candid student will lead him to meet the brilliant and unhistoric speculations of the individual mind with becoming caution and scepticism. I venture to affirm that the present dis-

cussion touching the religion of Israel is one in which this historic caution and scepticism should be severely exercised.

However that may be in the view of others, it will be agreed by all that this perilous tendency is best diminished by the discipline of historical study. I do not forget that the same tendency is powerfully antagonized by systematic theology, formed on the Confession of our church. I trust that I shall never be found disparaging the influence of systematic theology in forming the mind of our ministry. Our church has reached its high position and achieved its great work most of all by its loyalty to revealed truth as expressed in the forms of systematic theology. Above all else, our ministers have been theologians; and the greatest and most widely influential literary products of our clergy have been theological products. But I am not disparaging systematic theology when I say that at this point it is at a disadvantage. Unworthy as the suspicion is, it is difficult for theology—just because allied with the symbols which we receive and adopt—to escape the suspicion that in antagonizing the conclusions of biblical criticism it is fighting scholarship with the weapons of ecclesiastical authority. That ecclesiastical authority may be properly invoked against conclusions vitally opposed to the standards of the church is a proposition of almost axiomatic force. But whoever has observed human nature—whoever, especially, is aware of the sensitiveness that scholarship has always shown under the restraints of external authority—does not need to be told that the result of invoking authority has often been to fix in the mind the very belief which it was intended to expel from it. Accordingly, wise men have always counselled that ecclesiastical authority be invoked against error only as a last resort and in a desperate crisis.

While theology, in relation to the subject before us, suffers, in our church at least, from its peculiarly intimate connection with authority, history is at no such disadvantage. Its influence is quite as conservative as the influence of theology. But it is influential, rather than authoritative. It breathes a

spirit; it forms a habit of mind; it calls out the powers of the mind to genial labor on the very subjects upon which biblical criticism is engaged; and all the while its distinct influence is to exalt and to preserve the traditional faith of the church.

That the attention of students for the ministry is for many years to come specially to be directed to biblical studies, no one can doubt who regards attentively the signs of the times. The revision of our version of the Scriptures, the attempted reconstruction of the history of Israel, the new interest in the Semitic languages, and the new study of comparative religion all point in this direction. That the influence of these studies, in the atmosphere of modern doubt, must for the time be to unsettle belief will not be denied. We could not, if we would, check the tendency toward these studies in the church. We would not if we could. But the influence which, if unmingled with that of a more conservative discipline, they must exert, it is of the highest importance to prevent. On this ground I plead for a renewed interest in the great conservative discipline of Church History.

Though the subject is by no means exhausted, I must turn away from the relations of history to the individual disciplines in order to consider briefly its relations to the theological course regarded as a unit. And here the word which perhaps best describes its special influence is the word "culture." A marked tendency has within a few years been manifest to contrast the discipline of the intimate and detailed knowledge gained by the student in a single department with the discipline of the broader knowledge that constitutes the substance of a liberal education. Though the word does not describe it with absolute accuracy, we may well adopt, for the purpose of this discourse, the word "scientific" to designate the new training as contrasted with the older or liberal training. This scientific training we must regard as one result of the wide employment of the inductive method. The employment of induction has given to the modern world a strong impulse toward the observation and classification of

the visible universe ; and this, in turn, has resulted in the extension and multiplication of the material sciences and the useful arts. It is the growing strength of this great impulse, communicated to modern Europe and America largely by the powerful mind of Francis Bacon, which has finally succeeded in founding, in connection with our American colleges, special schools of the material sciences, in which students are trained for special scientific occupations. As the subjection of the visible world to the use of man becomes more nearly thorough,—as, in other words, the material sciences are multiplied and the range of each is extended,—these schools of science may be expected to multiply, and education to become still more special. The great value of this special training it were as idle to deny as it would be to deny the strength of the modern tendency to promote it.

But valuable and even necessary as it is, the training of the specialist is obviously attended by the danger that its imperious demands will prove an effectual bar to a large and generous culture. The fact of this danger is already forcing itself upon the attention of conspicuous and influential writers ; and unless we are mere pessimists we shall easily believe that the demand will at no distant day be general and powerful, that our scientific schools positively borrow a larger liberalizing element from the collegiate course (of which the main design is culture) with which at present they are only crudely affiliated.

The main design of the collegiate course, I say, is *culture*. That this is its design is obvious from the terms “the humanities” and “the liberal arts” which are associated with its honors and degrees. The educated man, whom the college seeks to send forth into the world, is a man disciplined in all his faculties and receptive upon every side ; a man of the widest intellectual sympathies ; a man of the humanities ; a man, in short, glowing not so much with the special enthusiasm of a special though scientific occupation, but glowing with “the enthusiasm of humanity,” imbued with the spirit, and alive to the possibilities of the entire race.

In these days, in view of the strong tendency both to specialize and to secularize education, it is well to recall the noble history in the modern world of this system of liberal training. It is well to reinform ourselves of that continuous movement through the centuries which, under the conduct of the largest minds and loftiest spirits has in our own land, culminated in the colleges which have so largely blessed and honored both the church and state. We owe much indeed to the growth of material science under the nurture of the inductive philosophy. But the debt of the world to the education which survives in our colleges is far larger and far more profound. Let us mention, always with becoming gratitude, the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, which Alcuin taught in the palace-school of Charles the Great, and which Scotus Eri-gena taught in the court of Charles the Bald in France, and in the new school founded by Alfred, at Oxford, in England. It was the *trivium and quadrivium* that enabled the European mind in the scholastic age to assimilate and to employ on the great problems of theology the Greek philosophy ; and in the age of the Renaissance to assimilate and employ the Greek and the Latin literatures. And it was the same culture historically developed that made the revival of letters the chief providential agency in the great Reformation of religion. The churches of the Reformation were not slow in learning the great lesson thus clearly taught by history. Aside from the body of the Christian truth, this training in the liberal arts — snatched by Charles in Italy from the wreck of the Lombard wars then already past, and saved by Alcuin in England from the wreck of the Danish invasions then still in the future — was believed by the reformed churches to be the largest gift of the mediaeval clergy to the clergy of modern Christendom. Nor, in their judgment, was its highest value to be sought so much in the positive knowledge which it imparts as in the catholic sympathies and the large and many-sided intellectual life, of which it is the parent.

Thus it was, that when the reformed churches began their conflict — which may God prosper — for the Christian con-

quest of a new continent, the college of the liberal arts was at once, and by unspeakable self-sacrifice, established. It is thus a historical fact of the first importance that the colleges of the land owe their existence, more than to any other single cause, to the absolute need felt by the reformed churches of a ministry broadly educated, catholic in sympathy, and widely receptive in intellectual habit. The need of such a ministry was at no period greater than it is to-day ; and in no place has it been more imperative than it is in our own country. For, if the tendency to specialized and scientific education is the strong and general tendency which I have asserted it to be, the life of the nation will rapidly degenerate unless there is also in the state a large and influential class formed by a culture broader and more humane than that of the scientific school. When to this consideration is added the materializing influence exerted by our swift conquest of nature, by the resulting unparalleled acquisition of wealth, and by the growing stream of immigration,—the impulse of which is simply a sense of material want and a hope of material gain,—how clear it is that, if our civilization is to be rescued from the destruction which must follow an unduly materialistic habit of life, the intellectual life of the Christian ministry of the land must be no less wide and catholic than was that of the fathers. I do not say, for I do not believe, that that depth has yet been reached ; but I do say that there are powerful tendencies in our America which, if unchecked by the influence of a broad, spiritual, and Christian culture, will carry us downward with frightful speed to the condition of Roman society in its decline, — a condition in the modern world which is well portrayed in the most mournful and most bitter of all the sonnets of Wordsworth :

“ We must run glittering like a brook
In the open sunshine, or we are unblest ;
The wealthiest man among us is the best.
No grandeur now in nature or in book
Delights us. Rapine, avarice, expense —
This is idolatry ; and these we adore.
Plain living and high thinking are no more.

The homely beauty of the good old cause
Is gone ; our peace, our fearful innocence,
And pure religion breathing household laws."

Great, therefore, is the debt of the nation and of the church to the Christian college for that broad and humane culture, which, just because it awakens the "enthusiasm of humanity," is the choicest intellectual endowment of our ministry.

The spirit of this culture, I need not say, must be manifest not only in the college, but in the professional school, if its fruit is to be revealed in the professional life of the minister. It must not only survive the college course, but as it reappears in the school of divinity must be instinct with a stronger life. If a theological discipline can be found which will reinvigorate this spirit, that discipline must be given no subordinate place in the theological course. Such a discipline is the history whose organizing idea I have tried to unfold, and whose claim to a place among the sciences I have tried to defend. It is the highest merit of history as a discipline that it is the least special of all the departments. As a science, it is *scientia scientiarum*; as an art, it is *ars artium*. "If it were desirable," it has well been said, "to bring the whole encyclopaedia of human knowledge under a single term, certainly history would be chosen as the most comprehensive and elastic." It subjects the student to a training the largest and most humane. The spirit of history is the spirit which breathes from, perhaps, the noblest line of Latin literature: *Humanus sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto*, and which finds a far loftier expression in the words of Paul: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." It is, above all, as a student of history that the student of theology becomes most profoundly conscious of the unity of the race. More distinctly than any other discipline it brings the student into sympathetic converse with the whole family of man. Its theme is the life of humanity, and its literature is the libraries of the world. The culture

which it legitimates and the sympathy which it breathes are no subordinate elements of the training and the spirit needed by the preacher of the one universal and ultimate gospel. They are a culture and a spirit which, on the one hand, will permit him to "call no man abandoned"; and which, on the other hand, will permit him, with the deepest reverence, and divesting them of all pantheistic significance, to repeat as his own the words:

"I am owner of the sphere,
Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of Cæsar's hand and Plato's brain,
Of Lord Christ's heart and Shakespeare's strain."

III. CHURCH HISTORY AS A MODE OF THE GOSPEL.

But history is not only a science, and a science entitled by its peculiar culture of the student to a lofty position among the theological disciplines. Its highest claim upon the candidate for the sacred ministry will come into view, only as we follow him into the distinctive work of his sacred calling. I am compelled to treat this last and, practically, most important of the related subjects of this discourse in a summary manner. I state, however, the exact relation of Church History to the work of the preacher, when I say that church history is a *mode of the gospel*, and add that it is inferior to no other mode as a *homiletical* mode of the gospel.

It is a distinction of Christianity among the religions of the world, that while its substance is one, its largeness and vitality enable it to exist in many literary forms. To assure ourselves that this is true we need go no further than to the written word itself. It is the one gospel of the grace of God that is present in the lyrics of the Psalter, in the recorded visions of the prophets, in the life of Jesus Christ, in the history of the apostolic church, in the familiar and hortatory letters and addresses of the apostles to the several churches, and in the profound theological and ethical treatise addressed by the apostle Paul to the church at Rome. These are consubstantial, in that the truth which all embody and express

is the one truth revealed by God for the salvation of men. But, in each case, the truth reveals itself in a new literary mode. I do not stop to inquire whether it was the recognition of this fact that gave form to the theological seminaries in this country; but content myself with the statement, that the course of study in these seminaries would not have been different had this been made the principle of its organization. For the several departments of the course do not differ in the subjects brought under review, but in the point of view from which the subjects are regarded, and, as a consequence, in the modes in which they are presented. The subject, indeed, is one. It is the truth, as I have said, which has been revealed by God for man's salvation. This truth, it is the function of the chairs of sacred literature, by means of textual and literary criticism and exegesis, to unfold. The truth thus unfolded, systematic theology, after associating it with the *a priori* elements which the revealed truth itself implies, classifies, and re-presents in an articulated body of divinity. I should do injustice to the important department of apologetics were I to say that it deals only with the defence of Christianity as distinct from Christianity itself. Apologetics "arrays the whole contents and substance of the Christian faith for defence and for defensive assault." The department of church polity exhibits this same truth as it organizes into a visible society those whom it calls out from the race. Church History is an exhibition of this same truth, in its predestined activity, determining the life of the church and modifying the life of the world. And the department of sacred rhetoric seizes the truth in all the forms into which it has been wrought by the other disciplines, and reorganizes them in order to form the ultimate literary product of the pulpit—the sacred discourse.

If I have correctly described the theological course, it follows that Church History is *the gospel itself*; the gospel in a historical as distinguished from a theological or apologetic or biblical mode. It is the gospel as it exhibits itself in the

life of the church and the world. If this is true, it is no less a proper subject of pulpit discourse than is Christian doctrine. If the preacher is in the line of his duty when, under the guidance of the art of sacred discourse, he constructs the doctrinal or expository or ecclesiastical sermon, he does not step beyond the line when he constructs and delivers the historical sermon. Indeed, the historical sermon possesses the great merit of presenting the gospel as it is revealed in actual life; and it possesses the further merit of a most striking congruity with revelation itself. For the word of God is predominantly history, even when prophecy is not regarded as history; and prophecy is properly regarded as the divinely inspired history of the future.

I limit my remarks touching the relations of Church History to the work of the preacher to this single subject, because I believe that the pulpit has denied itself the exercise of an important power by its failure to employ largely this mode of gospel discourse. I plead, therefore, not only in behalf of a larger infusion of the historical element in the doctrinal and expository sermon, but in behalf also of the sermon of which the historical is the dominant element — of the sermon in which the gospel is held forth as it appears in the lives of men and women whose biographies are history. Did time permit me to make this plea in detail, I would not content myself with the mere justification of the historical discourse on the ground that it is a preaching of the gospel. For it possesses many special and important elements of homiletical value, some of which I can indicate only in single sentences. Of these perhaps the most obvious is the catholic and irenic character which the element of history gives to the sermon. Moreover, it is a well-recognized law of discourse that the impact of truth concretely stated is far more powerful than the impact of the same truth when stated in abstract terms; and if this is true of every form of discourse, it is true especially of the Christian sermon, of which the end is to arouse the will to vigorous evangelical action. Nor is this all. A study of the sermon as a literary product will

reveal the fact that it is not merely a lecture and not merely an oration. It combines in itself both the didactic and the oratorical elements. The preacher must not only present the truth clearly; he must present it also dynamically. The sermon is a didactic oration; and a moment's reflection will convince us that history, just because it exhibits the living and dramatic movement of the truth, is the mode of the gospel which most naturally yields itself to the construction of such a discourse. It is also true that the doctrines both of biblical and of systematic theology derive from their careers in the life of the church as narrated by Church History their most striking confirmation — confirmation, indeed, of the very kind which the sacred orator can most favorably employ. And finally, an individual doctrine cannot be expounded more forcibly in an oratorical manner than in closest association with the historical personage who illustrated or defended it; so that even when the sermon is substantially theological, it may well be formally historical. The mystery of the Trinity cannot be presented in a form more profoundly interesting than in association with the heroic life of Athanasius the Great. And what is true of the doctrine of the Trinity as associated with Athanasius is true of the doctrines of the sovereignty of God and of justification by faith as associated with the lives and work of John Calvin and of Martin Luther.

The time is not distant, let us hope, when in all Christian pulpits the sermon of history will be given a place side by side with the sermon of theology and the sermon of exposition. It is true that history can never displace or be substituted for school divinity. Whoever has attentively read the history of the development of systematic theology, from John of Damascus onward, through the labors of the noble succession of great minds and lofty spirits of the mediaeval church, the Master of the Sentences, Anselm of Canterbury, the Angel of the Schools, and John Wessel; through the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon and the Institutes of Calvin at the Reformation; and, finally, through the abundant discussions and systems and symbols from the Reformation to

our own day— must have reached the conclusion that, Christianity being what it is, and the human mind being what it is, the system of Christian doctrine organized by the laws of thought is an inevitable product. The confessions of the Christian church are, without exception, theological confessions; and it is safe to predict that, whatever may be the Christian confessions of the future, they will be no less systematic in form than those of the past have been. Whenever Christian faith has been strong, the tendency to systematize Christian truth has been correspondingly powerful. I am not agitated by the fear, therefore, which has of late been expressed, that the discipline of systematic theology will in any degree lose its power to awaken interest or its influence in giving form to the preaching of the ministry. Such a loss would be a calamity, indeed; for it would be the result and token of a diminished faith in Christianity itself. But history is a mode of the gospel as really as is systematic theology. For that reason history should be given a place, as on the ground of its special homiletical value it should be given a prominent place, in Christian preaching. Were this place given to history— were the preaching of the gospel as it reveals itself in the recorded life of the church to become frequent and general— the power which the church derives from the labors of the pulpit would be greatly multiplied. For the history of Christianity is, after all, both its most moving presentation and its most convincing argument. I indulge the hope that the students of this seminary will not regard history as a science and a discipline only, as therefore only distantly related to the great work of preaching the gospel. Remembering the lofty passage in the inspired Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the gospel of faith is proclaimed in the lives of those who in a less favored age lived and died in trust of God, they will need no further justification as they find and preach the gospel of God's redeeming grace in the history of the fathers, and martyrs, and confessors, and reformers of the church of Christ, who through faith "subdued kingdoms and wrought righteousness, and of whom the world was not worthy."

I have thus endeavored to unfold the idea of church history, and so to justify its claim to a high place among the theological sciences; to defend it in claiming a chair second to that of no other discipline of the theological school; and finally, by presenting it as a mode of the gospel, to state the intimate relation which it sustains to the work of the sacred ministry. Profoundly convinced of the truth of the views which it has been the design of this address to explain and defend, I regard the work to which you have summoned me as a work of the highest dignity and of the first importance. It is fitting, therefore, that I close, as I began, with a grateful expression of my sense of the high honor you have done me in making the discipline of Church History my special trust. But the work is no less difficult than it is honorable and important. The difficulty of the work never appeared so great to me as it appears to day, at the close of a year of laborious but delightful service. But, having obeyed what I believe to have been the call of God to engage in labor the end of which is to display the power and glory of his *kingdom of grace*, it is my duty and privilege constantly to invoke his sufficient aid. I invoke it in faith of the truth, revealed in his word and confirmed by the history of his church, that when he calls his servants to work too great to be performed in their unaided strength and wisdom he supplements their activity by his own, to the end that no labor in him may be in vain.

ARTICLE VI.

PROF. MAX MÜLLER ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF
RELIGION.

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It was early in 1878 that the first course of The Hibbert Lectures was delivered by Professor Max Müller in the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey. He chose as his subject, The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India. So great was the interest awakened both by the topic and the high qualifications of the lecturer for its discussion, that each lecture of the course had to be repeated in order to accommodate the many who desired to hear them. All who have read these lectures since their publication will agree that they are indeed of quite unusual interest, and present us with much most valuable information touching the nature and history of the religious beliefs of the early Aryans of India,—a subject on which, indeed, few should be more competent to speak than the accomplished Professor of Sanskrit in Oxford University. Few books, certainly, which have dealt with this question of the origin and growth of religion have been honored with so appreciative a reception and wide-spread publication as this first volume of the Hibbert Lectures. Not to speak of their circulation in Europe and America, it is very remarkable that they should be reproduced even in the vernacular languages of India. The first of such translations was into the Gujaráti language in 1881. This has just been followed by a Maráthi version, the work of one Vasudev Kanitkar, a native pleader in the High Court of Bombay, of which the “Academy” tells us that it is dedicated to his highness the Gaikwar of Baroda, and was liberally supported both by the government of Bom-

bay and by various Hindu princes and noblemen. The same authority informs us that a translation in Sanskrit and another in Bengálí will also shortly follow, and that a native gentleman, Behramji M. Malabari, has undertaken to secure the publication of these lectures in all the vernaculars of India.

A book on such a subject and with such a history certainly has much more than an ephemeral interest. And especially when such lectures as these on such a topic from so distinguished a scholar, are offered to the pantheists and idolaters of India in their own languages, and that under the auspices of a professedly Christian government, and are also commended, as in the "Academy," as "particularly useful as a text-book for schools and colleges in India," then, indeed, the whole Christian world may well feel a special concern and interest in the teachings of the Oxford Professor on this living and vital question of the origin of religion.

None who are familiar with the writings of Professor Max Müller would anticipate that he ever would speak of the religion of Christ in any terms but those of the highest respect. We cheerfully accord to him the credit of a sincere belief in Christianity, as he understands it. We can easily believe that he has not intended in these lectures to undermine the foundations of Christian faith, but rather to place their defence upon what he conceives to be the only secure position. Especially may all Christian men be thankful to him for his thorough refutation, in Lecture II., of the anti-Christian theory that all religion began in the worship of fetishes. But while acknowledging all this and more, none the less are we compelled, after repeated reading of these lectures, to express the conviction that his own theory of the origin of religion is intrinsically no better, and has been no more proved than the "fetish theory," which he so ably refutes. We believe his own theory to be opposed alike to a sound philosophy and to the direct and implied teachings of the Holy Scriptures; and that the arguments, even of a historical sort, by which he would support it, are not valid for the conclusion which he professes to establish.

While differing alike with those who hold to the "fetish theory," and with those who accept the "ghost theory" of the origin of religion as argued by Mr. Herbert Spencer, Professor Müller is quite at one with them as to the most vital point at issue in the current controversy on this subject. The question whether man began his existence on earth with the knowledge of God as one and personal, he, with the rest of the naturalistic and purely evolutionist school, answers in the negative. With them he assumes that the history of man has been a gradual progress from an original state in which he had no religion up to the highest form of religion which as yet has come into existence. It is the object of these lectures to show how man, in a way purely and exclusively natural, by slow, successive stages, rose, in India at least, from the mere perceptions of the senses, through what he calls "henotheism," then polytheism, at last to monotheism. This theory he elaborates after the following manner.

He begins by laying down his definition of religion, which reads: "Religion, in the subjective sense, is a mental faculty, which, independently, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the infinite under different names and under varying disguises."¹ The infinite, as used in this definition, he defines to be all "that transcends our senses and our reason."² None the less, however, for this latter definition, does he lay down the postulate, and strenuously insist upon it, that all human knowledge is ultimately derived from the perceptions of the senses. He frankly admits the necessary inference that the idea of the infinite has been also gained in this same manner. His words are: "With every finite perception there is a concomitant perception, or, if that word should seem too strong, a concomitant sentiment or pre-sentiment of the infinite."³ These words he again explains as meaning that "from the very first act of touch or hearing or sight we are brought in contact not only with a visible, but also at the same time with an invisible uni-

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 21. ² Ibid., p. 26. ³ Ibid., p. 43.

verse."¹ In that perception of the infinite thus given he declares that we have the root of "the whole historical development of human faith."

Working from these fundamental definitions and postulates he proceeds to develop his theory in detail after the following manner. Man, having thus received this notion of the infinite in his earliest sense-perceptions, began to look for the infinite in various objects, such as mountains, trees, and rivers, the sun, moon, and stars, and slowly rising higher at last came to call that unseen infinite, maker, preserver, God!² This theory of the origin of religion, the Professor then illustrates by the religion of the ancient Hindus, as we have it set forth in the Vedas. As a preliminary to the examination of the testimony of the Vedas to his theory, he distinguishes the objects of sense-perception under three classes; namely, "tangible," "semi-tangible," and "intangible." To the first class he assigns such small material objects as stones, shells, and such like things, which can be taken in the hand, and their whole extent thereby measured. In the second class he places such objects as mountains, trees, and rivers, which although they can be touched, yet cannot be comprehended by us in their full extent. These therefore, he argues, in the very act by which they are touched and apprehended, suggest something beyond and more than that which is touched and apprehended, and thus give man his first ideas of the invisible and the infinite. To these objects correspond those which in the sphere of religion he proposes to call "semi-deities." To his third class he assigns those objects of sense-perception, which although they can be seen or heard, yet cannot be touched or handled. Such, for example, are the sun, the moon, the sky, the wind, the tempest, and the thunder. These, much more powerfully than the previous class, suggest to the observer the idea of the infinite, by reason of their inaccessibility and vastness. To these objects correspond what he proposes to call "deities."³

¹ *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 43.

² See *Ibid.*, 46, et passim.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-174.

Applying this classification, now, to the development of religion as illustrated in ancient India, he tells us that in the earliest Vedic days the idea of God as we have it did not exist among those Aryan peoples,—not, indeed, because they had had it and lost it, but because “the concept and name of Deity was passing through the first stages of its evolution.”¹ As to how it came to be evolved, he affirms that “the ancient Aryans of India first faced the invisible, the unknown, or the infinite in trees, mountains, and rivers; in the dawn and in the sun; in the fire, the storm-wind, and the thunder. They ascribed to all of them a self, a substance, a divine support, or whatever else we like to call it; in doing so, they always felt the presence of something which they could not see behind what they could see, of something supernatural behind the natural, of something super-finite or infinite behind or within the finite. The names which they gave, the *nomina*, may have been wrong, but the search itself after the *numina* was legitimate. That search led the ancient Aryans as far as it led most among ourselves, viz. to the recognition of a Father which is in heaven. Nay, it led them farther still. They learned, and we all of us have to learn it, that we must take out of that word ‘father’ one predicate after another,—all, in fact, that is conceivable in it,—if we wish to apply it still to God.”²

When we ask, then, what was the primitive form of faith among the early Aryans of India, we are told, “Neither monotheism nor polytheism, but only henotheism, that is, a belief and worship of those single objects, whether semi-tangible or intangible, in which men first suspected the presence of the invisible and the infinite, each of which was raised into something more than finite, more than natural, more than conceivable; and thus grew to be an Asura, or “living thing”; a Deva, or “a bright being”; an Amartya, that is, “not a mortal”; and at last an immortal and eternal being,—in fact, a God, endowed with the highest qualities which the

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 190.

² Ibid., pp. 213–215.

human intellect could conceive at the various stages of its own growth.”¹ All this he attempts to prove, e.g. as regards the worship of the sun. He says: “We can follow in the Vedic hymns, step by step, the development which changes the sun from a mere luminary into a creator, preserver, ruler, and rewarder of the world, — in fact, into a divine or supreme being.” And yet all the divine attributes that are ascribed to the sun are in like manner ascribed to the sky, to fire, and to other objects of worship, each of which, for the time being, is regarded and addressed by the worshipper as if it, and it alone, were the sole divinity. The so-called semi-deities, he tells us, never rise “to the rank of supreme deity.” This state of belief is what he intends by “henotheism,” and this, he argues, led on to polytheism, and thence to monotheism. For while it is true that some, as in the case of the Buddhists, proceeded from polytheism to atheism, yet as regards the larger part, we read, “the Vedic Aryans did not rest till they found what was higher than the gods, the true Self of the world, and, at the same time, their own self.”²

After this exposition, we may give Professor Müller’s own summation of his argument: “Our senses, while they supply us with a knowledge of finite things, are constantly brought in contact with what is not finite, or, at least, not finite yet. . . . Their chief object is, in fact, to elaborate the finite out of the infinite. . . . From this permanent contact of the senses with the infinite sprang the first impulse to religion — the first suspicion of something existing beyond what the senses could apprehend, beyond what our reason and language could comprehend. Here was the deepest foundation of all religion, and the explanation of that which before everything — before fetishism, and figurism, and animism, and anthropomorphism — needs explanation: why man should not have been satisfied with a knowledge of finite, sensuous objects; why the idea should ever have entered his mind that there is or can be anything in the world besides what he can touch or hear or see — call it powers, spirits, or gods. . . . After

¹ *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 250, 251.
Vol. XLI. No. 161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

the idea had once laid hold on man that there was something beyond the finite, the Hindu looked for it everywhere in nature, trying to grasp and to name it; at first among semi-tangible, then among intangible, and at last among invisible objects. A new world thus grew up, peopled by semi-tangible, intangible, and invisible objects, all manifesting certain activities such as could be compared with the activities of human beings, and named with names that belonged to those human activities. Of such names some became general epithets [the word "Deva," e.g. among them]. Other ideas, which are truly religious, were derived from sensuous impressions, even the ideas of law, virtue, infinitude, and immortality. Lastly, by a perfectly natural and intelligible process, a belief in single supreme beings, or Devas, henotheism tended to become a belief in one God, presiding over the others, no longer supreme gods—polytheism; or a belief in one God, excluding the very possibility of other gods—monotheism. Still further, all the old Devas or gods were found out to be but names; but that discovery, though in some cases it led to atheism and some kind of Buddhism, led on in others to a new start and to a new belief in one Being which is the Self of everything, which is not only beyond and beneath all finite things as apprehended by the senses, but also beneath our own finite ego, the Self of all selfs."¹ This form of belief the Professor does not in this place name, though elsewhere he calls it monotheism; but the most of intelligent persons will recognize it as pantheism.

In reviewing this theory, we have to object, first of all, to the definition of religion with which Professor Müller begins. We must, indeed, do him the justice to remark that he himself confesses that he does not feel wholly satisfied with his definition, though he thinks that "the kernel of it is sound."² Nor should one judge a failure in definition in this case too severely. It is truly no very easy thing to give a definition of religion which shall comprehend all that

¹ *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 360, 361, 362. ² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

goes under that name. We have to remember, for example, that the most of Buddhists follow Sákya Muni in denying, or at least ignoring, the existence of a God, and yet we should not therefore say that there was of necessity nothing which we could call religion in a Buddhist. But, while admitting that the definition of religion in the subjective sense must be made exceeding broad if it shall include all that goes among men under that name, still we are compelled to reject the definition of religion as given in these lectures by Professor Müller.

In the first place, we fully agree with the critics to whom he refers, who have urged against his definition that in no sense can religion be rightly termed "a mental faculty." Indeed, the Professor tells us that he himself shares, "to some extent," the doubts of his critics in this matter. There is good reason that he should. For the word "faculty" has a well-known meaning. We understand by the term, power or capacity. Professor Müller, however, in his reply to his critics, defines faculty as "a mode of action"¹—a meaning which, according to the lexicographers, it never has. It is better than this when, a little later, he suggests that for the word "faculty" in his definition should be substituted the phrase "potential energy." And yet all makes very little difference; for, define faculty as we will, in no sense is it true that religion is a faculty. It is not a power or capacity, although it implies a power or capacity; it is not a mode of action or a potential energy. However hard it may be to say precisely what it is, we regard it as absolutely certain that never when men speak of religion in a subjective sense do they mean thereby to name a mental faculty.

Neither is it true, in the second place, that religion consists merely in the apprehension of the infinite. To make religion consist essentially in this is vague and inaccurate in the last degree. Even though the word "infinite" should be taken in the highest sense possible, to denote the God of the theist, —a sense in which Professor Müller does not use the word,

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 22.

—still, the definition would be fatally defective. For assuredly in religion we have in every case much more than the mere apprehension of the infinite. The Infinite, whom we as theists name God, is always conceived of as standing in certain moral relations with the human soul — relations of such a sort that we express them, in a word, by saying that the soul always conceives of itself as being under moral law to a superior power. It is truly remarkable, and not a little suggestive, that Professor Müller in constructing a definition of religion, should not have included so much as an allusion to this most patent and momentous fact, that man as a religious being always, whether right or wrong therein, regards himself as being under moral law. No element is more characteristic of religion under all its forms than just this. Even the belief in a God may be absent, as in the case of the Buddhists, and yet even Buddhism holds fast with singular tenacity to this conception of a moral law, and declares that man as judged by that law is wrong. The omission of all recognition of this universal phenomenon in Professor Müller's definition is of itself enough to condemn it.

But if the definition be thus defective even when we take the word "infinite" in its best and highest sense, it is far worse if in the definition we give that word the sense in which Professor Müller defines and uses it. His definition of the infinite, it will be remembered, reads thus: "All that transcends our senses and reason." On this definition we remark that it is certain that this is not what men generally mean by the infinite. The true sense of the word, as commonly employed, is boundless, illimitable. But Professor Müller uses it constantly, in accordance with his novel definition, as an equivalent for invisible, or supernatural, or indefinite.¹ As was not unnatural for a philologist, he seems to have been led astray by an etymology. The finite is that which is apprehended as having definite and precise limits; the infinite is the not-finite, that which is *not* apprehended as having definite limitations. Hence, if we looked only at the

¹ See, e.g. pp. 217, 218, et passim.

etymology of the word, we might infer that it was not of necessity that which absolutely has no bounds, but only that of which bound or limit could not be affirmed. And so the Professor explains his own definition of the word: "Infinite is not only that which has no limits, but it is to us, and it certainly was to our early ancestors, that also of which we cannot perceive the limits."¹ Thus, according to this definition, while space and time would be infinite, so would many other things be also infinite to which no man who knew the right use of words would think of applying that term. Thus, assuming his definition, the human soul transcends the senses; is it therefore infinite? And so, while the definition of religion would have been bad enough if the word "infinite" had been taken in its ordinary meaning, the new meaning that the Professor has attached to it makes the bad much worse. Let us substitute in his definition of religion for the term "infinite" his definition of that term, and see how it will read: "Religion is a mental faculty which enables man to apprehend all that transcends the senses and reason"; or, again, to use other terms which he uses as alternates to infinite: "Religion is a mental faculty which enables man to apprehend the indefinite or the invisible"! How many are there in the world who would recognize this definition of religion, as expounded by the aid of the Professor's own definition of the infinite, as expressing what they meant when they spoke in any sense of a religion?

It is another fatal objection to his theory, that not only are his fundamental definitions erroneous, but he rests his whole theory as to the origin of religion upon the postulate, assumed without attempt at proof, that all religious knowledge, as well as every other, comes to man through the senses, and the senses only. Of any intuitive perception of right and wrong, or of anything, he will hear nothing. Still less will he hear of any primeval revelation as a possible source of at least a part of man's religious knowledge. Such a suggestion he rejects as not even worthy of discussion,

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 173.

even though such a revelation should have been given through the senses. Everything which any religion whatever may contain, all that goes under the name of religion, had its origin, in the first instance, in man's sense-perceptions of external nature. On this subject he is most emphatic, and as dogmatic as theologians are commonly supposed to be. He says: "All knowledge, in order to be knowledge, must pass through two gates, and two gates only—the gate of the senses and the gate of reason. Religious knowledge also, whether true or false, must have passed through these two gates. At these two gates, therefore, we take our stand. Whatever claims to have entered in by any other gate, whether that gate be called primeval revelation or religious instinct, must be rejected as contraband of thought; and whatever claims to have entered in by the gate of reason, without having first passed through the gate of the senses, must equally be rejected as without sufficient warrant, or ordered at least to go back to the first gate, in order to produce there its full credentials."¹ To prove these startling statements we find nothing stronger than this: "We know not *what* it [the infinite] is, but we know *that* it is, and we know it because we actually feel it and are brought in contact with it."² What is the purport of these words their context clearly shows, namely, that since we know there is an infinite, therefore that knowledge, this concept of the infinite, must have come to us by means of sense-perception, or we could not have had it. But this is surely to assume as proof what needed itself to be proved and most rigidly argued out as being the foundation of his theory. For the doctrine of sensationalism is not at least by any means so like axiomatic truth that any man has a right to assume it without proof, especially when he would make it the basis of anything of so much consequence as a theory concerning the origin of religion.

Without going into the whole argument against sensationalism, it will suffice for our present purpose to make on this

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 212.

² Ibid., p. 35.

part of Professor Müller's discussion, the following remarks. If the word "infinite" be taken in the sense in which men usually employ the word, then it is utterly impossible that the idea of the infinite should have come into the mind through the senses. For the clear dictum of the mind as regards, for example, infinite space or infinite duration is not merely, as Professor Müller puts it, that there is an infinite. How even that idea were to be got in through the senses, when they neither have nor can have any experience of infinite space or infinite duration, is quite impossible to see. But the percept or concept of the infinite in fact involves much more than the mere affirmation of its being. It is included therein not only that the infinite is, but that the infinite *must* be. Against sensationalism this has often been urged, and the objection, we may safely say, has never been answered, nor can be. How can the conception of *necessary* being, as regards anything, be reached through sense-perception? Experience can undoubtedly give a "has been" or "it is"; but by no possibility can it give a "must be." Thus while the senses inform us of the existence of a beyond, an immense beyond, or an indefinite beyond, assuredly they cannot give us the idea of an infinite beyond.

But even if we assume Professor Müller's own definition of the infinite, it is not clear how, according to his own definitions and statements, the conception of the infinite, even in that sense, could have come in through the senses. For how shall we reconcile these two statements (both in his own words)? "The infinite is that which transcends the senses," and again and again afterwards, "Our senses give us the first impression of infinite things." Surely if that definition of the infinite be correct, then this last statement cannot be correct. If the infinite in its essential nature be "that which *transcends* the senses," then how can it possibly be true that we perceive the infinite *through* the senses? No less is this last statement in conflict with his definition of religion, wherein we are told that religion is a mental faculty which enables us, "*independent of and in spite of* the senses,

to apprehend the infinite.”¹ Even according to Professor Müller himself, then, it is plain that the infinite is perceived by us *independent* of the senses,” and surely, therefore, one would say, not *through* the senses. If, however, he only mean, as we suspect, that the idea of the infinite, howsoever defined, is in the first instance, called out into consciousness by our sense-perceptions, then that ends the controversy, and should logically compel him to reject every sensationalist theory as to the origin of religion. For it is clear that the two propositions,—“The senses *perceive* the infinite,” and “Our sense-perceptions are the *occasion* of the *suggestion* of the idea of the infinite,”—are totally distinct in their meaning. The former is certainly false, as the latter is certainly true. But if the idea of the infinite is *not* directly given in sense-perception, but is only thus first brought out into consciousness, then it must be derived in some other way than through the senses, and sensationalism is not the whole of philosophy, much less the whole of religion.

It cannot be too much emphasized that Professor Müller distinctly stakes the truth of his theory of the origin of religion on the truth of this dictum, that the senses are the primal source of all our knowledge. If this be true, then it were possible, though not yet certain, that his theory might be true; but if sensationalism be not a true philosophy, then it is certain that his theory is false also. A very uncertain foundation this for so lofty and imposing a structure! None the less fearlessly, however, he rests all his argument upon it. There is, according to him, no intuitional truth, moral and religious as little as any other. He says that he does “not blame those who may decline to discuss the problem of the origin of religion with those who assume that man has a religious faculty which distinguishes man from the animal.”² Not to the conscience, then, not even to the reason primarily, but to the mere perceptions of our physical senses, which we have in common with the brutes, do we owe everything that under the sun is called by men religion, from

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 21.

² Ibid., p. 121.

the lowest type of fetish worship, to the Sermon on the Mount and the sublime prayer of our Lord in the seventeenth of John!

It is another fatal defect in Professor Müller's argument that even if we should grant all that he says about a perception of the unlimited, or infinite, or indefinite, or supernatural, as concomitant with every act of sense-perception, yet he entirely omits to show us *how*, out of this idea thus gained, man could, after never so long, get the idea of a personal God and moral ruler of the universe. For his elaborate argument based on his distinction of all the objects of perception as "tangible," "semi-tangible," and intangible" wholly fails to answer this vital question. For though we grant that in the perception of, e.g. such intangible objects as the sky, a storm, we do get the idea of a power or a vastness far beyond what the senses can take in or accurately measure, yet what is the reason that men in all lands and in all ages have had such a tendency to attribute that power or immensity not to the object perceived, but to an unseen Spirit or God? Here is an absolute break in the alleged development, a missing link in the argument, a fact which the Professor seems never to have noticed. The difficulty is the greater that, as has been often observed, even beasts frequently appear to have with their sense-perceptions a vague apprehension of an unknown or indefinite something, more than is actually seen or heard, as really as Professor Müller's primitive Aryans. What can it be but something like this that makes the horse sometimes start and tremble at the sudden sight of an unfamiliar object! Why is it then, that the horse never goes on, but man always does go on, till he has developed out of this undefined something the idea of a god? Is it not the natural conclusion that the idea of a God is *not* given in that notion of the indefinite which sense-perception supplies? that in that "sentiment or presentiment" of something more than can be seen or heard, the idea of a God, even in the most germinal form, is *not* really given? and that man, therefore, unlike the brute, for some reason

puts into the concept suggested by the senses something in addition which was *not* gained from the senses? Evidently here is something which, on Professor Müller's theory, greatly needs an explanation.

It is another defect in Professor Müller's argument that he has quite failed to show how, out of the perception of the senses, man could ever get the idea of moral law, of sin, and of guilt to be expiated or forgiven. In the religious consciousness of all nations ever stands revealed a moral law, with its inexorable "must" and "must not," "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not"! How is it possible that this idea of moral law and the imperious obligation to obey it should have been derived from the mere perceptions of our senses? Professor Müller, indeed, tells us that it was evolved from the perception of physical law and order as revealed to the senses in the kosmos.¹ To this we can only reply that the supposed evolution is impossible. For, even if we should allow that the observation of the order of the visible universe first *awakened* the notion of an analogous moral order, and a system of moral law; still that were not enough to account for the facts. There is *more* in the idea of the moral law than a mere conception of *order*. Inseparable from this is the conception of that order as being in its very nature, unlike the physical, a *necessary* and obligatory order. How then could the observation of the order of the visible universe,—the daily path of the sun, as Professor Müller suggests,²—never conceived of as a necessary order, have given rise to the sense of moral obligation? The cause assigned is totally inadequate to the effect.

We find a similar defect in the Professor's argument as to the phenomena of conscious sin and guilt. How can this be traced back to certain perceptions of the senses? Even if we grant that the ancient Hindus received their first dim ideas of God from their observation of the powers of nature and that this, in fact, was the case with all the nations of

¹ See Lecture v. for his argument to this effect.

² The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 243.

the world; yet why should all men everywhere have conceived of this unseen Power as hostile to them? Was it because they noticed that the powers of nature were often destructive and injurious to them? But then they were oftener beneficent. The sun, it is true, sometimes strikes with death; but far more commonly its warmth is genial and life-giving. The storm sometimes brings ruin, but more often it is a messenger of mercy. Whence, then, this strangely persistent, universal sense of *sin*? What were those universal sense-perceptions which everywhere and always suggested the sense of guilt? Patent as this difficulty is, and necessary as it clearly is that any theory of the origin of religion should account for this universal fact, yet we cannot find that Professor Müller ever betrays any consciousness that there was in this anything that needed explanation. Indeed this whole argument of his, like those of Mr. Herbert Spencer and others of the naturalistic school upon the origin of religion, is marked by an astonishing oblivion as to this most conspicuous fact of the universal consciousness of sin and guilt. The circumstance is most suggestive.

But it is time that we examined Professor Müller's historical argument. He affirms, and in Lectures III.-VII. professes to prove, that his theory of the origin and growth of religion is evidenced as true by the history of religious thought in India. He claims that history makes it plain that in India, at least, men began their religious life with mere sense-perception, which gave them the idea, in his sense, of the infinite; that the Hindus then looked for that infinite everywhere in nature in the following order; namely, "at first among semi-tangible, then among intangible, and at last among invisible objects";¹ that so they were led on through henotheism, polytheism, at last to monotheism. Having proved this to his own satisfaction, he concludes that something like this must have marked the beginning and development of religion for the whole race of man. For the establishment of this argument he relies chiefly upon the testimony of the Vedas,

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 361.

with the Brahmanas and Upanishads appended to them, together with such aid as philology may furnish.

There are few men who are competent to criticise the Sanskrit Professor of Oxford University in his interpretation of the Vedas, and of such the present writer is not one. We are quite willing to rely implicitly upon the strict accuracy of the numerous translations of the Vedic *sutras* which enrich his lectures. But the question before us is happily not one of Vedic *interpretation*; it is of what may be rightly *inferred* from the testimony of the Vedas as interpreted for us by Professor Müller. We admit, then, all his interpretations and translations without qualification, and claim that the facts which he brings out, instead of establishing, are fatal to his theory, so far at least as India is concerned. He has himself convinced us that if we are to have historical proof of the correctness of his view as to the origin of religion, we shall have to look for it elsewhere than in the records of ancient India.

As to his historical argument, then, we make three affirmations:

In the first place, it does not prove his assertion as to the origin of religion, even among the ancient Aryans. It is even impossible that this should be proved from the Vedas, for the simple reason that they do not give us the beginning of Aryan religious development. Where their record begins, that development has already long ago begun. Granting, then, that we do find nature-worship prominent in the oldest Veda, who shall prove that there was nothing among the Aryans earlier than that? Who shall venture to say that this worship of nature may not very possibly have been a secondary development? Who can prove that it may not even have been a degraded form of religion, preceded by a purer creed? These are questions which he should have met and answered; but they are passed by in silence. To avoid them, it was necessary for him to prove that the form of religion which appears in the Vedas was not only the earliest of which among the Aryans we have any written

record, but exhibits the absolute beginning of their religious history. This he nowhere attempts to prove, as, indeed, no one could pretend that this was a fact. Professor Müller does, indeed, in one place make the surprising assertion that "in the ancient religion of India we can watch the development of religious thought *from its very beginning to its very end.*"¹ But then again, and with much more reason, he repeatedly makes statements in various parts of his lectures, which directly contradict these careless words. Thus he rightly says: "There are indeed vast distances beyond the hymns of the Veda, and many things even in the earliest hymns become intelligible only if we look at them not as just arising, but as having already passed through many a metamorphosis."² To the same effect, again, we read: "No doubt between the first daybreak of human thought and the first hymns of praise there may be, nay there must be, a gap that can only be measured by hundreds, aye by thousands, of years."³ Here, then, we have the most explicit admissions that we do not have by any means in the oldest Veda anything approaching to the first beginning even of Aryan religion. If this be true,—and no one will dispute it,—then of what possible force is this whole historical argument as bearing on the question as to the origin of religion? What we want to know is how man came to have a religion. This is the question which it is the main object of these Hibbert Lectures to answer. Professor Müller tells us in answer that it was through the perception by the senses of the infinite; and he brings forward the history of the Vedic religion as evidence that this actually was the origin of religion, at least as regards the Indian Aryans. And then he turns around and tells us, with unquestionable truth, that the Vedas do not give us the beginning of religion, even as regards that branch of the human race. This being so, is it not plain that his elaborate argument from the Vedas on this point proves nothing as to the origin of religion among the

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 33. The italics are ours.

² Ibid., p. 80.

³ Ibid., p. 216.

Indian Aryans, much less as to its absolute beginning among men?

In the second place, not only does Professor Müller's historical argument prove nothing as to the origin of religion, but it proves as little as regards the asserted order of development. According to his theory, and in *order* to make good his position, it was necessary for him to show that the oldest hymns of the Veda were those addressed to what he calls semi-tangible or tangible objects, such as the soma juice, the mountains, rivers, and trees; and that the next in order as we descend the course of time were those addressed to intangible objects, such as, for example, the sky, the sun, the storm; and that latest of all come hymns apparently addressed to one personal God. The fact of such an order among the Vedic hymns he has not proved. He does indeed show, what no one had ever disputed, that the Vedas are full of hymns to the mountains, the storms, the heavens, the sun, and the moon, with now and then one which has in it a monotheistic ring; but this is not enough. What we ask, and what he promised to give, is proof of the asserted *order* of development, and that we search for in vain in all these lectures. The theory, if to be proved in this way, must be proved by the demonstration of a certain chronological order among all these various hymns, in which it shall appear that as a class the hymns addressed to semi-tangible objects preceded those addressed to intangible objects, and so on. But such a demonstration is wanting. He himself says, with good reason, that it seems to him "almost useless to apply a chronological measurement to these phases of thought."¹ Not only is the required proof wanting, but we may say even more, Professor Müller once and again makes statements which show that the theoretical order was not the strict order of history. For while, according to his theory, the worship of semi-tangible objects should come first, and then that of the intangible, the fact, according to his own expressed judgment, was the reverse. His words are, "We

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 327.

have a right to say that, generally speaking, hymns celebrating the dawn and the sun [intangible objects, be it noted] were earlier than those addressed to Aditi."¹ But was there perhaps a worship of semi-tangible objects, such as mountains, trees, etc., preceding the worship of the sun and dawn? Apparently not; for again he tells us that the oldest deity of which we have any trace in the Vedic religion was Dyaus, commonly said to mean the sky, but which he proposes to render "the bright, the shining one." This deity is constantly called Dyaus-pitá, "the Heaven-father."² Of this worship of Dyaus-pitá, "the heaven," "the sky," or "the Heaven-father," he tells us that it was so ancient that it was current so long ago as when the ancient Teutons and the Greeks and Romans were as yet all living together on the plateau of Iran; for the word is preserved in the old Teutonic Tio, the Greek Zeus, and the Latin Ju-piter.³ Again, we have a few hymns in the Rig Veda which seem to express belief in God as one and personal. A notable example is found in the sublime hymn to Prajapati,⁴ the Lord of creatures, described therein, in verse 8, as "he who alone is God above all gods." To make out his theory as to the order of religious development it was necessary to prove that such utterances as a whole belonged to a late, or even final, period of Indian religious history. On the contrary, as he himself admits, this hymn, for example, to Prajapati belongs to the first period of the sacred history of India, anterior to the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. The actual truth seems to be that the Vedic literature, so far from proving such an order as the Professor in his theory had laid down, exhibits, side by side, the grossest nature worship and now and then a theism, as in the hymn above referred to, which reminds one of the Hebrew Psalms. There could not be a better comment on Professor Müller's argument than we find on page 226 of the Lectures, where, with equal truth and consistency, he remarks: "I do not mean to make the Veda more ancient

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 327. ² Ibid., pp. 265, 266. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Rig Veda, x. 21. See Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 284.

than it is. I know full well the interminable vista of its antecedents. By the side of much that sounds recent there is much that sounds ancient and primitive. And here we ought, I think, to learn a lesson from archaeology, and not try to lay down from the beginning a succession of sharply divided periods of thought. There are in the Veda thoughts as rude and crude as any paleolithic weapons; but by the side of them we find thoughts with all the sharpness of iron and all the brilliancy of bronze. Are we to say that the bright and brilliant thoughts must be more modern than the rudely chipped flints that lie by their side?"¹ All which is very well and truly said. But what then becomes of the promised argument from the Vedas as to the order of religious development?

Finally, we deny that, according to history and his own showing, the progress of religious thought in India led up at last to faith in the one God who is the Father of us all. Concerning this he asserts plainly that this was the terminus to which the Indian development of religious thought conducted them. He tells us that "the search of the ancient Aryans after the infinite in every part of nature," and their attempts at naming it began "with trees and rivers and mountains, ending with their Heaven-father." So also at the conclusion of his argument, recapitulating, he says: "We found how, by a perfectly natural and intelligible process, a belief in single supreme beings, or Devas — henotheism tended to become a belief in *one* God, presiding over the others, no longer supreme gods — polytheism, or a belief in one god, excluding the very possibility of other gods — monotheism."² In reply to all this, we are compelled to say that, taking words in their ordinary and accepted meaning, this is a great mistake. It is not true that the terminal point of Indian religious speculation was monotheism, or that the concept of a Heaven-father was reached as the *end* and final result of their search for the infinite.

While Professor Müller is quite correct in indicating the

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, pp. 265, 266.

² Ibid., p. 362.

course of religious thought in India as tending to the conception of *one* only Supreme Being, as opposed to the doctrine of many gods, he strangely misconceives facts, or misunderstands the meaning of words, when he assumes what he calls the "monotheism" at which the Hindus arrived is essentially identical with what Christians, or even deists, understand by monotheism. This "monotheism" at which the Hindus arrived, as he calls it, was and is, *not* monotheism, but *pantheism*. To call the Hindu doctrine as to the essential unity of the Divine Being "monotheism," however it might be justified by the mere etymology of the word, is, in fact, to set established usage at defiance. There have been, indeed, individuals all along the course of Indian history who have recognized with more or less distinctness the existence of one God who is personal, the Maker and the moral Ruler of us all. But it is one of the most notorious facts in the religious history of mankind, that the Hindus, as a people, have never come up through polytheism to *theism*. In so far as any may be said to have progressed beyond polytheism, they are not theists, but pantheists. If we seek in the religious writings of the Hindus for expressions embodying the purest theism, we shall find them, according to Professor Müller's own testimony, *not* in the latest, but, on the contrary, in their *oldest* literature. So far then, from having been led up from nature-worship, as the Professor affirms, to the conception of a Father in heaven, they have *sunken from* that earliest conception of the Dyaus-pita to the most thorough and consistent pantheism that the world has ever seen. Professor Müller himself tells in so many words that "even in the Veda," the conception of the Heaven-father had become "a fading star."¹ And while the Hindus of to-day do constantly assert that God is one and only, they mean by this, as they constantly affirm, that he is one and only, simply because he is *all* that is. But this is not monotheism, but pantheism. So notorious are the facts, that we are greatly puzzled by the statements which we find in these lectures on

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 266.

these matters. One can hardly suppose it possible ; but if the lectures had been delivered by any less eminent scholar, we should have been compelled to conclude that the author was not enough of a theologian to know the real difference between theism and pantheism.¹

And this leads us to remark, as to the general drift of these lectures, that if one is to take words in their usually accepted sense, the tendency, to say the least, of the whole argument, is to represent pantheism as "the highest form" in which the human mind has expressed its conception of the nature of the Supreme Being. It is true that once or twice Professor Müller uses language which, if we could take it by itself, might well be held to support the theistic view of the divine nature. Thus, in one place he speaks of the idea of "one personal God" as "the highest form which man feels inclined to give to the infinite."² So also, now and then, he speaks beautifully and truly of God as our Father in heaven in words which must find an echo in every Christian heart. But, unfortunately, thoughts and expressions of such a character do not stand alone. They are repeatedly qualified in such a way that we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that these phrases have to him a meaning wholly different from what they have to Christians generally. Thus, if he speaks of God as our Father in heaven, he yet elsewhere denies that this is the highest idea we can form of God, or that in fact it is a true conception of God at all. For he tells us that the search of the ancient Aryans after "the *numina*" "led them as far as it has led most among ourselves, viz. to the recognition of a Father which is in heaven," and then adds : "It led them farther still."³ And what he means by this last expression he explains on the next page, where we read :

¹ In one passage Professor Müller himself seems to intimate what we believe to be the actual truth. He says (p. 286), speaking of the Vedic notions of God, "With such ideas as these springing up, . . . we should have thought that the natural development of their old religion could only have been toward monotheism, toward the worship of one personal god. . . . But it was not so." Or does he here only mean to speak of the *immediate* development, as we have it exhibited in the Brahmanas ?

² The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 286.

³ Ibid., p. 21.

"The ancients learnt, and we all of us have to learn it, that we must take out of that word 'father' one predicate after another,—all in fact, that is conceivable in it,—if we wish to apply it still to God." These words, it is true, taken by themselves, might be understood as the expression of such a view of the divine nature as that held by Christian men like Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansell,—the view since logically developed by Mr. Herbert Spencer into a complete agnosticism. But that these expressions in the present instance really indicate a *pantheistic* tendency of thought seems to us quite clear from other expressions concerning God which Professor Müller elsewhere employs. When, for example, he tells us that God is "the true Self of the world" and "the true Self of our selves," we can easily imagine ourselves transported to the banks of the Ganges, where in other days we have labored, and to be again hearing the Brahman plausibly expounding the mysteries of his theology. "The voice is Jacob's voice, though the hands are the hands of Esau." The speech is verily that of the Brahman, though the guise is the guise of a Christian. Surely, if such phrases as these—identical with what one may hear any day from the pantheists of modern India—have any meaning, they absolutely nullify the distinction between the human soul and the Supreme Spirit, and identify man as to his innermost nature with God.

In perfect accord with this same pantheistic view of the world is the conception which Professor Müller seems to have of the mutual relations of the various religions of mankind, and of them all to Christianity. It is a conception in as perfect logical harmony with pantheism as it is in absolute contrast with the whole teaching of the Christian Scriptures on this subject. Thus, for instance, he tells us with approval how the Hindus when they learned that all the *devas* "were merely names of the one, the highest Self" did not therefore "curse their names or break the altars of the gods they had formerly adored;"¹ as if idolatry were not sin, and all

¹ The Origin and Growth of Religion, p. 331.

altars had an equal moral right to stand. And so again, a little further on, he formally argues that as God is like a father, therefore all forms of worship, so they are sincere, must be alike acceptable to him, whether they happen to be Christian or not. "Does a father mind by what strange . . . name his child may call him, when he is for the first time trying to call him by any name? . . . And if one child calls us by one name and another by another, do we blame him? Do we insist on uniformity?"¹ In this most plausible use of a false analogy in pleading for a charitable judgment upon the Hindu religion, with its pantheism and idolatry, we are again reminded how often when talking with the Brahmans we have heard from them the self-same argument, urged by like false analogies, in behalf of their ancestral faith; the same specious pleading for the essential truth of *all* religions, even of those which might seem to be most opposed. *Sabhì mat sach hain*, "all religions are true"; *Wahì ek hai; nāmhi men bhed hai*, "He is One; the difference is only in the name." We listen and wonder, and are perplexed: Can this be a *Brahman* who is speaking in Westminster Abbey?

In quite another way these pleadings of Professor Müller in tones so full of universal love and charity in behalf of the religion of India, remind us also of other words learned long ago in childhood, words which declare a very different judgment of idolatry and pantheism. They too are ancient, and go back at least to Vedic days. For it is written in the law of Moses that "God spake all these words, saying, . . . Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments."²

What in fact the personal beliefs of Professor Müller may

¹ *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 355.

² *Ex. xx. 1-6.*



be, whether or not he believes the law of Moses and the words of our blessed Lord to be final and infallible truth, we know not. We well know, and rejoice in the knowledge, that the heart is often far nearer right than the head; that many a man has been at heart true in supreme love and loyalty to Jesus Christ when yet his philosophy, although he could not see it, directly contradicted Christ's teachings. We do not therefore take it upon ourselves to judge the author of these lectures. That were wholly wrong. But we cannot help forming and expressing a judgment on these lectures, as indeed every intelligent man who reads them may be expected to do. And passing that judgment, we are compelled to say that, if we have not wholly misunderstood the views which they expound, they stand in irreconcilable contradiction to the teaching of our Lord and his apostles, both in their teaching as to the origin and growth of religion, and as to the nature of the Supreme Being. If we have misunderstood them, and this is really a mistaken judgment, yet still we have to complain of the use of a phraseology which is, in that case, so utterly misleading. Whatever Professor Müller may have intended, there can, as it seems to us, be no doubt that the whole tenor of these lectures is in favor of the pantheistic view of God and of the world. This is most significantly witnessed by the popularity of the work among the natives of India referred to at the beginning of this article. That Hindus, wedded to their pantheism and idolatry, utterly averse to Christianity, should labor and contribute so heartily to have them made accessible to their own people in their vernaculars, is a fact which speaks very little for them as an exposition of doctrine consistent with the Christian religion. We more than suspect that although the language was foreign, yet Professor Müller's expressions, and many even of his arguments, have sounded most natural and familiar to his Hindu interpreters; and that, whatever the actual intention of these lectures may have been, they have seemed to these intellectual and discerning Hindus to be a learned and most gratifying apology for their ancestral faith.

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ARTICLE VII.

LUTHER AND HIS WORK.

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THE greatest movement of modern times is the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which began in Germany, and spread at length to every nation in Europe. The originator of the revolution in Germany, and its principal figure for more than a quarter of a century, was Martin Luther. No one can worthily describe the Reformation without assigning the first and most significant place to Luther and his work. And no man can speak intelligibly of Luther who does not dwell on this grand religious revolution. In its initial stages and primitive forms Luther is the Reformation embodied and in elemental ferment. And on the other hand, the Reformation is Luther's deeply scored mark upon the fortunes of Europe and the human race. So indissolubly are they connected in reality and in the thoughts of men.

The general movement throughout Protestant Christendom to mark with special recognition and suitable honors the fourth centennial of the birth of such a man is most deserved and appropriate. And it is as fit for us, in this new world all unknown at his birth, as for his own countrymen and descendants. The work which he began was hemmed in by no national boundaries, by no mountain ranges, by no ocean shores; its benefits were confined to no limits of time, to no single people or tongue. We who dwell in these latter days, whether in Europe or America, we all breathe an atmosphere which was cleared by that convulsion, and which is vital still with the original forces of that age; and Luther's was the spirit that raised the storm, his the thunder that pealed, his the lightnings that leaped and flashed. The

German people cannot justly claim Luther as all their own. They wrong his memory and limit his fame when they extol him simply as a great patriot,— to the German nation what Washington is to America. It was for Christendom that he spoke and toiled; and it is the whole Protestant world that has reaped the fruits of his labor, and that speaks his praise. The principal features of our modern life, those that have most worth, that hold within them most of hope and promise, can be traced directly to the Reformation, and to those parts of it in which Luther broke the way.

In the complex results of that revolution we find the work and trace the influence of many men, and they men of noble stature and of splendid gifts. But we cast no dispraise on any other one among all the heroic figures that fill that age, when we sing first and foremost the name and deeds of Martin Luther. He moved first and alone, at the sole call of conscience and of God, where many others pressed quickly after, and grandly took up the cause. His voice broke the silence, while as yet not another soul was impelled to speak. And when death was the alternative he stood by his words, and made it safe in all Europe to keep one's conscience and abide by the word of God. Many others took up his cry, and it ran throughout Christendom as if angels were its messengers, and filled every court and city and home with its lofty cheer. And this wide and prompt response was no small part of the providential preparation for this great crisis. The Reformation could not have come and taken root and wielded its power, if Melancthon and Zwingli and Calvin and Knox, if Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse and William of Orange, and a host besides, had not in their several ways wrought thereto. But we may say with almost the same propriety that there would have been no Reformation for these men to preach and champion into reality and external strength if Luther's God-given faith and courage had not led the way, and sounded the trumpet, and faced pope and emperor in the very seats of their power. That inspiring example was a moral necessity, to rally the healthy parts of

European society and fire them with enthusiasm in the work of reform. We shall never know how much we owe to those historic scenes at Wittenberg and Leipsic and Worms. Their meaning is quite beyond our poor words to utter. Europe became thereby another world in which to live and toil, and human nature seemed a nobler gift of God. Those glorious thunder-peals rived the darkness that oppressed the nations, and millions of human hearts leaped to life and liberty at that call. And the precise gloom that then rested like a pall upon the world never again shall fill the spaces of this earth or crush the souls of men.

The statue of Luther in the noble monument at Worms, amid the figures of theologians and reformers, of cities and princes, stands colossal and supreme. It is a grand embodiment of a most significant fact. In that great movement many men co-operated, forces of many kinds were combined, results in many fields have been realized. But high above all else the form and genius of Luther tower, and the revolution finds in him its centre and its crown.

A rapid sketch of the main epochs of Luther's life will aid us in recognizing the providential aspects of his career, and in estimating aright his character and special services to his own age and to subsequent times. Three periods may be quite distinctly marked: the first, from his birth to the beginning of the Reformation, from 1483 to 1517; the second, from the posting of the propositions respecting Indulgences to the Peasants' War, from 1517 to 1525; the third, from this beginning of political complications to his death, from 1525 to 1546. The first period is one of training and preparation; the second is the revolutionary and destructive epoch; the third is the constructive and polemic age.

The circumstances of his birth and early life have a bearing upon his career and influence sufficient to call our special attention to them. A genuine peasant, the descendant of a long line of peasants, he inherited nothing which especially fitted him for his later life save the elements of our common human nature in an unusually vigorous and unperverted

state. He was prepared to stand before princes and bishops and learned men by nothing which birth can give or station confer. His reliance, of necessity, was upon the native powers and rights of the human soul and the providence of God. This Saxon David met the papal and imperial Goliath full panoplied, with naught but his sling and stone and shepherd's staff, and in the name of God wounded the hoary giant unto death. Inured to poverty and hardship, often subjected to harsh discipline at home, at school, in the university, and in the cloister, he knew the sterner side of life from long and bitter experience. The four years at the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach and the four years following at the University of Erfurt developed his rare mental powers and his rich social qualities, and won him many friends and warm commendations. At the completion of his studies he seemed to be on the high road to fame as a humanist and philosopher.

It is here at Erfurt, when about twenty years of age, that he first saw and read the Bible as a whole; and this was the marked beginning of his deeper religious experience. Moved by the deep truths of Scripture, by his own illness, by the sudden death of a near friend, and by a growing sense of sin, he gives up all his flattering worldly prospects, and, against the protest of his father and of many friends, enters the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. There by penances and mortifications, by fastings and vigils and scourgings, through mental struggles and spiritual agony which none can know but those who have come to peace by the same hard road, he wrestles desperately with the problem of personal salvation. "I wore out my body," he says, "with vigils and fastings, and hoped thus to satisfy the law and deliver my conscience from the sting of guilt." "I had a broken spirit and was ever in sorrow." He is profoundly in earnest, and will consent to no superficial and perfunctory relief. The hard yoke of the law oppresses him; his sense of sin is deep; the helplessness of his own soul drives him to despair. The Bible enlightens, but does not soothe him. The fathers deepen his

sense of sin and moral weakness. The church opens no effectual door of peace with God ; its penances are mechanical ; its absolution does not reach his soul or relieve the burden on his heart.

The way of true peace by personal access to God he finds out for himself, by slow and painful steps. An aged brother in the monastery comforts him by the words of the Apostles' Creed : " I believe in the forgiveness of sins." The friendly words of the vicar-general of his order point him more plainly to the grace of the gospel. Augustine was a spiritual light in those days of gloom. Above all, the biblical sentence, " The just shall live by faith," rang in his ears and resounded in his soul, and became the clue by which he was led into the peace of God. His ordination to the priesthood in 1507, and his appointment to a professorship of philosophy in the University of Wittenberg in the following year, occur in the midst of this great spiritual struggle, and even give a deeper tone to his cry for deliverance. In 1511 he goes to Rome on a personal and official errand, to be completely disillusionized and scandalized by what he heard and saw in the holy city. This visit was of inestimable value to him in his later duel with the papacy ; and it became also the crisis of his religious experience. Faithfully he performs the appointed penances and vows ; diligently he visits the sacred shrines, but all in vain. Rome had no cure for a sin-sick soul. And at last, on his way homeward, the gracious truth that our sins are pardoned, not because of the works which we have done, not because of any priestly intercession or human merit, but because of God's free unbounded love, on the sole condition of faith, broke upon his mind and scattered all his doubts and fears. Face to face with God in Jesus Christ this poor soul stood, thrilled with the glorious truth and immovably possessed of the peace of God, which had come to him without priest or churchly aid, or sacrament, or work of merit, vouchsafed to faith alone.

That was the supreme epoch in Luther's inner life. From the truth and hope and glorious joy of that hour nothing

could ever shake him, no earthly power could move him, no facts or threats or doubts could ever beat him back.

“If e’er, when faith had fallen asleep,
He heard a voice, ‘Believe no more’;
A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason’s colder part,
And like a man in wrath, the heart
Stood up and answered, ‘I have felt.’”

Luther is made a doctor of divinity in 1512, and then takes the oath which was the guiding principle of his later career: “to devote his whole life to study and faithfully expound and defend the Holy Scriptures.” These biblical studies were a great comfort to his heart and an invaluable preparation for his task as a translator; and in them the course of his training for the work of reform was brought to a fruitful and happy completion.

We have now arrived at the threshold of the Reformation, and we must leave Luther a moment in order to see where and what the great evil was which he smote and the Reformation scattered. It is easy to mistake its character, to underestimate its proportions, and thus to misjudge the movement which was directed against it.

We must always bear in mind that the revolution which Luther sets in motion was religious first and most profoundly. This is its primary character. It had political bearings of great moment; it led to many and striking political results. But it was not a political revolution which Luther inaugurated; and when the political features came to the front, his wonted sagacity and courage failed him. Literary activities prepared the way of this new age, and aided its development at many points, and Luther was in hearty sympathy with this intellectual re-awakening. But it was not in these lines that Luther wrought, it was no new age of learning for which he wrote and toiled and hazarded his life. It is just here that Luther and Erasmus stand far apart. Luther was supremely interested in religion; and because religion was in peril he broke with the old order and called for reform. Erasmus was supremely interested in studies and culture;

and because the stir of religious reform interfered with these he broke with the new and stood by the old order with all its abuses. It is easy to see that nothing less than such religious convictions as Luther's would have sufficed to front those dangers and to snap those bonds.

The church had reached a degree of formalism and tyranny which was almost the precise contradiction of its original idea and early mission. It is only by a great effort that we can at all realize the abuses and glaring corruption of doctrines that had come into the church. And it is important to observe that this state of things had been reached by a process of natural development from false principles. Doubtless there was enough of ambition and selfishness and fraud in the hierarchical conception of the church and of salvation; but it was not all that. The evils which Luther felt and resented were the fruits of a false theory of the priesthood and of the church, which arose in purer days, and had been developed into a vast system through a thousand years of custom and precedents. Clergy and laity were sharply separated, and primary access to the truth and grace of God belonged only to the former; the laity enjoyed those things through the mediation of the clergy. The church, that is the clergy, was the almoner of salvation and all divine grace, and thus the organ of the most gracious and tender and sympathetic ministries which men can ever render or receive; and by a striking course of thought and development this medium of divine grace, this nursery of human souls, had become a prison-house and dungeon and nightmare, fast-locked fetters and goading whips and torments numberless.

The sacraments were essential to salvation; the clergy alone could give validity to any of the sacraments; and thus every spiritual grace to men, even the assurance of forgiveness and the hope of eternal life, was dependent on the capricious and uncertain favor of the priest. The sacraments had been increased in number, so as to be connected with every principal epoch of human life; and at every point the fate, the eternal fate, of men seemed to hang, not upon the

boundless mercy and grace of God, but on the offices and will of fallible and selfish men. Every avenue of approach to the living God and to Jesus Christ was guarded by a sacrament and barred to all effectual entrance save through priestly intercession. And this priestly aid had fallen away from the notion of ministry into the aspect of power, and in many cases had become a mere matter of purchase and sale, as though the grace of God were at the absolute disposal of the officiating priest. Upon such and such conditions the desired blessing was to be had ; without those conditions nothing was to be had. Faith went for naught. Repentance availed nothing. Obedience was useless. Prayer could bring no peace. Worship yielded no blessing. The religious instincts of the soul were denied ; the religious sentiments were made a means of holding the soul in fetters and filling it with superstitious dread. And the whole vast and immemorial power of the papacy and the hierarchy rested on this claim. It was a divine ordinance that the matter of salvation should be thus arranged. To break through this order was resistance not only to the authority of the church, but also to the will of God.

It is scarcely possible to conceive how complete a contradiction of the substance and spirit of the gospel had thus been effected, how absolute and hopeless was the authority that fettered the souls of men, that degraded the social instincts, that cast contempt on the family and on the state. The system of indulgences, by which for certain meritorious acts or for the payment of certain sums of money immunity from the consequences of sin could be secured for one's self, or for others, was an apt embodiment of the complete externalizing of religion, and of the utter secularizing of most holy offices which this order of things had produced. In it the course of development in false doctrine and evil practice had run its full round, and the unbought grace of God had become a ware in the market, to be knocked down by shameless hands to the highest bidder, without the slightest trace of spiritual life, or moral impulse anywhere to be discerned.

It is true that all this contradicted the original doctrines of the church, and was disowned in principle ; and many within the church held to the truth and had spiritual communion with God. Luther deemed himself to be walking in the very path which the church approved, and never once dreamed that in seeking immediate access to God, and when he had found it in preaching this as the duty of all men, he was overstepping the bounds of churchly orthodoxy and leading in the greatest revolution of the ages. The best traditions and the purest lives of the Catholic church for sixteen centuries were all on Luther's side. He might well have expected that nothing could be needed for his vindication but to point out his harmony with the Scriptures and with this purer strain in the Christian life of the ages.

The historical connection of the sale of indulgences with the outbreak of the Reformation is by no means accidental or arbitrary. In this practice the core of the evils which rested upon the church was brought to expression in a concrete and palpable form. And Luther's personal experience precisely fitted him to discern and expose this abuse. And by a remarkable series of events the discovery of this error led to the detection of other errors, and the clue led on from these to others still, until at last the whole network of mediaeval corruption in doctrine and practice was laid bare to the view of all. By this system of indulgences conscience was offended and outraged ; and Luther was a man to whom compromise in such a case was simply impossible. When this evil crossed Luther's path, the old and the new stood face to face ; instinctively they grappled, and it was a life and death struggle with which all Europe was rocked.

When indulgences are brought near to Wittenberg, and those who have bought them come to Luther, to the confessional over which he presides, relying on these dismal wares for forgiveness rather than on God's mercy, Luther is scandalized and outraged. He stoutly refuses to absolve men unless they show penitence and promise amendment. He appeals to the elector against this abuse. He applies to the

bishops to silence this blasphemy. He preaches and protests and argues and admonishes. And at last, when all else is fruitless, he draws up ninety-five propositions defining the virtue of indulgences, and posts them on the door of the castle church of Wittenberg; and the die of the Reformation is cast.

It is worth while to observe the facts at this point somewhat carefully. Luther is not aiming at a reformation of the church, but at the suppression of an outrageous abuse. He speaks for the church against an evil which insults her fair name. He does not mean to thrust himself forward, or to make a stir of any kind, but to hush the voice of blasphemy and deception. His conscience drives him forward. His duty as a Christian pastor compels him to speak. He fears God and loves men's souls and hates falsehood too much to keep still while such shameful blasphemy and ruin of souls are going on. His theses are not half so revolutionary as his motive in drawing them and his firmness in defending them. He spoke the truth as God had given him to see it, and had made him to experience it; and he became a reformer and liberator of Germany because he would not take back one word of truth which he had uttered. He spoke and acted for himself alone. He meant simply to keep peace with conscience and with God. But in order to do that, as Providence had ordered events, he must encounter the church and the pope, the state and the emperor, and stand alone against them all.

The logic of the case was very simple and obvious. Tetzels work was ruining men's souls and dishonoring God; there was nothing for a Christian man to do but to condemn that work and at all hazards bring it to deserved shame. If Tetzels stood by his work when reproved, then Tetzels must be resisted and exposed as an enemy of God and the church. If bishops and cardinals came to Tetzels rescue, still the truth must be spoken, and they must be rebuked. If the pope upheld these deceivers and justified the shameful iniquity, then, whatever it may cost, Luther must free his conscience,

and stand by the gospel against pope and cardinals and bishops and the whole force of a corrupt and blaspheming church. The path was as straight and plain as any that ever opened before the foot of man. But it was a path in every age untrod save by those elect souls who look on death with tearless eye and march unfaltering to prison and scaffold and stake. And it is Luther's glory that his brave heart never once relented, as step by step he advanced alone along that ominous path, and saw at last to what a perilous issue he was approaching. Who can ever tell how much we owe to this one man's truth and loyalty! That path which he entered with such alacrity and trod at such a risk and with such high devotion must be entered then, or the gloom would deepen, the fetters tighten, and the hope of deliverance be long delayed or quite withdrawn. With every breath of freedom increases our debt to him. With all the fruits of peace which the gospel yields in myriads of human hearts and homes his praise is mingled and his influence is are spread.

The Leipsic disputation of 1519 was most important to Luther and his cause. It forced him to see, what he had been very loth to acknowledge, that the pope might be in the wrong, and that loyalty to conscience might drive him to throw off allegiance to the papacy. In previous negotiations he had pledged himself to desist from all discussion if his assailants would do the same; and he was thus in a false and untenable position. Dr. Eck happily released him by renewing the attack upon him at Leipsic. And then, before a great public assembly, with a cunning and plausible but not able antagonist, Luther had the opportunity to renew his criticism of errors, and to speak out more boldly on the unscriptural pretensions of the papacy. It was here that Luther openly justified certain opinions of John Huss, and arraigned the Council of Constance for its treatment of Huss. This discussion and the correspondence which followed compelled deeper historical investigations, and revealed in new light the errors and corruptions of the church, and prepared Luther to contemplate the necessity of separating himself from it.

After long debate and agitation the papal bolt fell, and Luther was cut off from the communion of the Catholic church. He made the breach final by burning the bull of excommunication and renouncing allegiance to the pope and making his appeal to a general council. It is not long before he advanced from this ground, and planted himself on the Scriptures and the rights of conscience. Popes have erred. Councils have erred. Only the word of God and conscience are always binding, and there is no safety to any soul in neglecting these. Hear Luther's shrill voice insisting: "Thou must be as certain of the matter, that it is the word of God, as thou art certain that thou livest, and even more certain, for on this alone must thy conscience rest. . . . Dost thou stand upon pope and councils? then the devil may at once knock a hole in thee, and insinuate, 'How, if it were false? how, if they have erred'? Then thou art laid low at once; therefore thou must bring conscience into play, that thou mayest boldly and defiantly say, 'That is God's word; on that I will risk body and life and a hundred thousand necks, if I had them.'"

When the pope could do no more the emperor took it up. The German nation was in sympathy with Luther, and the pope's ban was harmless. If the civil power did not come to the rescue Luther had won in the quarrel. Accordingly this matter was taken up sharply at the Diet of Worms, in 1521, where the young Spanish emperor, Charles V., first met the German estates. But the German princes had too many grievances of their own against the pope to relish the business of outlawing Luther; and Charles found that he must proceed cautiously. Luther is summoned to Worms, under the imperial protection, to give an account of himself before the Diet; and he promptly responds against many friendly warnings, fully convinced in his own mind that the fate of Huss and Jerome at Constance awaits him there. When the time arrives for him to appear before the emperor he commits himself to God "with strong crying and tears," and with his life in his hand stands alone in the presence of that

august assembly. Being asked if a pile of books lying there are his, he acknowledges them all. When required to retract what he had said in them, he asks time to consider his answer, and is dismissed until the following day. That interval he spends, not in composing his defence, not in examining his works, but in prayer and communion with God to strengthen himself for the deadly hour that is drawing on. At his second appearance he is required to give answer, without discussion, whether he will retract the things condemned in his writings. Then, first in Latin, and afterwards in German, he speaks the words which alone of all that were uttered in that grand assemblage are immortal. He describes his works; he acknowledges human infirmities; he professes himself ready to be corrected by argument and from the Scriptures. And in the true heroic strain he concludes: "I cannot and will not retract anything; for to act against conscience is unsafe and unholy. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen."

Who can tell what struggles of soul came upon him in that crucial hour? Life was as sweet to him as to any one of us. And life and honor and ease were his to command for one word of compliance. How many easier paths must have opened to his thoughts from that perilous place! And he turned away from them all to keep truth with conscience and with God. After that decisive step there was no further agony for him in axe or stake. It is doubtful if the earth has witnessed another scene in mortal life more full of greatness and sublimity. There are gathered the emperor, the papal legate, the great estates of the empire, the glory and strength of church and state. Here stands one poor monk alone, against them all. They bid him retract at peril of his life. He says that he must obey conscience and that he cannot retract; and steadfastly he marches forth to death. He cannot prove false to duty, but he can face death in God's behalf. What wonder that Germany idolized this glorious soul! What wonder that the generations have enshrined his name in gratitude and perpetual honor! What wonder that

so many nations and tongues unite to celebrate his birth and speak his growing praise! "If these should hold their peace, the very stones would cry out." Lowell's verse needs scarce a change to fit the case:

"Life may be given in many ways,
And loyalty to Truth be sealed
As bravely in the closet as the field,
So bountiful is Fate;
But then to stand beside her
When craven churls deride her,
To front a lie *enthroned* and not to yield,
This shows, methinks, God's plan
And measure of a stalwart man,
Limbed like the old heroic breeds,
Who stands self-poised on manhood's solid earth,
Not forced to frame excuses for his birth —
Fed from within with all the strength he needs."

The ban of the empire, which quickly follows the scene at Worms, becomes the critical question in the political fortunes of Germany for many years, and the movement ceases to be so nearly personal and assumes broader relations and a new direction. At a critical moment he comes forth from the exile in the Wartburg, where he had found personal safety, deeply needed rest for mind and heart, and opportunity for a broader view of the whole situation, to reassume the leadership at Wittenberg in a new character and to display courage and ability of the very highest order. A fanatical element has thrust itself in there, which threatens to drive the movement into wild excess and anarchy. Still under the ban, without legal protection of any kind, he boldly comes to Wittenberg, faces the false prophets and confounds them, preaches and labors incessantly for eight days, till the popular tumult is calmed and the Reformation is permanently rescued from this fanatical direction.

The centre and most active part of Luther's life lies between the years 1517 and 1525, that is, between the posting of the theses and the Peasants' War, when the Reformation has assumed force as a recognized and progressive movement in the empire and in Europe. These eight years were full to

overflowing with great deeds, with rapid movement, with incessant writing, with public speech, with innumerable letters and conferences and plans. During these years Luther is the leader, the centre, the soul of the movement; his personal fortunes are bound up with the progress of the reform. After this he continues to be a prominent figure; but others stand beside him and share his labors and contribute much to the work. The new age is born, and under many hands is gradually gathering order and method and the means of growth.

As political questions come to be mingled more and more with the new movement Luther is involved in these, but shows to much less advantage than in his religious duels with the pope and the emperor. In the Peasants' War he speaks wise and brave words to both peasants and princes; but before long he gives up the cause of the peasants, so nearly connected with his own, and urges on the bloody suppression of their revolt. The attempt to form a defensive league of German princes and cities against the emperor Luther hindered for many years. The efforts at union between the German and Swiss evangelicals is wrecked by Luther's distrust and obstinacy. The Smalcald League of 1531 is formed without Luther's approval, although the dangers to the Reformation compelled him to withdraw his active opposition. In truth, in all political matters Luther lacked confidence and insight and courage; he often looked with suspicion, not to say dread, on the very measures which were giving peace to Germany and strength to the Reformation. He was trained for the work of religious reform; there he was at home, self-possessed, easily first in wisdom and boldness and power. For civil affairs he had no taste, no training, no special gifts, and some very obvious disqualifications. And it is these things which cloud the last period of Luther's life, and cast a certain dimness on the glory of his name and deeds. Ill health, the natural disappointments of reformers, a growing sense that matters had gone beyond his control and were moving irregularly: these things also

make Luther's later years relatively dark and painful. And yet his activity in writing and teaching and preaching was most remarkable, and his services to the evangelical cause in these ways quite to the end of his life were simply beyond estimate. The doctrinal basis of the reformed churches, the revised liturgy, manuals of religious instruction for both public and domestic use, hymns and tunes for public worship, and above all the Sacred Scriptures speaking in the vernacular the wonderful works of God: these are some of the ways in which Luther's later labors greatly served his generation and laid the deep foundations of the reformed church. The prayer with which he fell asleep at Eisleben, in 1546, well illustrates the guiding spirit of his life, and is an edifying utterance of Christian faith: "Heavenly Father, eternal, merciful God, thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Him I have taught; him I have confessed; him I love as my Saviour and Redeemer, whom the wicked persecute, dishonor, and reprove. Take my poor soul up to thee!"

There are certain aspects of Luther's life and character which demand more careful examination and fuller statement, and from this study we shall derive a more distinct view of his place and significance in human history.

And the first thing that we note is the striking contrasts in his personal fortunes. He is born a peasant; he is reared amid hardships as one of the common people. He comes to stand before kings and counsellors, and is a leader among the greatest men of his age. He is a charity scholar and a monk. He becomes a great and honored doctor in the university, the head of a happy family, the centre of troops of friends in many lands. He suffers the anathema of the pope, the ban of the empire, as an outcast of his generation. He comes to be the idol of his own nation, the heart of a movement which cleaves the pope's obedience in twain and shivers the emperor's sword. And what he thus wrought he wrought by virtue of his simple manhood under the providence of God. Nothing arbitrary or adventitious contributed

to his greatness and his power. The spectacle is most suggestive and inspiring.

“O Truth! O Freedom! how are ye still born
In the rude stable, in the manger nursed!
What humble hands unbar those gates of morn
Through which the splendors of the new day burst!”

Luther had a remarkable power over men, and often made the deepest personal impressions. The range of his sympathies was very wide, and his natural interest in men was keen and deep. He understood the life and needs of the common people to perfection, and never lost his hold upon them. At the same time his intellectual gifts commanded the respect of the learned, and among scholars and courtiers he was at home and easily a principal figure. His personal influence probably reached a greater number of people of all ranks than that of any other man of his age. The electors of Saxony were his fast friends and admirers. His colleagues and pupils at Wittenberg stood by him as one man. The pupils at the university doubled in numbers within three years from the posting of the theses. The life-long friendship of Luther and Melancthon is proverbial, and is most honorable to both. At Leipsic Von Hutten's heart is taken by storm, and he offers the support of his sword and pen to every step the Saxon Doctor might wish to take. Caietan, at Augsburg, is dazed and confounded by “the wild beast with strange eyes” whom he came to rebuke, but cannot silence by his authority. The march to Worms was a triumphal procession; enthusiasm and personal love gathered around him all the way; and the sight of his heroism was a fresh revelation of the godlike in man to many and many a soul. The great men of the empire at the Diet were won and charmed, against their will, as the solitary monk, who had braved all the thunders of Rome, calmly faced the bolts of the empire also, and bade them do their worst.

One of the most noticeable qualifications of Luther as a reformer is the gradualness of his own enlightenment, the deliberateness of his personal progress in evangelical ideas.

And this is also the secret of his power over the men of his times, and of that remarkable enthusiasm which attended the early days of the Reformation. Each further step to which he urges the people is a step which he himself has just taken ; and it is with all the ardor of a new conviction that he summons others to his side. This is an eminent gift of successful leadership, and was a providential preparation of Luther for his great career. He discovers errors one by one ; he sees the bearing of his fundamental truth more and more widely ; and his own mind is all the time on fire with these discoveries, and the flame spreads nimbly and far. Providentially he began with the deep facts of personal experience. The great truth that God for Christ's sake forgives men's sins upon the sole condition of faith, he learned by the divine operations within his own soul. From this truth he advances to the clearing up of the whole field of Christian life and doctrine ; and here he always feels beneath his feet the solid ground of Scripture and experience, perfectly answering to each other and yielding unshaken peace to his soul.

Luther's superior powers of mind are often lost sight of in the greater attention which his career as a reformer attracts. Undoubtedly the exigencies of his life forced out an unusual growth and productiveness of his mental gifts, as is often the case ; but unquestionably his was one of the most powerful intellects of that most intellectual age. Indeed, we do not hesitate to claim for him a high place among the great minds of all nations and of all time. His career at the university, both as pupil and as professor, was a most brilliant one, and gave promise of the very highest success in literature and philosophy. His writings cover a wide range of poetry, and philosophy, and interpretation, and theology, and popular address, and pamphlet, and correspondence ; and his productions in any one of these lines alone would have brought him distinction. In the course of events he is brought into contact, either friendly or hostile, with the greatest men of all parties in civil and in ecclesiastical life, and he always appears to advantage ; usually he quite outshines his com-

panions. He was a powerful debater, whom his papal antagonists soon learned to dread for his sheer intellectual force. As Döllinger says: "Everything which his opponents had to offer showed itself tame and powerless and colorless by the side of his sweeping eloquence. They stammered; he spoke with the tongue of an orator. It is he only who has stamped the imperishable seal of his own soul alike upon the German language and upon the German mind."

His mind is very original, and works with great and untiring energy. It is amazing to read that in the year 1522 he produced one hundred and thirty-two different treatises, and eighty-three in the following year. And while many of these are tracts for the times, or letters, ephemeral in value, an unusually large number are of permanent worth, and have attained lasting celebrity. His work is original and creative, rather than systematizing and scientific. He gives out truth in concrete forms, in elemental germs, in quickening suggestions, in deep thoughts and seminal truths. The crude materials of systems he furnishes in great abundance and richness, and opens most fruitful veins and inexhaustible quarries, which have been worked for centuries, and out of which noble systems have arisen. But heart and conscience are supreme in Luther; the intellect is a servant and capable minister to the needs of the religious life. And when the demands of conscience are met, the intellect rests; he never uses his mental power for its own sake. There is nothing in him to remind us of Abelard or Aquinas, little that resembles Calvin. His prototypes are rather Paul and Augustine and Anselm, in whom a supreme intellect serves the demands of the moral nature, and displays its grand powers in this service.

There are obvious limitations and deficiencies in Luther's character and deeds, and a consideration of these is essential to a just estimate of the man and his influence. Some of these are attached to the very circumstances of his birth and training. He was born and educated in the Middle Ages. He grew up a devout Catholic, loyal to the papacy, steeped

in scholastic philosophy, a most zealous monk. It would be quite unreasonable to expect that he would wholly emancipate himself from these plastic influences under which the first half of his life was spent. His timidity and want of sagacity in the political aspects of the revolution, which we have already noted, are largely traceable to these facts. The small pains which he took to provide for the external order and discipline of the reformed churches and his excessive deference to the secular magistrates in these matters are to be explained in the same way.

He was capable of strong animosities as well as of firm friendship, and his antipathies were sometimes most unfortunate and ill-advised. The union of Swiss and German Protestants was wrecked on this account. The opposition of Henry of England and of Erasmus was needlessly sharpened and embittered by Luther's temper and prejudice. The delay of close and effective union among the Protestant princes of Germany was due in no small degree to the same cause. Luther was not easily tolerant of opinions that differed from his own, and this infirmity grew upon him with his years. The roughness and violence of expression which often mark his controversial utterances were due partly to a fault and partly to a necessity of the times. As Melancthon said, in his funeral address: "God has given to this last time, on account of the greatness of its diseases, a sharp physician." It was a revolutionary epoch; inveterate evils were to be attacked, tyranny in high places was to be overthrown. Ordinary means would not suffice. He who would be heard and felt must make his words blows, and his deeds thunder-peals. When the fight is on, the time for soft speech is past. When God inspires a man to break the fetters of ages and clear the ground for better growths, it is small wonder if his voice is shrill, if his strokes crush everything before them. Much of what might otherwise be charged to him as a fault of temper and vehement passion, and into which it is undoubtedly true that something of human infirmity did enter, in view of the times and of the work he was set to do, must

be reckoned as a prime element of his greatness, and a principal part of his providential furnishing for his mission.

Luther's work was both critical and constructive. He has won the greatest fame by his revolutionary words and deeds; he has wrought the most permanent benefits by the positive products of his life and thoughts. His course in destructive criticism and open revolt from established authority is quickly run, sometimes with vehemence, occasionally with a heat that borders close upon fanaticism, always under the impulse of conscience and Christian faith; but in a way that was simply necessary and not to be avoided. His constructive genius, however, is equally marked, and after his escape from the Wartburg comes distinctly to the front. He is conservative and law-abiding by nature. Nothing but necessity, the claims of conscience, drives him forward in his progressive attacks upon the papacy and mediaeval doctrine. For a time, when dangerous and inveterate errors are to be exposed and overcome, he makes himself into a very whirlwind, and storms and shrieks and sweeps down everything before him, until it seems as if old chaos would come again. But that work once done, all this vehemence is laid aside; he wreathes his brow with peace, and moves abroad the speaking image of calm persuasive reason. Of the folly which we sometimes see exemplified and commended, of radicalism for the sake of being radical, he shows no trace and he can never be quoted as an example. He tears down what interferes with conscience and loyalty to God's truth; he makes room for faith to breathe and flourish. What then remains of the old he leaves undisturbed; he builds anew simply where it is needful, and aims as quickly as possible to re-establish order and promote peace. Indeed, if we must find a weakness or excess in Luther here, on one side or on the other, we shall be obliged to say that he kept too much of the old order rather than that he brought in too much of the new.

Erasmus praises learning and quiet, and shrinks in alarm from the tumult in which Luther moved and seemed to exult. Luther also loved quiet and peace, and of his own choice had

never entered into strifes. But there were some things which he valued more than peace, or quiet studies, or personal ease; things for which the heavy price of tumult and conflicts and life itself might well be paid. Truth and loyalty to God, room for faith and the Christian life, an open Bible and a pure church, are more indispensable than liberal studies; and for these a path must be opened at any cost. It were better that all things should be shaken to their foundations for a few years, than that religion should perish, and with it art and culture and liberty and manhood. I do not attempt to state our debt to Erasmus, which is real and great, but I know that our debt to Luther is many times as great.

Probably the greatest service which Luther rendered to the church and to the ages is the restoration of the Scriptures to their original place of honor and authority. He almost literally brings the Bible to light and restores its vanished power. He does not simply make it the standard of religious truth, in place of the church and the schoolmen, a prodigious service; he also makes it to speak in the familiar language of daily life, in the very words of the market, the street, and the home. It would be most interesting, and not very difficult, to trace the direct and wide-spread intellectual results of the general diffusion of the Bible in the native tongues of the European states which followed this beginning. The church, with its fixed doctrines based on human authority, from which no one could dissent even on Scriptural grounds without incurring the hazards of heresy, had stifled investigation, had fettered reason, and reduced the grand science of theology to a jejune repetition of antiquated thoughts and formulas. When Luther boldly appealed to the Bible and shook off the nightmare of scholasticism, he did more than bring the Bible to light; he reasserted the rights of reason, and gave a powerful impulse to a true and progressive theology. He made the Bible the religious textbook of the Christian world; he set the human mind aglow with desire to sound the depths of this wonderful book, to interpret life and duty and history in the light of this divine

revelation, to search for truth in every field, and reduce it all to a divine harmony. It is doubtful if a more powerful impulse to a broad and fruitful use of the human mind has ever come from any source in any age.

It is sometimes objected that Protestantism has simply substituted the authority of a book for the authority of the church; and that this is only a change of masters without any real gain. But this saying is much more sharp than wise. When the facts of the case are considered, the gain of Luther's appeal from the church to the Bible is simply prodigious, the danger infinitesimal. The Bible had been reckoned authoritative in all matters of faith and practice from the earliest days; and Luther simply reasserted a forgotten or neglected truth against manifest and dangerous innovation. And no man who expects to be heeded will venture to affirm that the authority of the Bible now rests on men's consciences and hearts, a nightmare and crushing despotism such as the papal church of Luther's day unquestionably was. Christian life may be much less pure and aggressive than it ought to be, Christian thought may fail in force and fruitfulness, but it will scarcely be thought that these things are due to the incubus of an authoritative Bible.

It is a fair question whether Luther's treatment of inspiration and of the canon of Scripture is fully wrought out, and does not rather partake in an extreme way of the one-sided tendency into which his doctrinal discussions often fall. Great care is requisite in studying his writings, not to press single judgments and hasty utterances beyond their legitimate meaning. If we take all that he says on these subjects and place it together, and, qualifying part by part, ascertain his precise teaching, we shall find that he does not distinctly propose a new canon of Scripture, and that he stands firmly by the principle of the exclusive authority of Scripture as the rule of faith. Faith, that is Christian experience, recognizes the authority of Scripture, and as an ever new product of divine grace exactly answers to the unchanging and ever-living word of God. The conception of faith as an indepen-

dent source of religious knowledge, equal or even superior to Scripture, so that Scripture may be judged by it and made needless by it, Luther rejects and condemns. Faith aids us in determining what is Holy Scripture, and also in ascertaining the meaning of Scripture; but it is dependent on the divine word and can never dispense with its aid.

Luther reasserts the usurped rights of the laity and the essential equality of all Christian believers. He reverts to the primitive order and the apostolic definitions against the usage and accepted doctrines of all the intervening centuries. He smites ecclesiasticism in its vital feature, and fundamentally overthrows spiritual despotism in every form. All believers are spiritual persons, and all Christian acts are spiritual acts; and there is in this respect no difference between the laity and the clergy. The right of reform rests with the whole Christian society, and equally with each member thereof. Christian princes may initiate reform if the officers of the church fail of their duty. Any layman may point out evils and call for their correction; and if his voice is not heeded he may join with others and carry the matter before a general council or to the Christian magistrates. The office of the ministry is for the help of Christian people in the right preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, and for that alone. The papacy is unscriptural and should be abolished; bishops are needless, and it is safer to dispense with them. This was a radical revolution in the idea and order of the church, and has had the widest consequences in the growth of religious liberty.

It is the right of every soul to know the Scriptures and to interpret them for himself. Hear him on this point; "The Romanists say, 'How can we know what is God's word, and what is true or false? We must learn it from the pope and the councils.' Very well, let them decree and say what they will, still say I, thou canst not rest thy confidence thereon nor satisfy thy conscience; thou must thyself decide; thy neck is at stake, thy life is at stake. Wherefore must God say to thee in thine heart, 'This is God's word,' else it

is undecided." This is the right of private judgment in its amplest terms. Luther did not see this principle fully carried out; it is doubtful if he saw how far it would reach, and he would probably have shrunk from some of its practical applications. But we owe to him its bold announcement and its first successful assertion.

Care must be taken lest an unwarranted inference be drawn from Luther's frequent and energetic assertion of the authority of conscience, the competency of faith to determine doctrine. By conscience Luther usually means the awakened moral reason, by means of which we know God, and are said to be in his image and are capable of communion with him. This is the faculty in us to which revelation is addressed, by which Scripture is understood and interpreted, and through which Christian experience unfolds. Faith is the right use of this power when it is turned toward the word and truth of God; and by means of faith, which is a personal act, every Christian is competent to receive all other divine gifts, is able to interpret the Scriptures and avail himself of their authority. But faith finds its content in the Scriptures and the facts to which they point; and Christian experience is a continued reflection of the Scriptures, an ever fresh witness to the truth of the Scriptures which it is all the time realizing and appropriating. It is the false and tyrannical authority of the papal church which Luther is seeking to offset by his doctrine of faith, or the Christian conscience, not at all the authority of the Bible itself. The Scriptures are discerned as the true word of God by the perfect answer which arises to them within the Christian heart and experience; and this experience is continually expanding under the guidance of Scripture, and at the same time is continually attesting anew and with deeper confidence the divine authority of those Scriptures.

Luther's example gives not the faintest warrant to those who ask the liberty of indulging speculations that lie outside the historic faith of the church and are unwarranted by the word of God. He introduced no novelties of doctrine, but

sought to restore the ancient faith. He broke with errors and abuses that were hoary with age and fortified by immemorial custom. The subtleties and speculations of the schoolmen he cast aside, in order that the unperverted speech of the apostles and fathers might be heard once more. The church of his day had departed from the faith and spirit of the Scriptures. Luther's God-enlightened mind and heart discovered the apostasy, pointed it out, laid it bare, and led men's thoughts back to the pure word of God and to the life that is fed thereby. The whole movement was toward the Scriptures, and not away from them; everything was in the interest of a biblical, not a speculative faith. Human invention had built a purgatory, and had bridged thereby the gulf that yawns between heaven and hell, and had opened the way for the unscriptural notion and practice of prayers for the dead. Luther touches those ideal arches with the Ithuriel spear of Scripture, and they vanish into air, and leave the sharp antithesis our Saviour has drawn.

The many-sidedness of Luther's mind deserves especial attention. We have already observed the wide range of his intellectual gifts and labors. He stood in original and formative relations to many social facts, to the rich germs of a new age of human thought and life; and it ought not to surprise us if many voices from many quarters representing diverse features of modern life, unite to praise him as master and emphasize his contributions to human welfare. The Germans laud him as the liberator of Germany from the long and hateful tyranny of Rome. Worms made full reprisal for Canossa. Americans praise him for the mighty impulse he gave to the spirit of religious and civil liberty. Philologists celebrate him as the creator of classical German by his translation of the Bible. Literary critics commend his hymns, and the style and eloquence of his greater prose productions. Radicals claim him as their great hero who made successful war on absolutism in church and state. Evangelical Protestants praise him for his devotion to the gospel and the interests of pure religion. And all of these have ground for their

claims: through these several channels the mighty life of those times has flowed onward to our day. Luther is justly recognized as a leader in all these splendid movements, and the richness of his gifts, the significance of his work are thus impressively suggested to our thoughts. But we cannot forget that the supreme motive and consuming passion in Luther's life is the defence of the gospel and the life of faith, as his dying prayer declares: "Him I have taught, him I have confessed, him I love as my Saviour and Redeemer."

Four hundred years have set Luther's figure in grander proportions and enhanced our sense of the debt we owe to him. His imperfections are not far to seek or hard to find; but they sink wholly out of our thoughts when we measure the splendid service he has rendered to the thoughts and purposes of men, to the hopes and possibilities of the race. Across the breadth of two continents, throughout ten full generations, he stands unrivalled and supreme, a speaking embodiment of conscience and loyalty to God. There remains yet much to be done ere the movement Luther so grandly began has reached its period, and all its priceless fruits been gathered in. And it becomes us, in celebrating this providential man and career, to comprehend more fully our relations thereto, and to set ourselves with a loyalty like his to solve the still remaining problems in a rational faith and a free Christian civilization. The figure of Luther in the monument at Worms holds up the open Bible as the reformer himself in the historic Diet professed his conscience to be fast bound in the Scriptures. The spirit in our day that most truly catches his inspiration and inherits his aims, and carries on his work to completion, is the one that is most loyal to the word of God, and that brings forth its authoritative truth most faithfully for the renewal of men's hearts and for the supreme guidance of the age.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

AMERICAN.

THE October number of that strong and admirable Quarterly, *The Presbyterian Review*, contains, among several excellent articles, a paper by Professor Schaff, bearing the title "Studies in Eschatology," and presenting the biblical and patristic doctrine of "last things." It distinguishes "three phases in the development of the ideas of future life before the advent of Christ — the Mosaic, the prophetic, and the post-exilian." The Mosaic writings are well-nigh silent regarding a future life, and yet this silence is not absolute. Not a few hints of a future life are found in the Pentateuch. A future life is "implied in the mysterious translation of Enoch as a *reward* for his piety, in the prohibition of necromancy, in the patriarchal phrase for dying, 'to be gathered to his fathers,' or 'to his people'; and in the self-designation of Jehovah as 'the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,' for 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' What has an eternal meaning for God must be eternal. This is the profound meaning which our Saviour puts into that passage (Ex. iii. 6, 16), and thereby he silenced the Sadducees out of the book of the law which they themselves recognized as their highest authority" (Matt. xxii. 32).

In the New Testament the fact of a future life is stated with incontestable plainness. The teachings of Christ and his apostles effected a revolution in the eschatological belief of mankind. "Christianity gives to the belief in a future state the absolute certainty of a Divine revelation, sealed by the fact of Christ's resurrection, and thereby imparts to the present life an immeasurable importance, involving endless issues." "It connects the resurrection of the body with the immortality of the soul, and thus saves the whole individuality of man from destruction." It "views death as the punishment of sin, and therefore as something terrible, from which nature shrinks. But its terror has been broken, and its sting extracted by Christ." It "qualifies the idea of a future state by the doctrine of sin and redemption, and thus makes it to the believer a state of absolute holiness and happiness; to the impenitent sinner a state of absolute misery."

Beyond the region of well-defined eschatological doctrine lies "the cloudy domain of private opinion and speculation, and here every church allows, or ought to allow, a large margin of freedom." Among the points in which liberty should be granted are the time of the second advent; the

preceding appearance of Antichrist; the millennium, whether it is figurative or literal, and its chronological relation to the second advent; "the nature of the millennial reign of Christ, whether it be personal or spiritual; the condition of the disembodied state between death and resurrection; the final fate of the heathen and of the countless millions of children dying in infancy; the proportion of the saved and lost; the locality of heaven and hell. These are all open questions in eschatology, on which men cannot help thinking and speculating, but on which it becomes us to be modest and reserved, remembering that we absolutely know nothing certain about the future world but what God has chosen to reveal to us in the Holy Scriptures."

In examining the patristic eschatology, Dr. Schaff considers the "status intermedius." He makes the following remark apropos of current discussions: "The prevailing view [of the fathers] was that the soul continued in a conscious though disembodied state, by virtue either of inherent or of communicated immortality. The nature of that state depends upon the moral character formed in this life either for weal or woe, without the possibility of a change except in the same direction. A *second probation* for one and the same individual was not taught by any of the fathers, nor by any other divine of note. Even the Roman purgatory is in no sense a state of *probation*, but simply a continued *purification* of imperfect Christians whose eternal fate is decided in this life, and who will ultimately enter heaven when their sanctification is completed." In respect to the "status intermedius," Dr. Schaff reduces the teaching of the ante-Nicene fathers to these principal points: 1. The pious who died before Christ, with rare exceptions, as Moses and Elijah, were detained in Sheol, were released from it by the "descensus ad inferos," and were transferred to Paradise. 2. Christian martyrs and confessors and other eminent souls on dying pass to the highest heaven. 3. The great majority of Christian believers, being more or less imperfect at the time of their death, enter for an indefinite period into a preparatory state, where they remain till, purged of all infirmities, they have become ripe for heaven. 4. Impenitent Christians and unbelievers go down to the lower regions of Hades, into a preparatory state of misery and dreadful expectation of the final judgment. 5. The future fate of the heathen and of unbaptized children was left in hopeless darkness, except by Justin and the Alexandrian fathers, who extended the operations of divine grace beyond the limits of the visible church. "Zwingli was the first to embrace all children dying in infancy among the elect." 6. In the future world are different degrees of happiness and of misery in proportion to the different degrees of merit and of guilt. 7. With the possibility of a progressive amelioration in this middle state is connected the idea of prayer for the dead. No trace of the custom is found in the Bible. In old Jewish service-books, however, are prayers for the blessedness of the dead. Tertullian speaks of prayers

thus offered; and Augustine ventures to call prayer for the pious dead in the eucharistic sacrifice "an observance of the universal church, handed down from the fathers."

In respect to the ultimate fate of the impenitent three theories are possible, — everlasting punishment, annihilation, restoration. Each of these theories had advocates in the patristic age, but the first finally came to prevail. Since the middle of the sixth century "the doctrine of the final salvation of all men has been regarded as a heresy, except by the Universalists, who made it one of their three articles of faith."

The recent issues of the magazines contain articles upon the Protestant Reformation and its chief author. The Catholic journals are as strong in their condemnation of Luther as the Protestants are warm in his praise. In a brief notice of a couple of biographies of Luther the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" finds room for the following: "It is by no means too strong a statement of fact to say that all modern Protestant accounts of Luther's life and character are simply romances. They do not describe him as he was, but as they would have him to be. . . . His furious bursts of passion, akin to those of a madman or a demon; his unblushing confessions of his own wickedness, made from time to time in defiance of decency, and as though an overpowering demoniacal spirit possessed him, and compelled him to publish his own shame; his tergiversations and self-contradictions and falsehoods; his self-confessed lust, and open, public drunken orgies, and the obscene expressions which abound in his writings and his sermons, are all passed over in silence by Protestant writers on Luther. . . . These very characteristics of Luther constitute a serious difficulty to Catholic students and writers exposing fully to public view what Luther really was, and to their depicting him in his true colors. They are compelled to exercise a certain degree of reticence, and abstain from giving to the public, in their actual coarseness and rudeness and revolting indecency, the proofs which Luther himself furnishes in his life and writings, and which his contemporaries fully confirm, of his shameless, defiant wickedness."

In the Catholic World for November, the Very Rev. I. T. Hecker, writing under the caption of "Luther and the Diet of Worms," utters these melancholy words regarding the present and future interests of Protestantism: "The alternative now staring intelligent Protestants in the face is, either they must enter into the fold of the Catholic church to remain Christians, or become agnostics, which is a mild word for atheists. The foundations designed by Dr. Martin Luther for Christianity, after three long centuries of experience, have crumbled away entirely. . . . The specific work of Protestantism is destruction, and what is called to-day orthodox Protestantism will in three generations, more or less, be limited most likely to some obscure sect. The rest of the world will be either catholic or atheist."

The Methodist Quarterly Review for October has as its leading article, a paper by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dorchester, entitled *The Solidarity of Methodism*. It has special bearing upon the question of ministerial itinerancy, and is a strong argument in behalf of the system. In the course of the article it is remarked "that the Congregational churches even in their stronghold, New England, are gradually losing their 'settled' ministry, the churches with pastors having decreased from ninety-five per cent of the whole number in 1770, to seventy-five per cent in 1830, forty-seven per cent in 1870, and forty per cent in 1880; a little more than one fifth are vacant, and more than one third have stated supplies." This fact is adduced to show that the abolition of itinerancy would probably result in a similar disestablishment of the Methodist pastorate. The article ends with several conclusions worthy of general attention:

"We learn that the denominations which retain their personal preferences in deciding the pastorate do so to the detriment of the general good; and that those who forego their personal preferences do so to the advantage of the cause at large. It cannot be impertinent to ask, Which is the more Christian, to please ourselves, as ministers and churches, to the injury of the cause of God, or to sacrifice personal preferences for the good of the cause as a whole? And which kind of church polity recognizes the fundamental principle of the gospel, that we are 'members one of another.'"

"It is very plain, therefore, that the itinerant economy of Methodism, by which its preachers are assigned to their fields of labor, which has occasioned so much criticism, and the other great connectional features of our church polity are founded upon the most vital principle of God's spiritual kingdom, that we are 'members one of another'; yea, more, our church polity is deeply rooted in the fundamental race principle, which recognizes the whole human family as 'members one of another.' Let this principle be everywhere discarded in common life, and the race will not survive one generation; let it be discarded in the church of God, and weakness and disintegration must follow.

"From this discussion we see the logical and the vital relation of our 'general superintendency' to the economy of Methodism, and how incongruous a diocesan episcopacy would be in our peculiar polity. We see, too, the indispensableness of the presiding eldership in our church organization, and especially to the working of our itinerancy. It is not only a legitimate, but a necessary concomitant of our polity — a connecting link, and an administrative factor. . . . But this peculiar economy cannot endure the inordinate self-seeking, the unscrupulous scheming, the selfish combinations of over-ambitious men, either in the ministry or the laity. These things are foreign to its spirit, and the effect of them can only be ruinous. Every instance of such exhibitions is a breach of good faith with our polity. The germinal centre and the animating spirit of the

polity of Methodism is self-sacrifice of the individual for the good of the whole. It should be administered on this principle. It can be perpetuated on no other. An inordinate, scheming selfhood will destroy it."

II. ENGLISH.

The Quarterly Review for July contains an article on "Farrar's St. Paul and Early Christianity." Taking for its text the three famous works of Canon Farrar, it suggests certain general defects and excellences. It affirms that many statements in these works lack precision and impartiality, that they are loose, discursive, and tautological, and that their "point is sometimes obscured by the exuberance of his phraseology and the heat of his polemic." The works contain little or nothing that is original. "Of the positions controversially defended by Dr. Farrar, we cannot recall one of which he has been the first propounder; they are, we believe, without exception, familiar to every modern student of exegesis." The indebtedness of the author to Renan is remarked, and it is suggested that there is sufficient likeness between the works of the two writers to justify the statement that "Dr. Farrar's work may be described as a Christianized version of Renan's." And yet after these and all other deductions are made, it is acknowledged that the volumes possess the great merit "of containing the most readable, vivid, and altogether instructive account of the rise of Christianity ever presented to the world by a popular writer."

The Westminster Review continues to represent the anti-Christian views which its founders cherished. The October number contains an article on "The Belief in the Immortality of the Soul," in which the "Three Essays on Religion" of its early contributor, John Stuart Mill, forms a part of the text. In reference to such reasons for the belief in an immortal life as the fear of annihilation, the parting from friends, the desire for knowledge, and for a larger being, the writer says: "The belief in a future life has undoubtedly strengthened many hearts, ennobled many lives, comforted many thousands of the afflicted. It is a beautiful creed; the most beautiful, *in its purified form*, that humanity has yet created. Those who are content to hold it on the basis of pure sentiment may continue to so hold it, and need fear no disturbance from science. But we do not think that such beliefs are calculated to last. To the present writer (for in such matter every one must speak for himself) there seems to be something excessive, abnormal, morbid, in this clinging to existence throughout eternity. Are you *never* to have enough of it? We can admit that a man should rise hungry from a feast, especially if he has been interrupted in it,—well then, let the courses be brought on again, and if a second dinner is still insufficient, let there be a third, a fourth. . . . But is there never to be an end? Is this Self so precious that it can never be resigned? May it not be that *others* will want their turn? We can but put the question, and let each reader answer it as best befits his taste.

At any rate we do not share the common notion that the belief in a future life, apart from a belief in definite conditions of that life, would be consolatory. The tacit assumption of believers is that their eternity is going to be pleasant, is going to bring them everything that they desire. And, in truth, as long as it is a matter of mere wishing, there is no reason to stop midway. But suppose that the case should be the reverse, and that, on the yonder side, we should find ourselves in untoward circumstances, without the possibility of shaking off the horrible incubus of eternal life in store? The greatest blessing conferred upon terrestrial humanity is that life may be resigned when it becomes too burdensome."

This article is far less positive in its negations than an article upon the same theme which appeared in the Westminster a year ago.

The opening article in the October number of the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, considers, from the historical point of view, "Proposed Substitutes for Christianity." Its author is Professor J. Radford Thomson of New College, London. Among these substitutes are named Agnosticism, as represented by Herbert Spencer, Positivism as represented by Comte and his followers, and a pure Theism as represented by Frances Power Cobbe. It suggests the following objections to these proposed substitutes. They fail to deal in a just and satisfactory way with human nature. They degrade man's intellectual powers. They declare that these powers are only those of the brute, though with higher ranges of sensuous capacities. They also "fail to take a just view of sin, and to provide for its forgiveness, and for contending with, and vanquishing it. Optimism refuses to recognize sin; Pessimism holds it impossible to reduce or eliminate sin; Fatalism admits no real distinction between vice and virtue." They fail yet further "to satisfy man's conscience as a witness to moral responsibility." That man is under a moral governor, a moral law, is a fundamental truth. The Bible is in agreement with the dictates of the conscience, of the "categorical imperative." These systems are, once more, inferior to the Christian in that they fall short of Christianity in respect to the belief in immortality. "The purest theism is only able to look forward to a future life with a venturesome and yet timid hope; while the Christian's faith rests upon him who both 'abolished death and brought life and immortality to light by the gospel.'"

III. GERMAN.

The *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of September 22, has, as its first article, a brief review of the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia. It is written by Professor Adolf Harnack, one of the editors of the journal, and also a contributor to the original Herzog Encyclopaedia. The review is not altogether eulogistic of the methods or principles according to which the American edition is issued. Professor Schaff remarks in his preface that "an apology may be due the German authors for abridging their contri-

butions, but we have studied to give all the essential facts." Professor Harnack ventures to suggest that when the abridgment results in shortening articles one eighth or one tenth all the original facts cannot be presented, and affirms he is not willing to be held responsible for certain statements for which he is represented as authority. The statement of Professor Schaff, however, is quoted that the task would not have been undertaken "without a previous honorable understanding with the German editors and publisher."

In the journal of October 6, Professor Schaff has a note in which he outlines the methods pursued by him in his edition, and very fairly points out certain advantages possessed by the American editors for making the revision. Professor Harnack simply replies that the motive of Professor Schaff is undoubtedly good, but that his dealing with the articles as he has dealt with them is to be regretted.

In view of this discussion, the "authorization" which is appended to the Preface of the American edition should be quoted: "We the undersigned, editors and publisher of the 'Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche,' hereby authorize the Rev. Dr. Schaff of New York, to make free use of this work for the preparation and publication, in the United States and in England, of a *similar, although much shorter work*, under the title 'A Religious Encyclopædia, based on the Real-Encyclopædie of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck.'" The question is therefore reduced to the simple inquiry whether the German editors and publisher had the right to authorize the American editor to make a "free use" of the individual articles of their contributors. Whatever may be the answer to this inquiry, it would appear that rather the German than the American editors should bear any criticism that may be made.

The work which Eduard von Hartmann began in his "Self-Destruction of Christianity," published eight years ago, is continued in his "The Religion of the Spirit," just issued. The reviewer in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* offers rather a synopsis of its positions than a criticism upon them. The volume appears to be simply the application of the principles of "Philosophy of the Unconscious." Man is studied from the point of view of physiology. The office of religion is presented under the three forms of conception (*Vorstellung*), feeling, and will, of which the will is the most important. In the abnegation of the will, in the increase of knowledge, man reaches heaven. The whole work is materialistic in its philosophy and psychology, pessimistic in its tone and positions, and atheistic in its theology. It is characterized, however, by that exact observation which belongs to most German physiological and psychological treatises, and by an elegance and clearness of literary style in happy contrast with most German philosophical writing. Schopenhauer and Hartmann are as truly masters of expression as they are errorists in philosophy.

The same journal for September 8, in a notice of a volume on the rela-

tions between the Evangelicals and the Catholic church, gives the following facts regarding the relative increase of the members of the two bodies. They relate to the city of Mainz. In that city in 1861 were 8119 Evangelicals and 29,833 Catholics; in 1864 the Evangelicals had increased to 9020, and the Catholics to 30,236; in 1867 the former numbered 9305, and the latter 30,490; in 1871 the numbers were respectively 15,848 and 34,504; in 1875, 18,095 and 35,122; and in 1880 the Evangelicals aggregated 20,390, and the Catholics 37,153. In twenty years the Evangelical church has increased 12,271, and the Catholic 7,320.

ARTICLE IX.

RECENT GERMAN UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

The following notes will interest theological students. They are taken from the Announcements of Lectures for the Winter Semester now current, 1883-84, as published by the Universities, and copied in full in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of Leipzig, Nos. 28 to 38.

In Bern, in the Protestant Theological Faculty, there lecture Professors Oettli, Steck, Nippold, Langhaus, and Müller, and Privat Docents Schlatter and Ruetsch. There is also a Roman Catholic Theological Faculty with four Professors.

In Dorpat lecture Professors Volck, A. von Oettingen (on New Testament Theology and History of Dogmatics), Mühlen, Hoerschelmann, and Bonwetsch. There are also one Orthodox Greek-Church Theological Professor and one teacher of Roman Catholic Theology.

In Leipzig lecture Professors Wold; Schmidt, on John and on New Testament Criticism; Kahnis, on Church History (a) Part 1. and (b) Recent, and on Encyclopaedia; Luthardt, on Synopsis of the Four Gospels and on Dogmatics; Lechler, on History of Dogma; Franz Delitzsch, on Old Testament History of Redemption, on Galatians and James, on the Hebrew-Aramaic Vocabulary, Millin de Rabbanan, and on Matthew's Parables (in the English Exegetical Society); Fricke, on First Corinthians, on Dogmatics (Christology and Pneumatology), Belief in Immortality; Baur, on Psalms and Practical Theology; R. H. Hofmann, on Symbolics and Pedagogics; also Privat Docents Guthe, on Isaiah and Geography of Palestine; Ryssel, on Genesis; König, Schultze, Loofs, and Ewald. It may be added that in the Philosophical Faculty Professor Drobisch lectures on the Elements of the Philosophy of Religion; Professor Wundt, on Logic and Scientific Method, and on Folk-Psychology; Professor Friedr. Delitzsch, on Introduction to Assyriology, Hebrew Grammar, Oriental Wisdom (Proverbs, Ethics, Religion of the West Asiatic People).

In Basel lecture Professors C. J. Riggenbach, Overbeck, Stähelin, Schmidt, Stockmeyer, Smend, on Old Testament Introduction, Ezra, and Nehemiah, Extracts from Josephus; von Orelli, on General History of Religion and on Pre-exilic Prophets; and four Privat Docents.

In Munich, seven Theological Professors and two Privat Docents. Professor von Döllinger will not lecture.

In Kiel, six Theological Professors, including Professor Nitzsch on Dogmatics, and one Privat Docent.

In Königsberg, six Theological Professors and one Privat Docent.

In Bonn, six Professors in the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty. In the Protestant Faculty there read, among others, Professors Christlieb, on Difficult Pericopes and Homiletics; Kamphausen, on Old Testament Introduction and Isaiah; Kraft, on Church History to the end of sixteenth Century, and on Theory and History of Missions; Lange, on Hermeneutics and Ethics; Mangold, on First and Second Corinthians and on History of Doctrine; Professor Gildemeister lectures on Arabic Authors, Hamasch, Arabic Elements, Syriac, Firdousi.

It may be interesting to give in full the sketch of Semester plans in a leading Roman Catholic Faculty, viz. at Würzburg.

In Würzburg there read Professors Hettinger on Apologetics, with Discussion-Class, Dogmatics with the like, History of Christian Art (also conducting Homiletic Practice); Scholz, on Ezekiel, Hebrew Grammar with Translating Exercises (also conducts course of Exegetical Exercise); Grimm, on John's Gospel, New Testament Introduction; Nirschl, on Church History (First Period), History of Catholic Missions in later and latest times; Kihn, on Ecclesiastical Law, Patrology from Clement of Rome to Constantine the Great, Selected Patristic Readings; Göpfert, on Moral Theology and Pastoral Theology; also Privat Docent Stahl, on Philosophical Propædeutics for theological study (i.e. preliminary philosophical information needed by theological students), Dogmatics, Readings in St. Thomas Aquinas, Relations of Faith and Knowledge. The Old Testament is not discussed by any Professor, neither in the theological nor in the philosophical and philological faculty. So likewise there is no teacher of any branch of Semitic philology. The writings of Thomas Aquinas are studied not only in the theological faculty, but also in the philosophical, where Professor Kirschkamp lectures on metaphysics, and on Readings from Thomas Aquinas (Doctrine of the Emotions).

In Prague the Theological Faculty is also Roman Catholic, and there the Old Testament is discussed by two Professors, one of whom treats of the Psalms in the Vulgate translation, and of Messianic Prophecies according to the original text; while the other Professor discusses Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic in this Semester, having almost a Semitic monopoly; for only one Philological Professor extraordinary teaches Arabic, and reads on the Ethics of Maimonides, and one Privat Docent reads Arabic.

In Breslau there are seven Professors and two Privat Docents for Protestant theology, six Professors and two Privat Docents for Roman Catholic theology, besides several other Semitic teachers.

In Freiburg i. Br., seven Professors with two Privat Docents for theology.

At Erlangen the Theological Faculty contains Professors Frank, von Zezschwitz, Köhler, Zahn, Kolde, Hauck, Sieffert, Lotz, Herzog, Ebrard.

Strassburg has Professors of Theology Reuss (reads History of Protestant Theology, Selections from the Old Testament Apocrypha), Cunitz, Krauss, Holtzmann (reads New Testament Theology and Paedagogics), Zöpfel, Kayser (reads Deuteronomy, Hebrew, Archaeology, Theological Encyclopaedia), Nowack (reads Shorter Prophets, History of Semitic Religions), Lobstein, Lucius.

In the Philosophical Faculty there read, among others, Professors Noldeke on Koran, Hamaseh, Beladhori, Joshua, Stylites; Hübschmann, on Rigveda, Meghaduta, Zend Grammar, Avesta, Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions; Diimichen, on Chief Cities in Ancient Egypt and their Monuments, Ancient Egyptian Grammar with Hieroglyphic exercises, Selected Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts, Ancient Egyptian Temple Inscriptions from the Ptolemy and Empire dates; Privat Docent Landauer, Arabic and Persian.

In Jena, read Professors of Theology Lipsius (Galatians, Romans, Dogmatics), Siegfried, Seyerlen, Grimm, Hilgenfeld (the Gospel of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, Old Testament and New Testament Theology, Church History since the Reformation), Pünjer; also one Privat Docent. Professor Hase does not read; he retires with title "Excellency." In the Philosophical Faculty, Professor Haeckel reads on History and System of the Animal Kingdom, and holds classes for practice.

Rostock has four Professors of Theology, with a Semitic Professor in the Philosophical Faculty.

In Berlin read Professors of Theology Dillmann, History of Old Testament Text, Old Testament Introduction, and Psalms; Dorner, in the Society for Systematic Theology; von d. Goltz, Christian Ethics; Kaftan, Epistle of James, Dogmatics; Kleinert, Isaiah, and chapters xv.-xxvii. of Isaiah, Homiletics; Pfeiderer, System of Biblical Theology of Old and New Testament, History of Protestant Theology; Semisch, History; Steinmeyer, Praxis; Weiss, Life of Jesus, Corinthians; Lommatszsch, Messner, C. Müller, Piper, Strack (History of Israel and Geography of Palestine, Job, Pirke Aboth, Hebrew Grammar); two Privat Docents. In the Philosophical Faculty read, among many others, Professors Curtius, History of Plastic Arts in Greece and Rome (with use of Royal Museum), Greek Art and Mythology; Droysen, Universal History from 1815 to Peace of 1871, Prussian History, especially Constitutional and Governmental; von Helmholtz, Explanatory Physics, Theoretical Physics

(with use of Elementary Differential Calculus); Kiepert, Geography and Ethnography of Asia, History of the Land of Italy; Mommsen, Roman State Law, i.e. Senate and People; Schrader, Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, Elements of Assyrian Character and Language (with use of Royal Museum), Selected Assyrian In-scriptions, Aramaic Elements, with Daniel and Ezra; Zeller, General History of Philosophy, Aristotelic Exercises, specially Nicomachean Ethics (B. 8-10). Lepsius and Lazarus do not read. In the Medical Faculty Professor du Bois-Reymond reads on Physical Anthropology and Physiology, and Professor Virchow on General Pathology and Therapeutics, including General Pathology, Anatomy, Demonstration of Pathology, Anatomy, and Microscopy, Praxis in Pathology and Histology.

Berlin has in its Theological Faculty fifteen Professors and two Privat Docents; in its Law Faculty fifteen Professors and three Privat Docents; in its Medical Faculty thirty-seven Professors and fifty Privat Docents; and in its Philosophical Faculty seventy-seven Professors and thirty-nine Privat Docents.

Grätz has eight Professors for Roman Catholic Theology.

In Zürich read Professors of Theology Fritzsche, History; A. Schweizer, Pastoral Theology and Philosophical Ethics; Biedermann, History of Dogmatics, Dogmatics (Part 1.), Psychology as basis of Ethics and Paedagogics; Volkmar, New Testament; Steiner, Old Testament and Arabic; Kesselring; and three Privat Docents.

Münster has a Theological Faculty of four Professors and two Privat Docents.

In Tübingen read Professors of Theology von Weizsäcker, History; Weiss, Buder, Kübel, Kautzsch, Old Testament Theology, Job, Kimchi's Mikhlol. There is also the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty of six Professors. In the Philosophical Faculty are, among others, Professors Socin, Arabic, New Persian, Genesis; von Gutschmid, Oriental History before Alexander, Tacitus's Annals (Bk. 13); Pfeiderer, History of Greek and Roman Philosophy, Philosophical Ethics.

In Lemberg is a Roman Catholic Theological Faculty of eight Professors, mainly Polish.

In Halle, which we may remind ourselves is the united University of Halle and Wittenberg, and therefore the school in which Luther taught, there read Professors of Theology Jacobi, New Testament History and Gnostics; Schlottmann, Old Testament; Köstlin, Romans, Dogmatics, Augsburg Confession; Beyschlag, Synopsis, Sermon on the Mount, New Testament Theology; Riehm, Old Testament Introduction, History of Old Testament Interpretation. Isa. i. to xxxix.; Hering; Kähler; Tschackert, History and Missions; and one Privat Docent.

In the Philosophical Faculty read, among others, Professors Erdmann, Knoblauch, Keil, Ulrici, Gosche, Dümmler, Droysen, Haym, Wellhausen (Daniel, Outlines of Arabic History and Literature, Eastern Authors).

In Greifswald are five Professors of Theology, including Professor Cremer (Lord's Prayer, Christian Ethics, Praxis). In the Philosophical Faculty is Professor Ahlwardt (Arabic Grammar, Divan of the Hodseilites, Turkish Grammar).

In Marburg read in Theology, Professors Ranke, History of New Testament Canon, Romans; Heinrici, Encyclopaedia, John's Gospel; Brieger, History; Herrmann, Theological Ethics; Count von Baudissin, Genesis, Geography of Palestine; Achelis, Praxis, Missions; Kessler; Cornill.

Czernowitz University has a Greek or Eastern Church Theological Faculty. A sketch of its work may be interesting. There lecture Professors von Onciul, Hebrew Language, Bible Study (Old Testament), Selections from Psalms and Prophets in original, Oriental Languages; von Repta, Bible Study (New Testament), special New Testament Introduction, Corinthians, Epistles of Peter, New Testament Grammar, Biblical Hermeneutics; E. Popowicz, Church History, Encyclopaedia, Patrology, Fundamental Dogmatics; Mitrofanowicz, Praxis; C. Popowicz, Greek Ecclesiastical Law, The Nomocanon of Photius; Wojutski, Moral Theology. There is also one Docent (Catechetics). The Ruthenian Language is used as well as German.

In Göttingen, read Professors of Theology, Duhm, Old Testament Introduction, Genesis; Bertheau; Schultz, Isaiah, Dogmatics (Part I.); Wendt, New Testament Introduction, Dogmatics (Part II.); Wiesinger; Ritschl, Romans, Theological Ethics; Lünemann, Knoke, Reuter, Wagenmann. In the Philosophical Faculty read, among others, Professors Baumann, General History of Philosophy, Logic; von Leutsch, Recent Great Philologists, Pindar's Odes; Goedeke, German Literature in the Nineteenth Century; de Lagarde, Juda Harisi, Mutanabbi; Sauppe, Outlines of Greek and Roman Epigraphics, Terence's Heauton-Timoroumenos and Adelphi.

In Innsbruck the Theological Faculty is Roman Catholic, containing nine Professors, among whom is Professor Bickell (Psalms, Syriac, and Aramaic Grammar, Arabic Translation).

Vienna has nine Professors of Roman Catholic Theology; Tschokke, Old Testament; Neumann, Old Testament; Pölzl, New Testament; Baur, Dogma; Krückl, Ethics, Thomas Aquinas; Wappler, History; Laurin, Law; Ricker, Praxis; Schneider, Dogma; and three Privat Docents teaching Philosophy, Philosophy of Religion, and Pedagogics. In the Protestant Theological Faculty are Professors Roskoff, Hebrew and Old Testament; von Otto, History; Vogel, New Testament and Missions; Sebering, Law; Böhl, Dogma-Helvetia; Frank, Dogma-Augsburg.

In Heidelberg, read Professors of Theology Schenkel, Dogma, History of Preaching; Gass, Catholic Epistles, History of Dogma; Merx, Hebrew Grammar, Job; Holsten, New Testament Introduction, History of New Testament Canon, Mark, with Parallels in Matthew; Hausrath, Church

History, Acts; Bassermann, Kneucker, Schellenberg. In the Philosophical Faculty read Professor Fischer, History of Christian Philosophy to the Reformation, Lessing; Weil, Arabic, etc.

Death has removed recently the following German Scholars. On Sept. 24th. at Herrnhut, H. A. Jäschke, Moravian missionary, translator of the Bible into Thibetan, and author of a Lexicon of Thibetan, English, and German.

On Sept. 17th, in Halle, Dr. Adler, former Director of the Francke Orphan-house.

On 11th of August, in Engelberg (Switzerland), Rudolf Besser, the Gotha book merchant, aged 73.

On 27th March, in Göttingen, Dr. E. R. Redepenning, formerly Professor of Theology there.

On 11th March, in Greifswald, Dr. Karl Wieseler, Professor of Theology.

On 26th February, in Marburg, Dr. W. Scheffer, Professor of Theology, aged 80.

On 6th March, in Halle, Dr. Karl Witte, Professor of Law, aged 83.

On Dec. 28, 1882, in Berlin, Dr. Justus Olshausen, the distinguished Hebraist, author of the "*Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache*."

ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE. A Critical, Historical and Dogmatic Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Old and New Testaments. By George T. Ladd, D.D. Two Vols. 9 × 5½ inches. pp. 783, 778. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

In these volumes, containing fifteen hundred and sixty-one large octavo pages, Dr. Ladd has given to the world the fruit of several years' reading and study; and at the outset we must acknowledge our indebtedness to the author for bringing so much material from so wide a range into a single discussion. Indeed, the material is so abundant as to be rather embarrassing to the reviewer, and in the end, no doubt, embarrassing to the writer; for he has taken a definite position on so many vexed points of critical inquiry that it will be strange if he has expressed himself upon them all with equal wisdom. The work has come to hand so lately that we cannot be expected to give an adequate review of it in the present number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. We shall attempt little more than to call attention to some of the more noticeable positions taken by the author, and that chiefly in his own language.

Part I. contains six chapters, examining the claims to inspiration made by the biblical writers themselves. Part II. consists of eleven chapters, in which the contents of the Bible are analyzed with reference to their bearing on the fact of inspiration. Part III. is historical; six chapters. Part IV. (fourteen chapters) is constructive, in which an effort is made to find "that word of God which is scripturally fixed in the biblical books."

According to Dr. Ladd, "certain contents of truth scripturally fixed in the Bible" originated "by revelation from God through selected and specially inspired messengers; certain other contents are the product of such human reflection and research as have received, in greater or less degree, the divine illumining through the truths and ideas current at the time of their expression;" while certain other contents "make and evince no claim to being in any degree truths of revelation and inspiration, properly so called" (Vol. I. p. 215).

Coming down to particulars, we find our author affirming that the "garden of Eden is a traditional conception, wrought over, as it were, by the power of Hebrew religious ideas" (p. 349); that "the ethnographic table of Gen. x." has only "a certain amount of general historic validity"; and its correctness in some particulars can neither be affirmed nor denied (p. 356); that the account of Nimrod, Gen. x. 8-11, is legendary (p. 356); that "the narratives of Balaam and Samson may serve further to illustrate the existence of certain traditional, and even legendary, material in the historical contents of the Old Testament outside of Genesis" (p. 364), though he grants that the traditions and legends have "an historical foundation" (p. 365); that the first six chapters of Daniel are not strictly historical, but probably are in large part the product of the writer's imagination (p. 367); that "not all parts even of the Synoptic Gospels can equally claim, on grounds of historical credibility, to be accepted as authentic" (p. 381); that the reports of the Sermon on the Mount "are so essentially two different, and in some respects discrepant, accounts that no harmony is possible" (p. 402); that "of the numerous discrepancies or inaccuracies [of the Gospels] in matters of fact, both minute and more important, some cases admit of a probable solution, but many others must be left to stand as discrepancies" (p. 402); that "it can by no means be claimed that any of the biblical narratives are certainly free from all inaccuracies and discrepancies of details"; that "indeed, the total result of minute historical criticism undeniably contradicts this latter claim" (p. 411). "One of our most convincing proofs of the historical authenticity of John is derived from the apparent [oblivious?] fact that he corrects certain historical errors of the Synoptists in a way which shows his own superior information as to the truth of history" (Vol. II. p. 583).

Nor are these errors confined to matters of history. They abound also in matters that are moral and religious. Neither the Old Testament nor the later writings of the apostles are infallible. "It is by this word of Christ in

the later writings [the New Testament] that we test and estimate the earlier writings; it is by the same word in the same writings that we test and estimate the apostolic teachings regarding Christ There are various degrees of approach to absolute moral and religious truth indicated in the different portions of Sacred Scripture. There are not wanting instances where morally faulty conceptions, enactments, or institutions are wrought into this Scripture" (Vol. I. p. 463). "Both the law and its record have the impress of ethical imperfections and faults." The revelation and inspiration of the prophets "did not free their conceptions and messages touching moral and religious truth from certain imperfections" (p. 464). Sound sense characterizes some of the Proverbs; others "are commonplace, and fall even below the average of an Oriental wise saying. Still others show so much of mere shrewdness as scarcely to escape the charge of being immoral" (p. 466). The deed recorded of Jael (Judges iv. 17-22) "was a deed of base treachery and cruelty" which the Book of Judges formally approves (p. 468). The exterminating wars of the Jews and the imprecatory Psalms are other signs of the moral imperfections of the Old Testament. "These admissions have respect not to the moral imperfection of vindictiveness alone. The complaints against the divine dealing in Ps. lxxiii. 1 f.; the moral feebleness, amounting almost to cowardice, in Ps. vi., are instances of other kinds of such imperfections" (p. 472).

"Not all of the ethico-religious contents [of the Bible] are equally important, nor do all evince an equal share in the qualities and predicates which belong to them as a class. Moreover, they are not all equally perfect, as judged by the absolute ethical standard; they are not all even free from positive blemishes and faults. Certain immoral views and feelings, as well as certain maxims of, at best, doubtful morality, have in places pressed their way within the compass of Sacred Scripture" (p. 488). In the case of Abraham offering Isaac we see "the most strenuous and lofty ethico-religious sentiment struggling successfully with the limitations of form which compose its hard shell. After we have considered all the explanatory circumstances and have discussed the nature and validity of the divine command, we must still consent to lay the emphasis where the Bible itself places it; viz. upon the ethico-religious character of the impulse" (p. 473). The *jus talionis* and the injunction in Deut. xix. 21: "Thine eye shall not pity; even when taken in connection with a legal ministration, partakes of an ethical spirit quite below the gospel" (p. 474).

Professor Ladd has much to say all through his volumes about the "ethico-religious faculty," or consciousness. His views upon the subject are specially developed in Vol. II. chap. x. Here we read: "The authority of the Bible cannot contravene the authority of the Christian consciousness; but the authority of the latter is the chief witness for the authority of the former in ethico-religious matters. The Christian

consciousness testifies that certain opinions, principles, and maxims, upon ethico-religious matters, which plainly have the credit of certain Old Testament writers in their favor are corrected and contradicted by its own principles as based on the authority of Christ. The above truth gives to the witness of the Spirit within the consciousness of the believing community an authority to act as arbiter and judge over certain portions of the canonical writings, even such as deal with ethico-religious matters" (pp. 581, 582).

Upon all this we have space simply to remark that the author's favorite phrase, "ethico-religious faculty," either does not mean very much, or it means too much. Judging from some of the conclusions at which Professor Ladd arrives through use of this faculty, we infer that his ethico-religious faculty is differently constituted from ours and from that of various devout Christians to whom we have appealed. To us Psalms vi. and lxxiii., which Professor Ladd sets down as ethically imperfect, have always seemed most precious, and, indeed, to use the favorite expression of Coleridge, these Psalms have in a peculiar sense "found us," and satisfied the inmost cravings of our spiritual life. Professor Ladd's ethico-religious faculty seems to make him much wiser above what is written than ours does us. Neither our own Christian consciousness nor our interpretation of the common Christian consciousness had given us such positive judgments concerning the action of Jael as Dr. Ladd seems to have formed. We are not so sure as he is that Jael did not act by divine command. Nor are we so confident as he that if she had acted by divine command "that would only increase the difficulty." We do not feel warranted in going so far as Dr. Ladd, and saying that the sentiment of Deborah's Song "as to Jael's deed *cannot* [*italic our own*] be defended as inspired" (Vol. i. p. 469).

The imprecatory Psalms have, indeed, somewhat tasked our exegetical skill; for often it is only with an effort that we keep in mind the representative character of the Psalmist; but even in Psalm lxix. we have not found it so easy as Dr. Ladd seems to have done to distinguish between the "theopneustic elements which carry absolute ethico-religious truth" and "other elements due to the fitful and fragmentary conceptions which the writers had of this truth" (p. 471). We are not sure that we know what *absolute* ethico-religious truth is in respect to our conduct towards men in actual life. We have never felt, for example, that we were compelled by the spirit of the gospel to limit our prayers to the *conversion* of the armies of our enemies. In praying for victory to the army defending the truth we have always known that it meant destruction to the army of the enemy. The words of Christ upon the subject of non-resistance have not been to us wholly free from difficulty. Indeed, in our judgment, the words of Christ as recorded in the Gospels are among the hardest portions of Scripture to interpret, and we have been much aided

in their interpretation both by the later teaching of the apostles and by some of the elements of the Old Testament discarded by Dr. Ladd's ethico-religious consciousness. If the author had come in contact, as much as we have, with the mistaken sentimentalism so often lavished upon criminals of the worst class, and with that feeble sense of justice which has in countless cases defeated the execution of righteous penalties, he never would have set down Deut. xix. 21 as partaking of an ethical spirit quite below the gospel.

From a hasty perusal of Professor Ladd's volume, one can see that many of the imperfections attributed by him to the Bible are really the imperfections of his own interpretation. It is plain also that most of the discrepancies of various kinds supposed by Dr. Ladd to characterize Sacred Scripture only appear to be such to one who has allowed himself to take a false logical position in the premises. The Professor seems never to have heard of the well-known legal principle, that when the general credibility of witnesses is established the presumption is very strong that what they have written can be harmonized; and thus the burden of proof falls on those who assert the existence of errors in detail. In harmonizing the Gospels it is perfectly legitimate to take refuge in ignorance. If a plausible way, or several such ways, of securing agreement can be pointed out, this is all that is necessary to vindicate the authors from charge of error. In view of this principle, such difficulties as Professor Ladd encounters in harmonizing the two accounts of the Sermon on the Mount seem very strange. If the author had taken half as much pains to explain alleged discrepancies in the Bible as he has to find doubtful cases — many of which have been manufactured for him by rash critics and interpreters (see, among others, the author's remarks on the inherent improbability of "lions dwelling in a dark stone cavern," Vol. I. p. 366) — the larger part of the foundation for his present theory would have disappeared. Careful perusal of the series of articles on the Pentateuch concluded in the present number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* would solve the most of Dr. Ladd's difficulties about the Mosaic authorship of that portion of Sacred Scripture.

Professor Ladd has much to say about the distinction between the Bible and the word of God (see pp. 275, 276, 280, 283, 496), and about this and that idea being "scripturally fixed in the Bible" (see Vol. II. pp. 275, 276, 283, 340, 343, 344, 348, 362); but we do not see that his appeal to the Christian consciousness furnishes any special facilities above those possessed by the great mass of interpreters for getting at the real meaning of the Bible. Nor is it so easy as our author supposes to maintain an inspiration of the substance of revelation as distinct from the form in which the truth is conveyed. The word of God may be compared to the point of a lance; the literary form of the Bible to the shaft. It is desirable that both should be of divine workmanship, and there is no good reason for denying that both are. Or, to use an illustration drawn from

nature, the design of God enters not only into the seed from which vegetation is to spring, but into every appendage to the seed by which it is protected and transferred to its place of future growth. God watches over the development of the tuft of down by which a seed is transported upon the wind as much as over the seed itself. The skill of the divine workmanship is as manifest in the burr by which a seed adheres to the wool upon a sheep's back, and avails itself of the locomotive power of the animal, as it is in the germ in which vegetable life inheres. We do not feel warranted, for example, in saying that God could by any other means so effectually have enforced the moral of Jonah's life as he has done by making us believe the reality of the history. The Bible, as well as the church, is like a "body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth," and has many members. A deep sense of our personal limitations of knowledge and of our many infirmities of judgment makes us increasingly suspicious of the style of criticism which pervades the volumes under review.

Thus, while we recognize the great value of Professor Ladd's discussion, we would emphasize the necessity of carefully verifying his critical judgments before accepting his conclusions or adopting his forms of statement. But it is no unimportant element of value in these learned volumes that they present in dress parade for our inspection, if not in battle array, the speculations of a host of biblical critics of various degrees of weight, with whom the scholars of this generation are bound to reckon, and whose views, if adopted, must produce important modifications in the character of our Sabbath-school instruction, in the tone of our preaching, and in the tenor of all our appeals to the Bible. We bespeak for the volumes a careful perusal; and in future numbers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* some of the more important topics treated by the author will be traversed in detail by writers especially qualified for their task, and who approach the subjects from points of view different from that occupied by Dr. Ladd.

THE GROUNDS OF THEISTIC AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF. By George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. 12mo. pp. 488. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Clearness and ease of style characterize this volume, as they characterize all the writings of Dr. Fisher. Affluence of learning, fertility of illustration, reasonableness, and candor are also among its estimable characteristics. The volume discusses the Personality of God and of Man; the Arguments for the Being of God; the Principal Anti-theistic Theories,—Pantheism, Positivism, Materialism, Agnosticism. The first three chapters, devoted to these topics, are remarkably interesting. The remaining sixteen chapters are devoted more especially to the Christian faith. They contain a very able refutation of the theories maintained by Hume, Huxley, Buckle, Renan, Kuenen, and other opponents of the Bible as a miraculous

revelation. Among the more important of these sixteen chapters are the fourth, on the Possibility and the Function of Miracles; the fifth, on Christ's Consciousness of a Supernatural Calling verified by his Sinless Character; the sixth, on the Proof of the Miracles of Christ independently of Special Inquiry into the Authorship of the Gospels; the tenth, on the Miracles of the Gospel in contrast with Heathen and Ecclesiastical Miracles; the nineteenth, on the Congruity of the Natural and Physical Sciences with the Christian Faith.

Some passages in this volume are so expressed that wrong inferences will perhaps be drawn from them. We do not suppose, however, that the author of the volume can be said to sanction these inferences. He cannot be charged with advocating all the conclusions that other men may derive from his words. We might extract from the volume many remarks which are decidedly adverse to the loose views entertained by some of the advanced theorists on the subject of biblical inspiration. Our space obliges us to limit ourselves to what are supposed to be his opinions on the subject of miracles. Certain teachings of the Bible are often evaded on the ground that they are not made prominent by the sacred writers, and that accordingly they may be interpreted with much latitude. The biblical testimony concerning miracles cannot be evaded in this manner. It is given in various forms, directly and incidentally, expressly and impliedly. It is woven into the warp and woof of the Bible. It cannot be eliminated from it without unravelling its whole texture. If we yield to the claims of the sceptical critics, if we admit that the Gospels in their present form were not given to the churches until after the close of the first century, we must still believe that the churches of the first century had a decided faith in the miracles which are recorded in the Gospels, or in phenomena of the same character and the same authority. The testimony in their favor is a thread drawn through the whole tissue of the New Testament and of the earliest traditions regarding Christ and his apostles. It is therefore a testimony which must be received with faith and reverence, or else the inspiration of the Bible must be regarded as uncertain.

This view of the biblical miracles is supposed to be the view of Professor Fisher. It is given with special clearness in his sixth chapter. The design and the importance of the miracles are stated with equal distinctness in his sixth and other chapters. He obviously believes the miracles to be "an indispensable criterion" of the mission of the apostles (p. 149); "a distinguishing sign of their office" (p. 151); a "voucher for the truth" of their narratives (p. 160); "a visible sanction given by God to their teaching and work" (p. 108); verifying the authority of Christ (p. 161). He says that "the Gospel miracles are for the express purpose of attesting revelation. They are the proper counterpart and proof of revelation" (p. 281). "The persistence of the faith of the apostles in Jesus as the Messiah, and of his faith in himself, admits of no satisfactory explanation

when the miracles are denied. . . . Had there been no exertions of power to impress the senses, and the mind through the senses, it is incredible that the apostles could have believed in him, and have clung to him, in the teeth of all the influences fitted to inspire distrust. We might ask how Jesus himself could have retained immovable the conviction that he was in truth the Messiah of God, if he found himself possessed of no powers exceeding those of the mortals about him" (pp. 162, 163). "Professor Fisher quotes a remark of Canon Mozly in his Bampton Lectures (pp. 5, 6): "The coincidence of the miracle with the professed message of God proves design on the part of God to warrant and authorize the message" (p. 113).

The common faith of the church in regard to the design and importance of miracles may be thus represented. A biblical writer — Paul, for example — affirms that the dead will be raised. He virtually says: 'In order to prove that the dead will be raised, I will perform a work which no man is able to perform without a miraculous interposition of God. My performance of this work proves that God authorizes me to teach the resurrection of the dead. It proves that he teaches this himself. Therefore it is true that the dead will be raised.' According to this theory we find frequent references to the fact that Paul and the other apostles wrought miracles in attestation of their divine authority as teachers (see Gal. iii. 5; Rom. xv. 18-20; 2 Cor. xii. 12; Acts ii. 43; xv. 12).

The biblical narratives of miracles, however, are denied by a class of learned writers. How can these narratives be proved to be true? The answer is: They are proved to be true by the character of the testimony adduced in their favor, and by the character of the teachings in favor of which the testimony is adduced. The teachings are in themselves excellent, and therefore plausible and probably true. They are worthy of a miraculous interposition in their favor. The external evidence for them is supported by the internal evidence for them. The two classes of evidence sustain each other. They are the two opposite sides of an arch, and the arch stands firm in consequence of the mutual relation of its sides. We understand that this theory in regard to the logical proof of a miracle is adopted by Professor Fisher. The external and the internal arguments are, in his view, braided together (see pp. 114-120, et al.). His lucid statements lead us to draw the following inferences:

This whole discussion in regard to miracles lies at the basis of the discussion in regard to the trustworthiness of the Bible as a rule of faith and practice. Were the miracles actually wrought? Yes. Then the Bible is entirely trustworthy. God sanctions it, declares it to be his word. Did not the writers of the Bible mistake error for truth, sin for holiness? If they did, then God sanctions their mistake. May they not have made a mistake, here and there, occasionally? If they did, then God endorses their mistakes occasionally. How can we determine when he endorses

their mistakes? We cannot determine except by our own judgment. Then our own judgment must decide on the truthfulness of the statements made by inspired men. The judgment of one critic will decide against the morality of the biblical imprecations; of another critic, against the moral principles enunciated in the ninth of Romans; of another critic, against many of our Saviour's teachings. Every student of the Bible must judge for himself whether John was not imposed upon by his imagination; whether Peter was not led by his impulsive spirit into mischievous error. The Bible, then, as an authoritative book is of comparatively little use. The cravings of the human heart for an authoritative teacher are rebuffed. Besides, how can we prove that the biblical miracles were actually wrought? The internal evidence for the teachings which they were designed to attest is important, if not essential, to this proof. But these teachings are said to be false here and there. So far as we believe them to be false, just so far is the argument for the miracles refuted. The proof for the miracles is firm, if the Bible is a perfect rule of faith and practice. If the Bible is in any degree an erring guide of faith and practice, in that very degree is the proof for miracles infirm and doubtful. But the miracles of the Bible are some of its most prominent characteristics. In its prominent characteristics, then the Bible is a treacherous guide. If it be a treacherous guide in its prominent characteristics, it is yet more treacherous in its incidental instructions. At any rate, every man is left to his own judgment whether he may accept or reject the opinions of Paul and James, as he is left to his own judgment whether he may accept or reject the opinions of Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Hegel, Schelling.

WESTMINSTER SERMONS. Sermons on Special Occasions preached in Westminster Abbey by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster. 12mo. pp. ix, 409. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Five of these sermons have particular relation to Westminster Abbey. Several others of them were preached on the occasion of the interment of eminent men within the walls of the Abbey. It need not be said that the sermons are distinguished by their grace and felicity of style, their affluence of learned allusion, their exhibition of skill and tact in historical references, and, in general, by their rhetorical finish.

Some peculiarities of Dean Stanley are as conspicuous in this volume as in any which he has published. He makes it very evident that he is devotedly attached to the Church of England. There are volumes of sermons written by Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, from which the reader could not infer anything with regard to the particular denominations to which the writers belonged. From some of them he could not infer whether the writers were Scotch, English, Irish, or American. But the Dean of Westminster is prolific in allusions prov-

ing that his heart is set on the glory of England, and that he is an admirer of the English church. There is another peculiarity of the Dean. He is eminently catholic and charitable, and yet abounds in remarks offensive to those who differ from him. He is liberal and broad, but with great frequency condemns the narrowness and littleness and useless subtleties and wordy warfare of men who are not so liberal and broad as he is. One sermon in this volume is devoted to Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, who is known to have been in special harmony with the Dean of Westminster. Through his whole public life Mr. Maurice was a fighter for what he deemed the cause of truth and charity. The text of Dean Stanley's funeral sermon is, "Peace be unto you."

Another peculiarity of the Dean is his fondness for accommodating texts of Scripture. Occasional accommodations of them are allowable; perseverance in the habit of accommodating them is injurious. One instance of this habit is seen in Stanley's sermon on Charles Dickens. The sermon once and again recognizes Dickens as a "genial and loving humorist"; speaks of "the kindly wit, the keen, ubiquitous sense of the ludicrous and grotesque," with which Dickens abounded. It admits that "it may even seem hereafter, as it has seemed to some of our own age, that the nerves of the rising generation were, for the time at least, unduly relaxed by that inexhaustible outburst of a humorous temper, of a never-slumbering observation, in the long, unceasing flood of drollery and merriment which, it may be, brought out the comic and trivial side of human life in too strong and startling a relief" (p. 154). The sermon, of course, defends novel-reading and humorous writings. What is the text of the sermon? It is "He spake this parable. . . . There was a certain rich man which was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day: and there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores." Some men may apologize for the selection of this text by the plea that it was in the lesson of the day; but a man of Dean Stanley's inventive genius might contrive some method of making an exception to the church rule in regard to the lesson.

There are in this volume many instances of such improper accommodation in the use of biblical texts. There are also instances of the Dean's latitudinarianism in his comments on religious character. These instances are found in his sermons on Lord Palmerston and the Earl of Beaconsfield. The Dean speaks of the will which Charles Dickens left, and among other quotations from it makes the following: "I commit my soul to the mercy of God through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and I exhort my dear children humbly to try to guide themselves by the teaching of the New Testament in its broad spirit, and to put no faith in any man's narrow construction of its letter here or there." Dr. Stanley adds "In

that simple but sufficient faith he [Mr. Dickens] lived and died" (p. 160). We do not suppose that John Newton or Richard Cecil would have said in a funeral sermon on Mr. Dickens that his final expression of faith was *insufficient*; they would probably have made no comment upon it.

NOT OF MAN, BUT OF GOD. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D.D. 18mo. pp. 190. Boston: D. Lothrop and Company.

This volume is written in the easy, flowing style characteristic of its lamented author, and breathes his affectionate spirit. Its main design is to show that the Bible is "not of man, but of God." It does not aim to be scientific in the treatment of its great theme. It exalts the sacred volume as our only rule of faith and practice. It indicates that its author has a high theory of biblical inspiration, although it does not give a precise statement of what his theory was. He repeatedly expresses his faith that the Bible is not a human book, but divine; that its writers "are worthy of implicit belief, even when they say that they write under the guidance and counsel of God." The volume intimates no exception to the duty of "*implicit belief*." It is divided into twelve chapters, of which the titles are: Anything may be doubted; God desires to reveal himself; God can reveal himself; Inspiration; the witness of uninspired men; testimony of the prophecies; what the Bible has done; what the Bible says of man; what the Bible says of God; what the Bible says of moral order; what the Bible says of redemption; why some men doubt the Bible.

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS, chiefly relating to the Book of Genesis and the Hebrew Scriptures. By Edson L. Clark. 12mo. pp. vi, 217. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

Like Dr. Brunton, the author of this volume also thinks that the geologic table of the successive forms of life appearing through the great periods of the earth's history are really but an amplification of the first verses of Genesis.

"On any other hypothesis than that of divine inspiration, this first chapter of Genesis, and in particular this account of the fifth and sixth days of creation, is the most unaccountable production ever written by the pen of man. Consider by whom this chapter was written. It was written by a man who lived far back in the early infancy of human knowledge—a man who had not, and could not have, any knowledge whatever, any least conception or suspicion, of the actual reality of the vast development of which he was telling the story. And yet of that development, going on through countless ages, he has followed the order of events in a full and comprehensive outline—an outline so true and exact that not one mistake or defect can be pointed out in it from beginning to end. How could such a thing be? How did this man know that a robe of waters covered the earth before a ray of light from the sun had

penetrated to its surface? How did this man know that the enormous vegetation of the coal period had flourished two and three of the great creative days before the higher animals were called into being? How did he know that it was not until the fourth day that the sun shone clearly upon the earth? How did he know that fish of every kind, gigantic reptiles, and birds, filled the earth on the fifth day; while the mammalia and man, the crown of all, were not called into being until the sixth day, at the very close of the long creative work? Clearly he wrote better than he knew. Some vision of the grand evolution of material things passed before his mental eye; and the story of creation as he thus saw it he has told. Science examines this story, and finds it true and exact in every point. What shall we say of a record like this, dating back to the very childhood of our race, yet so strangely anticipating the maturest results of scientific investigation? There is but one thing which can be said,—a judgment which we are compelled to repeat with every new examination of the sacred volume,—‘All scripture is given by inspiration of God’” (pp. 26, 27).

Rev. Mr. Clark is well known as an active member of the American Oriental Society, and his intelligent study of Eastern questions gives special value to whatever he has to say upon Old Testament history and interpretation. His chapter upon the Flood is specially interesting. He believes that “both the story of the flood and the reasons for the flood as they are given in the Book of Genesis are in perfect accordance with the facts of history”; and he believes that “the flood was the last throes of the glacial period.”

His position in regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch is unique. He affirms that the Hebrew language, as we have it in the Hebrew Scriptures, had no existence until long after the time of Moses. Moses was an Egyptian scholar, and in Egyptian, beyond a doubt, all his speaking and all his writing were done. Not until the time of Samuel were these writings translated into Hebrew. The reasons for this hypothesis are not so fully drawn out as we would like; but it enables him to affirm that Moses wrote the books of the law substantially as they stand to-day, and gives him a wider field of natural causes from which to explain the numerous anomalies which appear in the present text of the Pentateuch. But it has seemed to us that even this is not necessary; since our familiarity with the processes and results of New Testament criticism would lead us to expect many more interpolations and corruptions in the Pentateuch than those which have so apparently misled the modern school of critics into their over-confident and unwarranted theories respecting the late origin of the larger part of the Mosaic books.

The volume under review contains, among others, the following chapters: Divine Revelation; the Creation; the Unity of Life; the Image of the Divine; the First Family; the Childhood of the Race; the Flood, the Glacial Age,

the Antediluvian World; After the Flood; From Noah to Abraham; the Patriarchal Dispensation; and Inspiration, the Hebrew Language, the Earlier Hebrew Scriptures.

CHAPTERS ON EVOLUTION. By Andrew Wilson, Ph.D. With Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Illustrations. 8vo. pp. xv, 383. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

Professor Wilson has given in this compact and copiously illustrated volume a most lucid and satisfactory exposition of the argument in favor of the derivative origin of species. In fact, his argument is almost too satisfactory, since the reader would scarcely gather from the book that there was anything at all to be said against the theory.

Like a good proportion of the disciples of Mr. Darwin, the author has embraced in a more positive form than the facts would warrant the monistic or materialistic theory of the universe. How easily such a philosopher can deceive himself will appear from a single statement, in which he affirms that "life simply represents the sum total of the energies of the physical, chemical, and other properties of protoplasm" (p. 76). In that phrase "other properties of protoplasm" there is room for everything that anybody wants; and the definition of protoplasm has to be expanded until it covers the whole range of powers that ever appear in it.

Some one has said that it is impossible to prove that an oyster is not as profound a philosopher as Aristotle; but until we have more positive proof of the oyster's intellectual powers than we now have, we do well not to class him among philosophers. And so there may be, as our author says, "as much mystery involved in the explanation of the movements of an Amoeba as in the molecular play of the brain-cells of a man" (p. 67); but he has yet to prove it.

THE BIBLE AND SCIENCE. By T. Lauder Brunton, M.D. With Illustrations. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 415. London: Macmillan and Company. 1881.

This book is the work of an eminent English physician and medical lecturer who is a believer in both the Bible and evolution. The author's statement of the evolutionary argument is popular, as well as clear and powerful; and the book is provided with numerous illustrations. The first three chapters and the last are so irrelevant that the reader who opens upon them at first will be in danger of laying the book aside without giving the author credit for the sagacity and learning which he really possesses.

Not content with a mere negative position, Dr. Brunton finds a remarkable correspondence between the doctrines of evolution and the first chapters of Genesis. According to Moses the creation "took place in a paradise, where the air was balmy, where fruit-trees were plentiful, and where there were no furious carnivorous animals to prey upon or attack

man" (p. 360); and these are just the conditions with which the doctrine of evolution would surround the human race in the early stages of its development.

The essential distinction between a man and an animal is thus stated by our author: "The fundamental differences in the acts of men which distinguish them from all the lower animals have been said to be the power of cooking and the power of drawing. Man is the only animal able to light a fire, and man is the only animal capable of indicating his thoughts to his fellows either by pictorial representations or by written signs. Other animals are able to communicate with each other by a language of their own, and although the ideas they thus convey may be few and simple, yet the method by which they do convey them seems quite as intelligible to them as our language is to us. But none of them, even the most highly developed, can draw a figure or write a line; whereas some of the lowest tribes of mankind, such as the Bushmen, draw figures with considerable accuracy, and group them together so that their fellows who come afterwards may understand the history or train of ideas which the draughtsman meant to communicate" (p. 241).

DARWINISM IN MORALS, and Other Essays. Reprinted from the Theological and Fortnightly Reviews, Fraser's and Macmillan's Magazines, and the Manchester Friend. By Frances Power Cobbe. 12mo. pp. 422. Boston: George H. Ellis. 1883.

The first essay in this very instructive and interesting book of Miss Cobbe is one of the most vigorous protests against the extravagant theories contained in Darwin's descent of man that has yet appeared. The essay was originally published in 1871, in a liberal theological review, but is as fresh now as when first written. The essay begins with that memorable sentence, "It is a singular fact, that whenever we find out how anything is done our conclusion seems to be that God did not do it," and contains the following most powerful illustration of the difference between mere regret and remorse which gives to conscience its transcendental character:

"Let us suppose two simple cases: first, that in an accident at sea, while striving eagerly to help a friend, we had unfortunately caused his death; second, that, in the same contingency, an impulse of jealousy or anger had induced us purposely to withhold from him the means of safety. What would be our feelings in the two cases? In the first we should feel regret, which, however deep and poignant, would never be anything else than simple regret, and which, if it assumed the slightest tinge of self-reproach, would be instantly rebuked by every sound-minded spectator as morbid and unhealthy. In the second case (assuming that we had perfect security against discovery of our crime), we should feel, perhaps, very little regret, but we should endure remorse to the end of our days; we should carry about in our inner hearts a shadow of fear and

misery and self-reproach which would make us evermore alone amid our fellows" (p. 31).

As to the rest, the author discusses in her brilliant style, from the liberal Unitarian point of view, such topics as Hereditary Piety, the Religion of Childhood, the Devil, the Religions of the World, Auricular Confession in the Church of England, and the Evolution of Morals and Religion.

NOTES ON EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY. By J. F. Yorke. 12mo. pp. xii, 301. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1883.

This volume of Mr. Yorke does not treat of evolution in general, but is designed to show that what there is good in Christ's teachings had already appeared in the precepts of other teachers; that Christ himself shared the misconceptions of his age as to moral duties; that much of his doctrine was only temporary and of local value; that the church has greatly hindered the progress of knowledge and scientific morality by insisting that her Founder's teaching is final on all points; and that we are now learning to look upon evil as an indispensable factor in the divine process of evolution. The author rings the usual changes upon the barbarities of the Old Testament, and overflows with those misconceptions of Christianity which are sure to accompany total ignorance of the divine character and the sacrificial sufferings of its Founder.

THE HARMONY OF THE BIBLE WITH SCIENCE; or Moses and Geology. By Samuel Kinns. With 110 Illustrations. 8vo. pp. xxiii and 508. New York, London, and Paris: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co.

The author of this book is a venerable teacher whose professional duties have brought him into close acquaintance with many dignitaries of England, both of church and state. The present volume contains allusions to the whole range of science, and is remarkably accurate in its statements. The style is familiar, and the book is interspersed with great numbers of irrelevant, but very interesting, anecdotes connected with the author's personal experience. The author thinks he makes out a very close harmony between the order of fifteen creative events as taught by science and the same as given by Moses. We do not think such elaborate attempts at harmony can be successful; yet we confess that we view with increasing wonder the fact that the first chapters of Genesis cannot be shown to contain anything that is out of harmony with the present discoveries of science.

Nobody can read Mr. Kinns's book without being instructed and entertained. It is elegantly printed, handsomely and abundantly illustrated, and full of information upon chemistry, astronomy, geology, and archaeology. It contains also the list of six hundred and seventeen eminent scientific men in England who, at the meeting of the British Association in 1865, signed a declaration containing the following statements:

"We conceive that it is impossible for the word of God as written in the book of nature and God's word written in Holy Scripture to contradict one another, however much they may appear to differ. We believe that it is the duty of every scientific student to investigate nature simply for the purpose of elucidating truth, and that if he finds that some of his results appear to be in contradiction to the written word, or rather to his own interpretations of it, which may be erroneous, he should not presumptuously affirm that his own conclusions must be right, and the statements of Scripture wrong. Rather leave the two side by side till it shall please God to allow us to see the manner in which they may be reconciled; and instead of insisting upon the seeming differences between science and the Scriptures, it would be as well to rest in faith upon the points in which they agree" (p. 6).

NOTES ON THE LATE REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT VERSION.

By Rev. Daniel R. Goodwin. 8vo. pp. 212. New York; Thomas Whittaker. 1883.

The eager interest with which the Revision of 1881 was awaited by the public and the avidity with which it was bought have at length given place to general apathy. The books lie almost as dead stock on the hands of dealers, and with difficulty find purchasers at a reduced price. For it is obvious that the Revision, excellent as it is, cannot in its present form win and hold the place of the old Authorized Version in popular use.

Dr. Goodwin has made a valuable addition to our rapidly accumulating materials for the necessary revision of the Revision. The purpose of the work is restricted. It is intended to point out not the merits of the Revision, but only some of its faults. The faults adverted to are mainly inconsistencies and trivial changes. The number of changes made by the Revisers has been set down at thirty-five thousand. Conceding the necessity of five thousand five hundred to correspond with the same number of changes in the Greek text, and ten thousand as having been required by what could be reasonably called faithfulness to the original, "there will remain nearly twenty thousand changes either wanton, or trifling, or consequential, or Grecisms, or inconsistencies, or perchance proposed improvements of the English style."

After a few admirable introductory pages upon the general principles of criticism, the entire New Testament is passed in review, and many particular cases are examined. But these notes do not profess to be exhaustive; they are offered but as specimens of the random results of "one cursory examination of the Revision." As such we heartily thank Dr. Goodwin for them. A considerable number of his criticisms the author himself would doubtless modify or retract upon closer study. Take this remark, for example: "Matt. xxvi. 24, 'Good were it for that man if he had not been born,' for 'it had been good,' etc. But see xxiv.

22. Surely, if ἦν conditioned by εἰ with an aorist indicative can mean 'were' (= would be), ἐσώθη with ἄν, and conditioned in like manner, can mean 'would be saved,' instead of 'would have been saved.'" Here are three grammatical confusions in a single sentence. But in a large majority of cases the justice of the criticism is obvious, without argument. We are not prepared to admit that the number of unnecessary changes in the Revision reaches twenty thousand; but it is clearly so large as to render a speedy re-revision imperative. We copy a few of Dr. Goodwin's examples:

"Matt. xii. 40, 'The belly of the whale,' for 'the whale's belly.' When we compare this with v. 34 and 2 Tim. ii. 24, I am almost tempted to infer that the learned Revisers supposed 'the whale's belly' might mean 'a belly of the whale'; but how many bellies had the whale?"

"Matt. xiv. 14, 'had compassion on' for 'was moved with compassion towards' = ἐσπλαγγίσθη. But see xviii. 27; xx. 34. In this last case they put 'moved with compassion' for 'had compassion.'"

"Matt. xix. 27, 'Lo' for 'behold' = ἰδοὺ. But see i. 20," where "behold" is retained for ἰδοὺ.

"Matt. xxvi. 42, 44, 'a second time,' 'a third,' for 'the,' etc. How many second and third times were there? But see Mark xiv. 72," where the identical words ἐκ δευτέρου are still rendered "the second time."

The familiar and beautiful rhythm of Rev. xxii. 17 has been broken up into "He that heareth, let him say" etc., "He that is athirst, let him" etc. But the same Greek construction in Rom. xiv. 3 is left translated as it was in the A. V., "Let not him that eateth set at naught," etc.

While the principle of faithfulness to the very order and idiom of the Greek generally overbears all other considerations, the Revision occasionally seems to show a disposition to soften an unguarded statement of the inspired writers, or to paraphrase an obscurity. So in Matt. xv. 5, "that wherewith thou mightest be profited by me is given to God," the words "to God" are not in the Greek. In Matt. ii. 32, "That he should be called a Nazarene" is substituted for "He shall be called," etc. = ὅτι κληθήσεται. Dr. Goodwin pertinently asks, "Was it any of their business to modify the rendering here in view of the difficulty of finding the prophecy referred to?" In Jas. ii. 14 ἡ πίστις is rendered "that faith" (apparently to save James from contradicting Paul), but in vs. 17 ἡ πίστις is simply "faith."

Dr. Goodwin has overlooked many striking cases. For example, in Luke iv. 27 the Revision reads, "and none of them was cleansed, but only Naaman," etc.; οὐδεὶς being rendered "none," as in the A. V., and "saving" changed to "but only" for εἰ μὴ. In John xvii. 12 the Revision reads, "and not one of them perished but the son of perdition"; "none" of the A. V. being changed into "not one" for οὐδεὶς, and simple

"but" retained for *el mē*. Did this variation in rendering spring from a theory that Judas stood in a different relation to the elect from that in which Naaman stood to Israel?

The Revision has the faults which must appear in any vast and complex work done in small portions, by many different hands, at long intervals. It should now be put, for final correction, into the hands of a very small committee free to give their whole time and thought to it until complete.

HERZOG'S CYCLOPAEDIA FOR PROTESTANT THEOLOGY AND CHURCH (Real-encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche u. s. w. fortgeführt von Dr. Alb. Hauck. XII. Bd. PIUS II. bis RING). 10×6½ inches. pp. 801. Leipzig. 1883.

The twelfth volume of this indispensable work has come to hand. It contains sketches of the popes of the name of Pius, from the II. to the VIII., Pius IX. being reserved for the Article "Vaticanisches Concil." The Plymouth Brethren occupy five pages; Polytheism, twelve; Positivism, four; Presbyter, twelve; Prussia, twenty; Propaganda, twenty-three; Psalms, twenty-seven; Pseudo-Isidor, eighteen; Puritans in England, thirty-two; Rationalism and Supernaturalism, twenty-eight; Purifications, twenty; Religion, twenty-six; Philosophy of Religion, twenty-four; French Revolution, twenty-three. The two important dogmatic articles are Predestination and Justification. The articles are all written from the historical stand-point, and are non-controversial. The bibliographical information mentions only the best books, but cites them as late as the current year.

BIBLIOTHECA THEOLOGICA; A Select and Classified Bibliography of Theology and General Religious Literature. By John F. Hurst, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. pp. 417.

Perhaps no one will study this work without a regret that some volumes are not noticed in it, and also that some notices are not omitted. All works like the present are liable to be criticised both for what they insert and for what they fail to insert. Notwithstanding all these criticisms, however, such works may be very useful, and in some respects indispensable. Dr. Hurst merits the gratitude of scholars for this excellent volume. It is the fruit of diligence and candid investigation. It will be eminently useful to ministers and theological students. The more carefully we have examined it, so much the more highly have we prized it.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS. Twelve Lectures by Augustus C. Thompson, D.D., Author of "The Better Land," "Morning Hours in Patmos," "The Mercy-Seat," etc. 8vo. pp. 516. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

The lectures published in this volume formed one of the courses upon Foreign Missions, delivered at Andover Theological Seminary during the

years 1877-80, and also before the theological department of the Boston University in 1882.

Dr. Thompson has in this work given to the public an accurate and deeply interesting account of the nature and history of Moravian missions. After an introductory sketch of the formation of the sect during the Middle Ages, the author gives a minute account of Count Zinzendorf, in whom the Moravian polity has centred, and from whom its permanent direction has been received. The remainder of the work is mainly a history of the missionary movements originated by this remarkable man. Interesting accounts are given of the missions to the West Indies, to South and Central America, to South Africa and Australia, and the more widely known labors of Zinzendorf's followers in Labrador and Greenland. The volume contains many facts regarding the Moravians which have not been previously known, and the ordinary reader will find the missionary operations of this sect to be much more extensive than he had supposed. The book shows much historical research upon the author's part, while its style is excellent. Seldom do we find an historical work which presents so many details in so concise and interesting a manner. The volume is well printed upon good paper, and its appearance reflects much credit upon the publishers.

AMERICAN COLLEGES: Their Students and Work. By Charles F. Thwing. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. 6½ × 4½. pp. 213. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.

We are glad to see that this excellent little manual has passed to a second edition. The information it contains is invaluable, both to those who are making a choice of a school for the sake of its personal advantages and to those who have benefactions to bestow upon educational institutions. The present edition contains important additions to the chapters treating of Instruction, and Expenses and Pecuniary Aid; and has three entirely new chapters: Wealth and Endowment; A National University; and Woman's Education.

SHORT STUDIES ON GREAT SUBJECTS. By James Anthony Froude, M.D., Late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Fourth Series. 12mo. pp. 370. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This volume concludes the series of Short Studies on Great Subjects. It is written in Mr. Froude's usual style, and contains much interesting matter. A hundred and fifty pages are devoted to the Life and Times of Thomas Becket. Eighty-five pages are devoted to the Oxford Counter-Reformation. These two parts of the volume are decidedly the most valuable. They are followed by an article on Origen and Celsus, containing forty-four pages. "A Cagliostro of the Second Century," "Cheneys," and "The House of Russell," A Siding at a Railway Station, complete the volume.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY IN ITS THREE GREAT PERIODS. Second Period :
 The Middle Age. By Joseph Henry Allen, Author of "Hebrew Men and Times," "Our Liberal Movement in Theology," etc. 8vo. pp. 316. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883.

This volume gives us a concise account of Christianity during the Middle Ages. The relation of the ecclesiastical system to the feudal society is clearly stated in the opening chapters. Great prominence is justly given to the work of Hildebrand as being the foundation of the mediæval church. The crusades, the rise of the monastic orders, and the development of religious art, receive a proper share of the author's attention. The student who has not time to read the more elaborate works upon the subject will find in this small treatise *multum in parvo*. The style of the author is good, and the appearance of the book reflects credit on the publishers.

SOCRATES : A Translation of the Apology, Crito, and Parts of the Phædo of Plato. 16mo. pp. 159. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Professor Goodwin of Harvard College writes six pages of introduction to this volume, and thus commends it to our notice. Sixteen pages of notes are appended to the translation. We doubt not that the volume will receive, as it merits, the favor of the public. Professor Goodwin has well said that "the translator has avoided successfully, as it seems to me, the harshness of a strictly literal version, on the one side, and the inexactness of a mere paraphrase, on the other. The aim has been to make the translation readable, and still to retain, as far as possible, whatever is characteristic of the original, even its occasional prolixity."

THE ENGLISH NOVEL, AND THE PRINCIPLE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT.

By Sidney Lanier, Lecturer in Johns Hopkins University, Author of "Science of English Verse." 8vo. pp. 293. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The chapters comprising this book were delivered as lectures at the Johns Hopkins University in 1881; an event which was soon followed by the death of the lamented author. The manuscript, however, has been ably edited and prepared for the press by another hand. It is interesting to see the modern extension of historic science; every revolution of human thought finds its narrator, and each separate department of literature has its special historian. We are familiar with histories of literature and poetry; but in the present work Mr. Lanier gives us the history of the novel—tracing the literature of romance from the first crude efforts of the ancient story-teller to the highly wrought and elaborate novels of Dickens and George Eliot. The analysis given of the great works of fiction is always able, frequently just and profound. We commend this book to all who are interested in tracing the development of fictitious literature.

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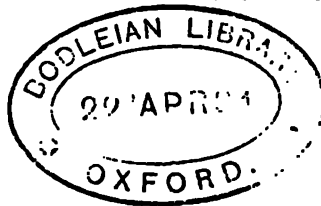
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THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE DIVINE PERSONALITY.

BY JAMES H. FAIRCHILD, D.D., PRESIDENT OF OBERLIN COLLEGE.

THE one great influential fact in the presentation of God which the Scriptures afford is the distinctness of his personality. We come to know him as we know a father or a friend. He makes the world, and fits it up for man's abode, rejoicing in his work. He makes man from the dust of the earth, and breathes into him a living soul. He plants a garden, and places in it the man he has made. He organizes the family, and crowns it with his blessing. His love and providential care follow the race even in their sin. He draws near in personal favor to them that love him, and they walk with him; and to make this friendship more real to the world of unbelievers he takes up to his own presence, before their eyes, one with whom he had been pleased. To establish and maintain more fully in the world a knowledge of himself, he makes a single family the recipients of his manifestations. Through generations and centuries of unwearied care he builds up this family into a nation, distinguished from the nations of the earth by the presence and favor of God, and by a civilization, a morality, and a religion which no other nation approached. With a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm he opened a way before them through the sea, and through the wilderness, and through hostile nations. To impress them and all mankind with his personal

presence he maintained before them, by a perpetual miracle, a visible token of his presence in the pillar of cloud and of fire. He utters his law from Sinai to the assembled hosts with his own voice, and writes it with his own finger upon the tables of stone as a perpetual memorial. He makes the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, his dwelling-place, and with a visible glory overshadows the mercy-seat. When the fulness of time had come he sends forth the Messiah, "made of the seed of David according to the flesh, but declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. i. 3, 4). The personality of God in the incarnation is brought nearer to the thoughts and hearts of men, and yet the exhibition of the great fact is scarcely more distinct than in the Old Testament dispensation. The doctrine of the Divine Spirit brings the fact of God's personality to our very bosoms. God dwells not in the heavens alone, but also with "him who is of a humble and a contrite heart, and who trembles at his word." Thus the Bible brings us to God, and God to us, — not a vague and shadowy idea, an abstraction, but a being instinct with thought and feeling and life, our Creator, our Sovereign, our Saviour, and Friend.

Human reason, unaided, might never have grasped and held this idea of God, but when once presented to our thought it meets, as no other conception could, the wants of our souls in reason and in feeling. Indeed, the highest reason can find no other resting-place in its search for the ground and source of finite being, the world we see and are, but an infinite personality—a being that thinks and feels and wills and lives. The rational demand for an ultimate cause is satisfied only when we reach a self-existent, eternal person. The rational principle by which we demand a cause requires a real and an adequate cause, an original and originating force. We find such a cause only in active intelligence—a person thinking and feeling and willing. If we attempt in thought to follow back the series of dependent existence to its source, we find no rest in any term or individual of that series, how-

ever remote ; each link but receives the force communicated to it, and transmits it to the succeeding. We cease our inquiry only when we reach a power which is capable of originating the series. That originating force is found only in personal being — a being like ourselves in essential attributes, but independent and eternal. Thus the existence of the world is explained, so far as explanation is called for, and our thought is satisfied. Short of this there is no resting-place. If we take the direction which mere physical science would open to us, and derive each complicated form of life from something simpler and more elementary, until we reach the primal germ which holds in itself the laws and forces out of which the world is to rise, we must still look beyond to the creative wisdom and will which enveloped in this germ or seed of the universe such powers and possibilities. The universe in a nut-shell is the universe still — its problems and marvels concentrated indeed, but not disposed of ; and the cause which is adequate to create the world in gross is the only cause which could wrap it up in a germ from which it should spring by inherent forces. It is conceivable that physical science should demonstrate this germ, but persistent reason will still inquire, Who made the germ ? We must come to God at last in his independent personality.

Metaphysical science is equally impotent to afford us a resting-place in any law or force or substance or substratum of being — whatever it may be called — of which the actual known universe is but a phenomenal exhibition. That ultimate substance or force must contain in itself all that we see and know, — all that appears of the outward world, — and there remains still the demand for a Creator to originate and arrange this marvellous spiritual microcosm. It is but a reproduction of the vain attempt of physical science to originate the world. We have in this ultimate substance a spiritual or metaphysical germ, intangible and invisible indeed, embraced by the thought, and not by the senses ; but it is still the dependent finite world, and the unsatisfied reason must still go on feeling after God and finding him. Thus true

rationalism, as well as revelation, brings us to God ; or, to speak more exactly, human reason embraces and rests in the God of revelation—a personal Creator, Sovereign, and Father, and turns away unsatisfied from every proposed ultimate which is impersonal, whether material or immaterial. We accept as a *rational* truth the statement that “the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made of things which do appear” (Heb. xi. 3). In this respect the highest attainment of philosophy cannot transcend the simplest apprehension of the child. God lives, and we are his creatures. “Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth ; and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest : and they all shall wax old as doth a garment : and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed ; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail” (Heb. i. 10, 11).

This doctrine of the divine personality commends itself to our hearts no less than to our rational thought. Our dependent human nature looks for somewhat to lean upon. “We are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow” (Job viii. 9). We are *in* the material world, but not *of* it. We find in ourselves capacities and susceptibilities that give to our being inestimable value. Interests immeasurable to finite thought gather upon every human soul. There is dignity and worth in such a being ; but in the possession of this nature there is ground for the gravest anxieties. Is there a destiny for us corresponding with our nature ? Are there place and time and circumstances where this being shall realize its aspirations ? And what hand shall guide us to that consummation ? Is there any ordered course of life in the pursuit of which we shall attain the good ? Or are we drifting helplessly and hopelessly in the tide of being, like the mote driven by the aimless breeze ?

Such inquiries would indicate no sentimental weakness. They spring from the loftiness of human nature, and **not** from its meanness. If we were like inert matter, or like the

brutes, that perish, no such anxiety or questioning would come to us. These susceptibilities, this capability of a destiny, make us dependent. In the apprehension of a personal God our hearts find a solution for all these problems of existence — not in detail, but comprehensively and summarily. Because God lives we shall live also. There is a being whose eye is upon us, who counts us his treasure, who places and keeps us here, and who in his own time will take us to himself. Upon this fact of God's being the human soul fastens, and will not let it go — the obedient in hope, and the disobedient in apprehension. The thought of God comes to man with authority, and maintains its place against all theoretical doubt or wilful repugnance. Human nature was made to accept the idea of God — his claims and authority — as the child was made for parental control and guidance. The child accords to the parent his place without any logical demonstration of the parent's right or his own want. There is abundant basis for the logical demonstration of both; but the instinctive movement of his nature to the parental claim is antecedent to all reasoning, and far mightier. Thus men stand in relation to a personal God. The demonstration of his existence they may not apprehend, but in their hearts they accept him. The idea of God does not come to men like a fact of history or a truth of science, to be remembered or forgotten. It comes to take root, it fastens itself upon the nature. The human soul is the natural soil for this heavenly seed, and when once it has germinated it can be eradicated only by an utter subversion of the nature. Speculative philosophy, even by a demonstration of atheism, could not supplant this instinctive looking to a personal God. Under the pressure of want even the *atheist* drops his philosophy and prays. He may afterward laugh at his simplicity, and call it superstition, but superstition itself, in its most offensive forms, is a demonstration of the fact that the human soul in its deepest degradation clings to the thought, or rather feeling, of a personal God. That thought and feeling present great differences of expression in logical formulas of creeds, and

in practical forms of worship, often very crude and imperfect, sometimes even loathsome ; but the most unsatisfactory of them all shows that the human soul was made for the idea of God ; that this idea survives when history and science and art have alike been lost. The reaction of the individual character and life upon the idea corrupts and degrades, but cannot obliterate it. The vitality of the idea depends not wholly or chiefly upon the logical proof, but more upon the instinctive attitude of the soul itself — the disposition to acknowledge a Creator and Sovereign.

It is not to any abstraction, any substratum of being, any formative principle of nature, any aggregation of forces, that the human heart thus responds ; it is to a being of positive powers, the attributes of personality, who in his nature stands face to face with us, but is transcendent in the reach of his faculties — a being “that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers ; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in” (Isa. xi. 22). This is the being whom we recognize as God, the very thought of whom has more power in the world than all philosophy and all science.

The more fully the human soul is brought out in its wants and susceptibilities, and becomes conscious of its own being in its interests and worth, so much the more does the fact of God’s personal nature, with the character for goodness and faithfulness which the Scriptures give him, take hold of the heart. The response is no longer in fear and dread alone,—the sentiment which inspires the worship of heathen,—but in hope and adoration and love and confidence. God comes to be regarded as a father and a friend, and the attractions toward him are multiplied and intensified. “His name” becomes “a strong tower” to which “the righteous runneth, and is safe” (Prov. xviii. 10). His favor is life ; his “loving kindness is better than life” (Ps. lxxiii. 5). All that we apprehend as good is found in the knowledge and the love of God, and the earnest seeker cries out : “As the hart panteth

after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God " (Ps. xlii. 1). " Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee " (Ps. lxxiii. 25).

Our relationship to God as a person is a natural one, provided for in our constitution as really as the relationships of our natural life. It is this fact which makes man a religious being — a being that has a natural tendency to worship, to accept readily the idea of God, to feel after him and find him. A natural history of man involving any complete analysis of his life could never overlook these tendencies.

Under the great law of correspondences in nature these tendencies are proof of the existence of the being towards whom they point. In the presence of such a being our nature is explained. We form part of a complete and symmetrical system. Without God we are fragmentary and anomalous. We have impulses that lead no whither, tendencies that point to nothing. Our effort to worship is a projection of ourselves upon empty space. The outcry of the soul for help and support is a vain and unmeaning struggle, fruitless and baseless, which even the modern development system cannot explain. When God comes in, our feet touch the rock, and we stand erect with the inspiration of hope. The heavens above us stoop with sympathy and benignity; nature is vindicated and reason satisfied.

This fact of God's personality is fruitful of results. The whole system of religion in its doctrines and its duties grows out of and finds its explanation in it. The attributes of God are the attributes of a person modified and extended by this fact of his independent and unconditioned being. In this freedom from limitations — that he is without beginning and uncaused — lie the *mysteries of his nature*. Such depths our thoughts cannot fathom. But it is not to our souls a yawning chasm which may engulf us, — not the unapproachable and inconceivable, infinite and absolute abstraction, from which we shrink as from annihilation. We stand before the Infinite Father, "whose ways are not as our ways, or his thoughts as our thoughts" (Isa. lv. 8), because he ranges

space and eternity ; so that "all things are naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do" (Heb. iv. 13). It is the infinity of personality that surrounds us, not the infinity of nothingness. The universe is vitalized by his infinite life. Instead of taking from God all that can characterize him, and make him apprehensible to us, the Bible doctrine of his infinity confers upon him every attribute that renders him precious to our souls, and then exalts these attributes by making them infinite. Thus in God's infinity we find our resting-place. The mysteries of his being are simply the exhaustless and incomprehensible wealth of his nature.

His *goodness* is not a goodness of which we cannot comprehend the nature or principle ; it is the goodness of benevolence, the goodness of love, a goodness that transcends human goodness as his powers transcend our own. The love of God is not an element of his nature, involuntary and irresponsible. It is a positive and active outgoing of goodness to every soul that he has made ; a love directed by infinite wisdom and sustained by unfailing fidelity, perfectly comprehensible in its nature, but in its height and depth and length and breadth surpassing knowledge.

The *independence* of God is not the independence of indifference, but of self-sufficiency. He does not stand remote from the changes of our mortal life, unmoved by what we enjoy or suffer. "In all our afflictions he is afflicted" (Isa. lxiii. 9). "As a father pitieth his children so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame ; he remembereth that we are dust" (Ps. ciii. 13, 14). He is independent in his infinite fulness of blessedness in himself and of blessing to others, *not* in being above sympathy with his finite creatures.

The *sovereignty* of God is the sovereignty of wisdom and of love, not of fate or necessity or arbitrary will. Like a father in the midst of his household, he directs all things by a watchful providence, appointing to every soul in unerring wisdom, restraining, tolerating, punishing, as the highest

good requires. God's ways are mysterious to us, because they are so far-reaching and so wise; not because he is governed by any principle of action which we cannot understand — mysterious as the wisdom of the parent is mysterious to the child. Of all principles of action the simplest and most luminous is the principle of benevolent love, and this is the expression of God's entire activity. The "clouds and darkness which are round about him" are but the "righteousness and judgment which are the habitation of his throne" (Ps. xcvi. 2); dark and impenetrable to us because of the immeasurable reach of his goodness.

The *works* of God, contemplated in the light of his personal nature and power, equally commend themselves to our reason. The creation is but a natural movement and expression of his power and wisdom and goodness. To such a being there can be no difficulty in creating a system like this material universe, and peopling it with beings capable of knowing and loving him; and what more natural to infinite goodness than to delight in such a work? It matters not to us at what point in the development of the system the creative power ceased to operate. The direct result of his volition may have been merely to scatter the "star dust" broadcast upon space, with all the complicated movements and forces impressed upon it which should work out the living world as we see it to-day; or each particular sphere may have rolled in full form from his hand as it started upon its endless revolution. With a personal God back of all this arrangement we indulge such questions merely as matters of scientific curiosity, not of faith; and when the latest dream of empirical science shall have been realized, demonstrating the germ from which the world has sprung, we shall still be able to say: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all" (Ps. civ. 24).

Just as simple and natural in the presence of a personal God is the fact of *revelation*. Why should not God reveal himself to the creatures that he has made, and that need the manifestation? That there should be any difficulty in

the way of a revelation, made either objectively, in forms addressed to the sense, or subjectively to the thought and consciousness, is even inconceivable. God that made the soul must know all the avenues to it, and be able to show himself to us as he pleases. If it is good for man to know God, we may trust God's goodness to supply that want. Thus we may accept the Scriptures as the record of his communication with men, as intelligible and reasonable as the history of a father's communication with his children. The miracles recorded in these Scriptures lose all their incredibility, and may be proved by the same evidence by which we prove any overt act of our neighbor. The miracle is supernatural, but God is supernatural too. Nature is his handiwork, subject to his power and will. If he chooses to show his power and presence to man by a demonstration out of nature and above it, who shall hinder? and the miracle is so far from being incredible that it seems one of the most probable and reasonable events that fall to our experience — rare, indeed, but as capable of proof as the falling of an apple or the flying of a sparrow.

The mystery of *incarnation* even, as recorded in the Gospels, takes its place among events to be proved and believed. Accept the truth that God exists, and that we are his creatures, then the fact that he should come to his own in such a form as to make more real his personality and his presence is a marvel of goodness, but not of improbability. It is but the natural consummation of the whole scheme of divine revelation. In fine, anything in God's communication with men is reasonable and credible which infinite love would prompt, and which infinite wisdom and power could execute. The divine personality lays a foundation for all these demonstrations of his goodness.

The *divine government* with all its exhibitions of law and penalty and forgiveness springs inevitably from the same fact of God's personality, and is sustained by his personal manifestations. God in the midst of his dependent moral creatures, who need direction and restraint and control as posi-

tively as they need any other means of good, must provide for this great need. It is no more obvious that the parents in the family are to govern their children than that the Heavenly Father must accept the responsibility of governing his creatures, and that they must accept him as their ruler and sovereign. This is the only reasonable or even possible adjustment of the relations of Creator and creature in the moral universe. And this relation must be personal, involving the manifestation of God in his personal being and character and authority to the personal condition and character and conscience of the creature. Every soul must have essential knowledge of the fact that he is answerable to God for the purpose of his life and the ordering of his ways. The government must be comprehensive too, as well as individual. These creatures of God are related to each other. They are grouped in families and nations and races; and the human family on earth is but one member of the great community of moral beings of whom God is the Father and Head. The conduct and destiny of each one of these concern all the rest, and God's bearing toward each is of interest to all. They are moral beings, to be dealt with as having a character of their own, and controlled by motive, not by force. Even omnipotent power is not available for the direct control of a world of moral beings; the whole force of his personality must be brought to bear upon them. It is not enough that as moral beings they apprehend in their own conscience the principles of obligation and righteousness. The authority of God as a personal ruler must stand back of that mere ethical perception and reinforce it. The rational perception of duty, such as every moral being must have by virtue of his own nature, has some force—enough to determine obligation and make righteousness possible; but when the voice of God is heard proclaiming the utterances of conscience as his own eternal law, then a new force is added to obligation, and sin becomes not merely an offence against conscience,—a disregard of one's own reason and judgment,—but a refusal to respect the wisdom and the will of the

infinite and perfect One "in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways" (Dan. v. 23).

The Scriptures are vital with the expression of God's personal claims upon his creatures to such an extent that it is rare to find any other exhibition of duty than that it is the will of God. When we look carefully into these precepts, we find that they embody the principles of righteousness given in our own reason and conscience; but what force and authority are added when they come to us as the expression of the personal will of God! The decalogue itself contains only the common principles of righteousness, which all men recognize as binding in their own conscience, and which are found more or less distinctly expressed in the ethical records of all nations; but what vitality and majesty and power they gain by their utterance from Sinai as the voice of Jehovah! We do not hear the feeble ethical announcement, "It is wrong to worship idols. It is wrong to steal and to kill," but, "I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. . . . Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. . . . Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal." Thus everywhere the personality of God stands back of the idea of duty, and the claims of conscience are quickened and enforced by his supreme authority. God has not only made the human conscience capable of apprehending obligation, but he has proclaimed his law, which covers the whole range of obligation, and quickens the conscience with the apprehension of his own personal interest in the performance of the duty. Thus religion and duty are blended, and that religion only is acceptable which carries with it the spirit of obedience and righteousness. "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. xv. 22). "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah vi. 8.) Thus duty, as well as religion, becomes a personal matter between God and the creature.

But the *sanctions* of God's law, as well as the precept, are charged with his own personality. The obedient soul is not left to the mere satisfaction of his own approval, the assurance that he shall stand right before his own conscience, and can live comfortably with himself; nor to the vague trust of the philosopher, that "No evil can happen to the good man, whether he lives or dies";¹ but the Lord of heaven and earth personally intervenes, and pledges his own attributes to the blessedness of the faithful soul. "There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun, who rideth upon the heaven in thy help, and in his excellency on the sky. The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms" (Deut. xxxiii. 26, 27). "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them" (Ps. xxxiv. 7). "The peace of God which passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus" (Phil. iv. 7). The Scriptures abound in such declarations, and they are necessary inferences from the divine personality. It is inconceivable that the infinite personal Jehovah should not deliver the soul that hath set his love upon him (Ps. xci. 14).

Just as explicit are the declarations in reference to the calamity that shall overtake the sinner. He is not left to the simple reaction of sin upon his own nature—the consequences of his overt sinful acts upon his physical and spiritual constitution, and the self-condemnation which falls upon every moral being in sin by virtue of his moral nature. These results are inevitable, and help make up the burden with which sin loads its servants; and to this burden must be added the reprobation and contempt of the world of moral beings who become cognizant of the sin. In the Scriptures all these things seem to be assumed, and passed over with little notice. In themselves they are significant and weighty, but in comparison with this divine displeasure, the just condemnation of him "who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity" (Hab. i. 18), it does not seem necessary to name them.

¹ Cic. De Con. Mor.

All are lost sight of in the presence of the "indignation and wrath, the tribulation and anguish," which must fall "upon every soul of man that doeth evil" (Rom. ii. 8, 9). The human heart shrinks at times from the appalling representations of that hour when "the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thess. i. 7, 8). It seems a relief to hide ourselves from the divine personality in punishment, and interpose nature and conscience and the constitution of things between our souls and the wrath of God. There is even a sentiment that by such an interposition we can save God from the responsibility of a direct share in the sinner's destruction. It is pleasanter to think that the sinner destroys himself than that he "shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day" (2 Thess. i. 9). But a distinct recognition of the personality of God makes such a conception nugatory. With all the force of his infinite nature he must maintain righteousness and rebuke sin. The divine condemnation cannot be a mere ethical judgment of the sinner's unworthiness, a purely rational apprehension of the ill-desert of sin. God's personal disapprobation must fall upon the sinner; and this must be, beyond all comparison, the chief factor in the calamity that overwhelms him. The ruin of sin cannot be purely and only natural; the divine personality must bring in a supernatural element, and this the Scriptures constantly present.

Out of the same great fact of the divine nature springs the significance of forgiveness. To be reconciled to God implies a profounder idea than the mere restoration of the harmonious action of one's own nature, a submission of the will to the guidance of conscience. All this is implied in the turning from sin to righteousness; but there is much more than this. The soul is relieved of the burden of God's disapprobation, and "the peace of God which passeth all understanding"

(Phil. iv. 7) takes the place of his disapprobation. The personal reconciliation in the case of human souls that have been alienated from each other is but a feeble shadow of that "everlasting kindness" with which God draws near to his penitent creature (Isa. liv. 7, 8). Condemnation and pardon are correlatives, and both are inseparable from the personality of God.

About the same grand truth of God's personal nature all the *duties* of religion gather, as well as its doctrines. What we owe to God springs from the fact of his personal character, of his providence and care for us, and our dependence upon him. Obedience to God is a natural duty of the same nature with the duty of the child to a parent who watches over him, and upon whom he depends. It is no arbitrary requirement on God's part. It is the only proper attitude of a finite moral being toward a being who is infinite and perfect.

Faith toward God is but the confidence which is due to him in response to his personal attributes and character. He is a trustworthy Being, and faith is the recognition and acknowledgment of this fact—the only reasonable and natural attitude. It is no mysterious or incomprehensible requirement, but a duty so obvious and plain that no one ever fails in it from want of understanding. It is very possible to mystify and bewilder by elaborate explanations; but the earnest soul never comes short of the duty by reason of such bewilderment. If he has a heart to render to God what is honestly his due, he will begin by treating him as trustworthy.

Worship, too, is but a natural expression of the reverence and confidence and love due to God in his infinite personality. It is no aimless outgoing, like the instinctive cry of an infant that knows not of an ear that hears; but it is the rational communication of the soul with God. He that comes to God "believes that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that seek him." Adoration and thanksgiving and confession and supplication are the proper utterances of the soul before him. No costly sacrifices can please him, no abstrac-

tion of thought like that of the Eastern devotee, no movement of ritualistic machinery, no mystical introversion or working up of spiritual frames and exercises. "God is a Spirit [an intelligence], and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (John iv. 24). This worship leads us outward in thought and spirit to God, and the more simple and direct the approach, the more satisfactory to God and to man. "Our Father who art in heaven" (Matt. vi. 9), and "God be merciful to me a sinner" (Luke xviii. 13) are the loftiest models of sincere worship.

The morality of religion is in its nature and principle the morality of philosophy. Human reason finds nothing more elementary or ultimate in duty than the "love" which "is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. xiii. 10). But philosophy can only state the principle. In the presence of a personal God this principle becomes the divine law, proclaimed with the authority of the rightful Sovereign of the universe, and sustained with his infinite resources. What was before an abstract principle of obligation becomes now an expression of divine wisdom and will, and conformity to obligation becomes obedience to God. Men do not need so much the knowledge of duty as motives and persuasions to its performance; and the force of the Bible as promotive of good morals is not chiefly in the clearer precepts of duty and the higher principles which it embodies, but in its clearer presentation of God as a moral Governor, who embodies in his own character the principles of righteousness, who holds men accountable for their conduct, and who will bring them into judgment. The great reformatory idea of the world is the idea of God as the Scriptures present it. It has force with the child who has first apprehended the fact that God sees him, and with the man in his maturity, who even in a life of sin has not been able to shake off the thought of God. It reaches men in the humblest spheres, in the secrets of their own hearts where questions of right and wrong are pondered, or sitting upon thrones in power and pride. The

handwriting from God arrests them in their confidence and restrains their impiety. If the sin and wretchedness of the world are ever cured, it will be by making men acquainted with God, and bringing their lives into harmony with him. This is the great object of revelation. The whole movement of God's providence in the world has had this aim, to bless men with the knowledge of himself.

The knowledge of God can never grow old or become ineffective to the human soul. Other ideas and philosophies will have their day. For a longer or shorter period they may hold the mind; but they are at length outgrown, and other expressions of truth take their place. The idea of God is the oldest ever given to human thought, and it is as fresh and vigorous to-day as when first apprehended by men. The great fact of the world is the fact that God is, and the great thought of the world is the thought of God.

ARTICLE II.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.¹

BY DR. H. VON HOLST, PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG,
GERMANY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—A foreigner venturing to lecture before an American audience on the Irrepressible Conflict,—is not that “carrying owls to Athens”? Perhaps I would have no right to complain if that should have been your first thought when you learned on what subject I proposed to address you. What I have but studied in dusty documents is with many of you a chapter of your own life, of which no line can ever be obliterated from memory, because it has been written into your hearts with blood and with tears. Yet, as I have these last fifteen years devoted the best part of my time

¹ A Lecture delivered at Oberlin College Oct. 4, 1883. [This has been carefully written out by the distinguished author for the pages of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. — Eds.]

to the study of this question, it may not be presumptuous to suppose that, in the course of my researches, I may have come across some facts which have escaped your notice at the time and which it is essential to know if one is honestly desirous to judge correctly, i.e. justly, the men and the events of the past. And, at all events, I think that, without exposing myself to being accused of a lack of modesty, I could claim to be able to tell those younger members of my audience who lived through the days of the civil war in the nursery many important things about this pivotal question of their country's history which would be more or less new to them. But however that be, I shall not attempt to do so. It is, on the contrary, my intention to speak about what I do not know myself, because that will not only be of greater interest and more profitable to you, but may also eventually lead to a positive good result. This announcement may possibly appear to you a sheer absurdity, and yet I trust that ere I am done you will admit that I was right.

You remember that William H. Seward was the father of the expression "the irrepressible conflict," a phrase which, like a stroke of lightning, rent the dark clouds in twain, opening the eyes of thousands to the fact which the majority of statesmen and politicians had been so anxiously striving to conceal and cover up by their policy of "compromise." But Seward himself was at that time far from grasping the import of his own declaration in its whole breadth and depth. The conflict between the North and the South really was an irrepressible one in the fullest sense of the word, simply because in the nineteenth century a wedlock between liberty and slavery is a contradiction in terms; but, with the exception of the outright abolitionists nobody wholly grasped this fact, and *they* only *felt* it, but cannot be said to have fully *understood* it. When the catastrophe came, that is to say, when the stern *facts* had put the seal upon the assertion that the conflict was an *irrepressible* one, the same Seward, on his way to Washington to assume the duties of Secretary of State, assured Mr. Russell, the well-known English newspaper

correspondent, that within sixty days the seceded States would have been brought back into the Union. And how long was it before Abraham Lincoln, who had declared that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and with him the majority of the people of the northern States came to see that the Union could not be restored unless the *cause* of the irrepressible conflict was removed!

And did they see more clearly on the other side? By no means. The reasoning of John C. Calhoun, the very embodiment of the instincts of the slavocracy, is always shaped in this way: the Union is irretrievably lost unless Congress does this and that, and unless the people of the free States cease to do this and that. We have lived to see the truth of these assertions proved; but what Calhoun wanted Congress and the people of the North to do were, in the strict sense of the word, impossibilities, and it was this that he failed to see. "Stop agitation," was his simple but unfailing remedy. Agitation, however, could not be stopped unless the conflict was not an irrepressible one; nay more, unless the people of both sections could be convinced that it was not a reality, but existed only in their imagination; for as long as free and democratic people believe — no matter whether this belief is well founded in fact or not — that there is something at work touching their vital interests, they will and must unceasingly labor to attain what to them seems a satisfactory solution of the problem. In spite of his unceasing peremptory demand to stop agitation, Calhoun could not close his eyes against this decisive and, one might say without exaggeration, self-evident fact, and therefore he strained his subtile intellect and acute logic to their utmost capacity to demonstrate to the people of the North that slavery was "a good, a positive good," with no other result than thereby to convince more and more people that it was an evil so terrible that there was and could be but one alternative — either to crush it, or to be crushed by it.

Others followed in the wake of Calhoun with regard to this fundamental question. On the eve of the rebellion, to men-

tion but one instance, Alexander H. Stevens wrote to his brother Linton that the whole problem hinged upon the question whether slavery was sinful and immoral ; if so the South was wrong, and, no matter what explanations and excuses she might hunt up, sooner or later she would be compelled to strike her flag. But though an honest and devoted Christian, he was perfectly satisfied that it was not sinful and immoral, and therefore he clung to the last to the hope that the Union with slavery might and would be preserved, because, like Calhoun, he failed to see that, even if he was right, that could be of no practical effect whatever unless he could make the people of the North view the subject in the same light. "What is truth?" Pilate asked. Yes, what is truth? I do not deny that there is absolute truth, but finite man will never be able to tell what it is. What we call history is the slow march of mankind towards it ; gradually and with frequent deviations they fight their way on in the right direction without ever reaching the goal. Moral truth as an active force among men is not an absolute, but a relative thing, constantly developing with the general development of mankind, and therefore whatever is believed by a people to be a moral truth works in its history as such.

Now here we see a people, upon the whole, of common origin, of a common history, living under institutions of the same character, geographically, economically and politically closely united, and yet differing almost *toto coelo* about the moral character of a question which necessarily became every year more and more the determining element in absolutely every relation of importance in the life of a civilized people. This in itself made the conflict an irrepressible one, for no question could come up which was not, in some way or other, directly or indirectly connected with slavery, and so the two opposing convictions had to clash. The idea of harmonizing them could not be seriously entertained by any reflecting man, for by this time the veriest tyro was aware of the fact, which Calhoun had affirmed for twenty years or more, that the spirit of abolitionism would and must con-

stantly gain ground in the North, while, on the other side, the leading men of the South worked themselves *pari passu* into the belief that slavery was a positive good, and boldly and successfully raised the standard of slavery propagandism — that is to say, the moral convictions of the North and the South with regard to this question steadily and with increasing rapidity moved on in diverging lines. And yet the majority of the politicians and of the people would stick to the delusion that it was after all possible to nail the irreconcilable difference of opinion fast to the misty heights of abstract truth, and to bridge over by legislation the chasms which yawned every day wider and wider under their feet. Every new attempt to accomplish this feat, which was beyond all human skill, because it went contrary to the laws of God and of nature, gave them the lie more directly and in a more striking manner, but still their honest though mistaken patriotism and their high respect for legal rights and obligations drove them on to persist in their futile exertions even after the Hotspurs of the South had at last cut the Gordian knot. The irresistible logic of facts now pushed the people of the North on, step by step, until at last the emancipation proclamation cleared the ground for the sword to find the irrevocable solution of the fearful problem.

It is now universally acknowledged, not only in the North, but also in the South, that the solution is definite and irrevocable, and even five years ago when I travelled in the southern States, I did not find a single person who, though not yielding a hair's breadth with regard to the constitutional question, did not openly declare that for no consideration whatever would the South take back slavery. But in spite of all that, I am still to find the first man either North or South, with whom the fact that the conflict was an irrepressible one is at best more than a half-understood truth. This may seem to you a bold, if not an absurd assertion, and yet I confidently undertake to prove it. And in doing so I go yet one step further, and maintain that it is as yet absolutely impossible fully to understand it, though one may know

enough of it to declare most positively that the time will come when it will be fully understood, and when it will be really proved to be a fact.

Ere this can be done the history of slavery in the United States has to be written, and thus far not even the slightest attempt has been made to do it. You will not suspect me of the foolish vanity of claiming that I know this history. I have told you that I wanted to speak about what I did not know, and here you have it. After having studied for fifteen years the history of the United States under their present Constitution, and principally the slavery question, I have to announce as one of the main results of my studies that I do not know the history of slavery in this republic, and that nobody else does. But I have learned enough about it to venture with the greatest possible assurance, the declaration that ere this history is really known and written in a satisfactory manner it is impossible fully to master the history of the slavery question, or, in other words, fully to understand that and why the conflict between the North and the South was an irrepressible one, which could be solved only by the sword. No further commentary of mine will be needed to make you see the difference between the history of *slavery* and the history of the slavery *question*, and you will admit that all the works known to you treat but of the latter, with only now and then some isolated or loosely connected facts gleaned from the former strewn in. And it is self-evident that as long as the history of the thing itself is not thoroughly known and understood, it is impossible fully to understand the part it has played as a subject of political controversy.

The truth of this assertion will appear to you still more striking when I advance another step in my argument, calling your attention to the all-important fact that the slaveholding States lived in an irrepressible conflict within themselves. The "fiend" that finally succeeded in killing their peculiar institution, "the accursed spirit of abolitionism," — that is, of liberty, — did not only attack them from without,

but it stalked in *their* legislative halls, sat on *their* judicial benches, warmed itself at *their* firesides, nestled in the very centre of *their* hearts. They could not hunt it ignominiously away; and if they could have done it they would rather have laid down their lives than do it. Whatever they did for slavery was a slap in their own faces and a cut into their own flesh. Was the union feeling in the South nothing but a sentimental emotion, only a clinging to recollections and traditions which once had been realities, but had now become empty shadows; or had the slaveholding States, in spite of everything, continued to be living and organic members of this democratic republic? Had not they too issued the Declaration of Independence, with its self-evident truths? Had not they too fought the war of the Revolution, facing the hangman's halter in case they were conquered? Had not they too had a hand in establishing this Constitution, in order to render the Union more perfect, and secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty? Had not they too continued to maintain the principles of self-government? Were not they too genuine republicans? Was it not, then, an unavoidable consequence of all this, that every conflict generated by slavery necessarily was as much a conflict at home as a conflict with the North, though the people honestly and most thoroughly deceived themselves about it? That is the tragical culmination in the fate of the slavocracy, that the higher they rear the temple of their peculiar institution, the more vigorously they undermine its foundations, because they act against their own interests, against their own principles, against the spirit of their own institutions. Not only the Union, but also the South, was a house divided against itself; and in the South not only the border States standing against the cotton States, the breeding States against the planting States, the slaveholders against the non-slaveholders, but the worst fire-eating southron could not help being a house divided in himself; the slaveholder and the southerner stood against the man and the American citizen,—nay, more, as a slaveholder and a southerner he

found himself entangled in an ever-tightening net of contradictions which admitted of no reconciliation.

The South had early become fully aware of the fact that slavery was doomed, unless she succeeded in retaining the controlling influence in the councils of the Union. Every success of the slavocracy, however, was a Pyrrhus victory, proving more clearly that, in spite of the subserviency of northern politicians, this would at last become impossible, unless she could become a little more equal to the North in the increase of actual power, instead of seeing the distance between the two sections constantly widen. That, however, slavery rendered impossible, and if it had been possible, the interests of the slavocracy would have absolutely forbidden it. Slavery drove many a poor, but strong-limbed and stout-hearted man away from the South into the free States, while immigration shunned the South on account of slavery. The leading slaveholders talked a great deal about attracting immigration, and their wisest men — among them of course Calhoun — came to the conclusion that it would be simply suicide to do so. The South, while asserting, and honestly believing the mad assertion, that the economical ruin of the North would be complete and irretrievable if the South seceded, could not help seeing that her economical dependence upon the North grew every year greater, more humiliating, and more dangerous to the sway of the slavocracy. Her leading men again talked a great deal about establishing all sorts of industries in the slaveholding States. They proved entirely to their own satisfaction that it was an absolute necessity and the easiest thing in the world to do, because in every respect, the pretended cheapness of slave labor included, the advantage was on the side of the South; and year after year they passed formal resolutions that it should and would be done. The end of all that, however, was, that not only nothing at all came of it, because negro slavery proved to be incompatible with industrial pursuits on a larger scale, but also that again their best men — and among them of course Calhoun — became convinced that these attempts, if persisted in and in

the least successful, must necessarily be destructive to the power of the slaveholders. Calhoun was one of the first men in the United States to see what a revolution would be worked in the economical relations of the whole civilized world by the introduction of railroads, and he went at once to work to secure to his section in the highest possible degree the advantages to be derived from this new means of communication. He calculated correctly; for if the South did not move on in this respect with the rest of the world she would at once be distanced so much in the race for material power that the idea of maintaining her political supremacy would be ridiculous. And yet the introduction of railroads was evidently much more suicidal than either the favoring of immigration or the establishment of factories. In consequence of her thin population, caused by the economical nature of slave labor, the South could compete in this respect as little as in any other with the North; and yet she had to have railroads, because she could not suffer herself to be thrown out of the pale of the civilized world; while, on the other hand, isolation became more and more a question of life and death to the peculiar institution. Every year the necessity grew more and more pressing for the South to keep up with the onward march of mankind; every year she fell further back; every year she boasted louder of being the most civilized country of the world;¹ every year she pressed

¹ G. Fitzhugh of Virginia, said in 1857: "Twenty years ago the South had no thought — no opinion of her own. Then she stood behind all Christendom, admitted her social structure, her habits, her economy, and her industrial pursuits to be wrong, deplored them as a necessity, and begged pardon for their existence. Now she is about to lead the thought and direct the practices of Christendom; for Christendom admits and sees that she has acted a silly and suicidal part in abolishing African slavery — the South a wise and prudent one in retaining it. . . . In any view of the subject southern thought and southern example must rule the world. The South has acted wisely and prudently; acted according to the almost universal usage of civilized mankind and the injunctions of the Bible, and she is about to gather her reward for so doing. She flourishes like the bay tree, whilst Europe starves, and she is as remarkable for her exemption from crime as her freedom from poverty. . . . Slavery educates, refines, and moralizes the masses by separating them from each other, and bringing them into constant intercourse with masters of superior minds, information

tighter to her bosom the reptile that fed upon her vitals.¹ Calhoun had expected to find a powerful ally in steam, and what he got was a scorched hand. Steam pushed on the North at lightning rate, and carried into the South not power and wealth, but the spirit of the age, and that was the spirit of abolitionism. The longing and screaming for steam gradually changed into a longing and screaming for the resumption of the African slave-trade.² Congo negroes were

and morality. . . . Slavery is necessary as an educational institution, and is worth ten times all the common schools of the North. Such common schools teach only (!) uncommonly bad morals, and prepare their inmates to graduate in the penitentiary, as the statistics of crime at the North abundantly prove."

¹ The Southern Literary Messenger wrote: "An abolitionist is any man who does not love slavery for its own sake, as a divine institution; who does not worship it as the corner-stone of civil liberty; who does not adore it as the only possible social condition on which a permanent republican government can be erected; and who does not, in his inmost soul, desire to see it extended and perpetuated over the whole earth, as a means of human reformation, second in dignity, importance, and sacredness alone to the Christian religion. He who does not love African slavery with this love is an abolitionist." And the Atlanta Confederacy declared in January 1860: "We regard every man in our midst an enemy to the institutions of the South who does not boldly declare that he or she believes African slavery to be a social, moral, and political blessing. Any person holding other than these sentiments, whether born at the South or North, is unsound, and should be requested to leave the country."

² When secession had become an accomplished fact, and the Confederate States were anxious to gain the sympathy and good-will of Europe, they branded the assertion, that the idea of reintroducing the African slave-trade had ever been seriously entertained, as a base and absolutely unfounded calumny. That was a bold, barefaced perversion of historical truth which must be exposed without mercy, for it concerns a question second in importance to none in the whole history of slavery in the United States. In the fourth and fifth volume of my Constitutional and Political History of the United States, I shall prove this by documentary evidence which I trust will put this once controverted question forever to rest. Here I can adduce but one testimony, which states the facts quite correctly. In a letter from Savannah, Georgia, dated April 27, 1859, it is said: "At the present time it is undoubtedly true that a large majority of the people are opposed to the measure, and not a few bitterly. The people of the interior, planters of the up-country, the old settlers, who accept and are satisfied with the present state of things, and practically regard their slaves as part of their families, dread the agitation, and are pretty well united in sentiment. . . . But, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the policy of reopening the slave-trade has been adopted by determined and persevering men; it is the Young America spirit of the South. And in forming a judgment as to the course of public opinion on this grave question, one must take into account that

to be the lever with which the South was to be thrown with one jerk over the yawning gulf which separated her from the rest of the civilized world.¹ She saw that her fate was sealed if she could not again stand abreast with the North among the great nations of the earth; and the only means at her disposal to regain her former position was the very thing which had clogged her feet, only in its most aggravated form. Her most radical sons commenced to blaspheme, declaring in the highest tones that the time would come, and was near at hand, when the world would see that the only possible foundation of true liberty was slavery;² and at the same time

the advocates of the slave-trade, although a minority, are young, ambitious, and unscrupulous." To this I can for the present only add that they steadily gained ground, and had, on the eve of the rebellion, become powerful enough in some of the southern States to try whether they might risk to cry down the conservatives with terroristic denunciations.

¹ T. A. Lyles, of South Carolina, declared in 1856: "Now I admit, with all frankness and candor, that the non-slaveholding States are in all or nearly all the great industrial pursuits of the age greatly in advance of the slaveholding States; but I must, with the same frankness and candor, deny the allegation that the cause is to be found in the local laws, customs, or institutions of either; but that they are to be traced unerringly to the constitution, laws, and policy of the general government. Am I asked to point them out? I do so by referring to one only; there may be others, and no doubt are; but the clause in the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and policy made conformable thereto, prohibiting the African slave-trade in the year 1808, is to my mind so manifestly the immediate and great cause, that I will content myself with a few reflections in regard to it." And L. W. Spratt of South Carolina, in a report to the Southern Commercial Convention in Montgomery, May 1858, said: "Another great want of the South is labor. . . . That, when it [labor] offers profit, will attract abundant capital, and with abundant labor therefore, enterprise will take new lines of action, and there is a firm assurance that the South will take a range of varied culture unsurpassed by any other country of the world. The foreign slave-trade will give us that abundant labor."

² The Rev. Thomas Stringfellow, D.D., of Calpepper County, Virginia, said in his work, *Slavery, its Origin, Nature, and History*: "Either liberty or civilization, or both, must die when the world is subjected to the control of their [the abolitionists] leading principle of 'freedom and equality' among men." I have been astonished, that so far as I know, none of the learned and well-read southern gentlemen who held such views has ever called attention to the interesting fact that J. J. Rousseau the great oracle and infallible apostle of all the radical sects of the first French Revolution, comes very nearly to the same conclusion as to liberty, though, as he correctly states at the end of his argument, he has before proved slavery to be, under all circumstances, unjust. He says: "In

they bitterly complained that the very citadels of slavery, as Charleston, became every year more and more infected and infested with the spirit of abolitionism, in spite of anything they could do.

Thus the South was madly hurled around in a whirlpool of contradictions, and deeper and deeper engulfed in its boiling and poisoning waters by every exertion to extricate herself. And all this was not the result of the short-sightedness or perversity of her political leaders, but the logical consequence of the one fact that slavery had been made the

Greece the people did everything themselves they had to do. They were constantly assembled on the public place, lived in a mild climate, and were not hungry; slaves worked for them; their [the people's] great business was liberty. If one has not the same advantages, how can one maintain the same right? Your climate is severer, and in consequence you have more wants; six months in the year one cannot be for any length of time on the public place; your husky voices cannot make themselves heard in the open air, you are more after prosperity than after liberty, and fear slavery less than misery. *How! Can liberty maintain itself only with the help of slavery? Very possible.* The two extremes touch each other. Everything that is not in nature has its inconveniences, and civil society more than anything else. *There are such unfortunate situations in which one's own liberty can be maintained only at the expense of the liberty of other people, and in which the citizen is not perfectly free, unless the slave is absolutely slave.* Such was the situation of Sparta. You modern nations have no slaves, but you are yourselves slaves; *you pay for the liberty of the slaves with your own.* You may claim that as a praiseworthy distinction; *I see in it more weakness than humanity."* It is true, if the slavocracy had adduced the authority of Rousseau, its adversaries might have shown by another quotation from the *Contrat Social* to what abominable absurdities the acutest reasoning is apt to lead, which absolutely and on principle pays no attention to facts, starting abstract logic on a mad race from arbitrary and delusive premises. Let us see what becomes of religious liberty at the hands of the man whose starting-point is the absolute independence, i.e. the sovereignty of the individual. "Thus there is a purely civil creed which the sovereign has to determine upon, not, it is true, exactly as principles of his religion, but as convictions of sociability (*sociabilité*), without which it is impossible to be a good citizen. Without being able to oblige anybody to believe in them, *he can banish everybody from the State who does not believe in them*; he can banish him not as a godless, but as an unsociable one, as one who is incapable of honestly loving the laws and justice, and, in case of need, of sacrificing his life to his duty. Everybody who, after the public recognition of these principles, acts as if he did not believe in them, *shall be punished with death*; he has committed the greatest of all crimes, he has lied before the laws." According to Rousseau the immortality of the soul must be one of the principles of this "purely civil creed," which is an absolute requirement of "sociability."

corner-stone of the economical, social, and political life of democratic republics, indissolubly and organically united in one great commonwealth with real democracies.

And now let me ask you, How much of all this has thus far been *proved*? I am sure you will answer unanimously, Nothing, or next to nothing. And I am bold enough to assert that I have collected sufficient materials not by any means to furnish the proofs, but to satisfy every clear-sighted and impartial man that all this *can* be proved, and that it *must* be proved, ere the nature and the history of the irrepressible conflict can be fully understood. To do so in the way it ought to be done is the work of many a laborious lifetime. But that is no reason to leave it undone. Here is a broad field for the young scholars of the United States; and whosoever undertakes to till it in the right spirit will be amply rewarded, and, as the saying was in the French Revolution, will have deserved well of his country. Take up any question you like; there are dozens at your choice,—the history of the non-slaveholders, of landed property, of education, of political and other literature, of migration, of political ideas, of the influence of railroads upon slavery in the slaveholding States, and so forth,—anything you like, but *do* commence to work out *the history of slavery*, no matter at what point you begin.

If it should prove to have been my good fortune to sink into but one mind in this audience a grain which is to germinate, and sooner or later ripen into a literary fruit of the kind indicated, I shall be richly rewarded; and I trust you will graciously grant absolution to the authorities of Oberlin College for having invited me to address you, and to me for having accepted the invitation.

ARTICLE III.

HEREDITY AND DEPRAVITY.

BY STUART PHELPS, PH.D., LATE PROFESSOR IN SMITH COLLEGE,
NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

[NOTE. — It is due to the author of this article to state the fact that the undersigned has been accustomed for several years to interchange with him criticisms and revisions of work in preparation for the press, each *editing* the work of the other. The present article was found among his manuscripts, in a form adapted only to delivery in the lecture-room in the Theological Seminary at Andover. To adapt it to the pages of a Review, it needed some rhetorical changes, and the elimination of a few paragraphs chiefly of an illustrative character. In making the requisite alterations, no other liberty has been taken than that which he had been wont to authorize. The materials and the general structure of the article have not been disturbed; and it needs hardly to be said that the philosophical opinions advanced are his own. — AUSTIN PHELPS].

“THE churches teach,” so runs the Augsburg Confession, “that after the fall of Adam all men propagated according to ordinary generation are born with sin; that is, without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupiscence; and that this disease or original depravity is truly sin, damning and bringing eternal death upon those who are not regenerated by baptism and the Holy Spirit.”

“Christians,” teaches the Formula Concordiae, “ought to regard that hereditary disease by which the whole nature of man is corrupted as a specially dreadful sin; and, indeed, as the first principle and source of all other sin.”

“By this sin,” declares the Confession of English Protestantism, “they fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of the soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation.”

"All moral qualities," writes a modern physician, "are transmissible from parent to child; with this important addition, that in the case of vicious tendencies or habits the simple practice of the parent becomes the passion, the mania, the all but irresistible impulse of the child." Yet the professor of golden speech tells us that "moral chaos began with the idea of transmissible responsibility."

These quotations from ecclesiastical authorities on the one side, and from medical authorities on the other, suggest the theme of the present article, viz. The Relation of Heredity as a Principle in Psychology to Depravity as a Doctrine in Theology.

Historically we have had a twofold development of that which is really a single principle. Christian theology, starting with a doctrine of original sin, invented the principle of imputation to defend that doctrine. Its process was constructive and its results arbitrary. The common sense of mankind was recognized at some points and ignored at others. Psychology was allowed to testify only when its testimony made for the predetermined verdict. The discussion is among the commonplaces of theological history. One reads it with feelings both of admiration and of sadness—of admiration for the ingenious logic of some of the world's master-minds, and for the intrepid honesty which sought logical consistency in the *debris* of shattered instincts and the darkness of clouded intuitions; yet with sadness at the waste of force in reasoning which perverted fact and contradicted consciousness.

From the theological standpoint the doctrine is now regarded either as "a fundamental doctrine of all religion," or as a fossil exhumed from buried ages, according to the school of thought which the believer represents. From the popular standpoint it is regarded as a technicality of dogmatism with which the masses of men have no concern, and which, if it must be discussed at all, should be relegated to the theological lecture-room. The common conscience does not respond to it, for the common sense cannot believe it. Popular interest

in it, therefore, even as a question in theology, is well-nigh obsolete. Let a preacher experiment with it, and he arouses no interest but that of curiosity or of oppugnation. Even the vocabulary of the controversy will fall upon ignorant ears. One might nearly as well use in the pulpit the hieroglyphics of the turf as the once revered technicalities of theology in the discussion of "original sin." Practically, in its ancient forms of statement, the doctrine of inherited depravity is a dead issue. A wise preacher will ignore it, as he would any other relic of the schools which live thought has outgrown or outworn.

Yet, by the side of this theological departure, another principle has been slowly evolving, — rather, the same principle in an entirely different environment, and with very diverse theological sequences. Essentially physiological, it has grown to its present proportions with that calm indifference to theological corollaries which has always characterized medical science. Never has an experienced physician lived who did not *see* the inheritance by the child of the physical qualities of its progenitors. A doctrine of heredity has been, from Galen downward, an axiom of medical theory. One would as soon think of wasting time in a refutation of the solar theory of "Brother Jasper," as in demonstration of the fact, always and everywhere patent, of physical heredity. Who except the statisticians and the victims are now interested enough either to prove or to question it, in the inheritance of red hair, or a sixth finger, or a drawling speech, or a consumptive diathesis? These natural events disturb us no more than the growth of a rosebud from a rosebush, or of an apple from an apple-graft.

But the principle puts on a new phase when we talk of an inherited soul, of a birthday gift of the elements of character. What would Calvin have thought, if he had been told that under the law of chances the fact that he was a divine renowned the world over was proof that the chances were twenty-eight in the hundred that he sprang from illustrious parentage; and that a modern psychological insurance com

pany would take the risks on the literary fame of his brothers and sisters at thirty-six in the hundred ; of his children, at forty in the hundred ; and that, furthermore, they would reckon the chances of fame to his grandfather at twenty, to his uncle at forty, to his nephew at four, to his grandson at sixteen, to his great grandfather at four, to his grand-uncle at four, and to his first cousin at eight, in the hundred ; while his unfortunate great grandson must wait in vain for even the one hundredth chance for a place on the scroll of famous men. Marvellous indeed is the science of modern statistics in its showing of this law of heredity and the laws related thereto. The whole problem of free-will is still shivering in the cold grasp of the tabular mathematics of crime. And now even the realm of personality is invaded. Poets and statesmen are foretold before birth, as one would speculate upon the progress of blooded horses.

Yet only the statistical part of this science is distinctively modern. We must go back to Aristotle, and beyond him to the *Laws of Manu*, for the first statement of psychical inheritance. The ancient Hebrew, in quoting his familiar proverb of the sour grapes and the children's teeth, meant by it so much more and so radically other than inherited nerves, that the rebuke and warning of the prophet became necessary to his moral training. It would be instructive to trace the growth of the principle of psychical heredity from the first fortuitous observations of it, to its vague generalizations, through curious theological contortions, straightened out by the common sense of prophetic proverbs, till we reach its modern formulation in scientific psychology. But we must be content here with results only.

Modern psychology teaches a doctrine of heredity which, coming from the realm of psycho-physics, assumes as established the following principles, viz.

1. The principle of epigenesis is accepted as proved, except in one school of dogmatic theology. This principle, first formulated by Wolff in his *Theoria Generationis*, holds that the whole being of man, body and soul alike, is originated

in or at the time of the act of generation. Over against this is the theory, so much used and abused in theology, that in the production of the new individual there is only an unfolding, an "evolution," in the original sense of the term. Speaking of embryonic men, Maupertius says: "They are only little statues enclosed one within another, like those works of the lathe in which the carver shows his skill with the chisel by making a hundred boxes shut up one within another." This doctrine of the pre-existence of germs modern science has thrown aside, regardless of the consequences to creeds and confessions. The theology which now builds itself upon a doctrine of evolution as contrasted with epigenesis is unscientific because untrue to facts which science holds as proved beyond reasonable doubt.

2. Admitting this origination of the new being in generation, psycho-physics claims and proves that there are well-defined principles of physical inheritance. Science long ago abandoned the attempt to prove heredity; it busies itself now only with the exceptions to the law. Any statement of details of law at this point would be in advance of actual discovery. But Ribot is very safe when he asserts as general principles that specific characteristics are always transmitted both in the lower animal and in man; that the characteristics of the race and of the variety are also hereditary; and that purely individual characteristics are often transmitted.

In further subdivision we are taught that heredity manifests itself in three forms. The direct form is that in which the offspring develops the peculiarities of the parent, as where a child resembles father or mother in features, in form, in involuntary motions. The reversional form, or atavism, is that in which a leap is made over one or more generations and then a suspended characteristic reappears, as where the stammering of a father omits his child and appears again in his grandchild. We are told that atavism occurs in the silkworm after the lapse of a hundred generations. Indirect heredity subsists between individuals and their ancestors in an indirect line; as between nephew and uncle. But this seems to be but a modification of atavism.

In the simplest of English the principle amounts to this : that we all receive our bodies, with all their peculiarities of form and tendency, from our parents. The apparent exceptions are coming into line under the common law so rapidly now that we may feel perfect confidence in the establishment of physical heredity as a universal principle. Our bodily organism, then, though not strictly pre-existent, takes on its individuality as an ancestral inheritance.

3. To this modern science adds a third principle : that the characteristics of the soul are also either wholly, or in part, an inheritance. We are brought up here very suddenly against the question of the soul's relation to the body. We have four theories to choose from, of the embryology of the soul.

Of these, one is that the first progenitor of the race contained in his own being the germs of all souls through the long line of his posterity to its end. The entire human race existed in him, to be in the lapse of the ages drawn out, generation after generation, like the apartments of a telescope of indefinite length. This theory — traducianism, so called — is as ingenious as its sequence is atrocious. Its theologic outcome is to add to our already sufficiently weighted consciousness of guilt, by piling upon it the accumulations of depravity in the ancestral line back to its beginning. But it is a theory which hardly deserves, and surely does not receive, a respectful hearing from modern embryology. This science does not give to it the dignity of serious discussion.

A second theory, equally extreme and equally repugnant to the common sense of men, is that no such thing as a soul exists to be accounted for ; that when we have explained the origin of the bodily organism, the mission of science in the matter is ended. For, what is thought but molecular action ? What is character but the arrangement and concatenation of cells ? This materialism underlies the psychology of Herbert Spencer and his school, and is distinctly avowed by Haeckel and Maudesley. We can safely leave its refuta-

tion to its own admissions. It is one of those speculations in philosophy which act the scorpion in the circle of fire.

Passing over these two theories, extreme to absurdity, we find two others which are more moderate. One of these holds that the soul begins to exist with the body, and from the body derives all its determinations to action: hence that the soul *is* what the bodily organism makes it. This reduces itself of course ultimately to the theory that all the characteristics of the soul are inherited, because determined by an inherited organism. This theory appears in three forms: in that of an agnostic dualism, soul and body being recognized as distinct substances, yet with no attempt to explain the introduction of the soul into the body; in that of a theistic dualism, which resorts to a special creation or emanation to account for the presence of the characterless unit of psychical force, to be determined in its nature by the physical influence; and again in the form of an agnostic monism, which, as in Clifford's theory of "mind-stuff," considers both soul and body as forms of the same mysterious substance, and thus virtually involves the generation of the soul as well as the body. The first or second of these forms is held by more than one fatalistic theologian. The third is probably the theory of Bain, who seems to resolve will-power into an ultimate mechanism of nerve action.

A fourth theory holds that the soul begins to exist with the body, but that it has to some extent at least its own independent qualities. This might be denominated a theory of modified spontaneity. "The facts of physical heredity," says Wundt, "make it highly probable that, could we reach the initial point of the individual life, we should find there an independent germ of personality which cannot be determined from without, inasmuch as it precedes all external determination." This theory, in a more or less definite form, is substantially held by Ulrich, Lotze, Calderwood, James, and many others. But the whole question of physical heredity as a part of psychology, is so novel that one may search in vain many even recent publications in this depart-

ment to find positive expressions of opinion on the subject. Many seem unwilling to accept inevitable corollaries from their own premises. Some protest against the doctrine of absolute inheritance, yet defend that of spontaneity only negatively. Intuitional psychology has yet before it the task of formulating a doctrine of the embryology of the soul which shall cover all the discovered facts of science and yet be true to the universal facts of consciousness. It is far easier to criticise "germ" and "gemmule" theories than to provide a substitute less open to objection. May it not be that we reach here, as at so many other points of psychological research, very early in our investigation, the great mystery of an expressed thought of God?

The present state of pronounced opinion on this subject involves either expressly or by implication the following conclusions, viz. that neither anthropology nor metaphysics has yet proved the fact of absolute inheritance, or the absurdity of partial spontaneity; that the *tendency* of the investigation is to discover new difficulties in the way of the explanation of the soul's individuality on the hypothesis of absolute inheritance; yet, on the other hand, that the metaphysics of spontaneity has not been satisfactorily justified by the facts of evolution. We may say, then, that the theory of Wundt is supported by the facts so far as they are known; but that the theory needs further investigation and adjustment. If we admit this theory as defensible, we must admit that spontaneity can be only partial; for the facts of psychical inheritance are sufficiently numerous to be roughly classified into principles.

Physical heredity involves the inheritance of all those original qualities, capacities, predispositions of the soul which are in their nature determined directly by the physical organism. This is, of course, pre-eminently true of the feelings. Inherited antipathies and ambitions are too well-known to need illustration. Love, hate, courage, fear, gentleness, cruelty, avarice — the catalogue of inherited feelings is co-extensive with the range of sensibility. It may seem an

extravagant statement, but common observation will sustain it, that all the determinations of feeling which characterize infantile being are direct or indirect inheritances.

So also may original tendencies of thought and opinion be an ancestral gift. Are there not men whose children, apart from all appreciable force of education and the atmosphere of home, must by sheer force of inherited tendency start on their thought-life as sceptics in their drift, if not in pronounced opinion? When every molecule in the paternal brain bears the shape of a point of interrogation, it would border on the miraculous if we should find the exclamation sign of faith in the brain-cells of the child. A wise teacher will take courage from the secondary results of his work in the offspring of his pupils. To the third and fourth generation he may trace the results of his fidelity.

President Bascom is right in his assertion that the more purely volitional an act is, the less is the probability of its being transmissible. At any point along the line of succession will-power may claim its independence and refuse to take on the thought of another. The determinist who discusses heredity will only wind about himself the more closely as he proceeds the bonds which strangle his individuality. But the believer in the autocracy of the power which is fashioned in the image of its Maker will be thronged with evidences of unique, independent, creative power in each and every soul. Heredity stops when it has asserted that the sensibilities which move the will may be themselves determined by the impulse of a nervous centre which is inherited. Beneath those sensibilities and above them is the regal power which determines itself and decrees character.

Leaving out of the question all metaphysical principles, settled and unsettled alike, the psychological doctrine of heredity may be summed up in six general principles. First, the bodily organism in its original structure is an absolute inheritance, in its generic and specific or racial determinations; and also with all reasonable probability in its individual characteristics. Secondly, the theory of a limited spon-

taneity in the individual soul has so far withstood all attacks, and still holds its own as the most reasonable and adequate explanation of the facts. Thirdly, yet the soul inherits all those original characteristics which are naturally determined by the inherited bodily organism. It thus inherits all its "instinctive" predispositions in feeling. Fourthly, the soul inherits also many, perhaps all, of its original tendencies in thought. Fifthly, heredity cannot explain the origin of those elements of character which are the direct results of pure volition. Sixthly, we derive, therefore, the principle that responsibility for character is limited to those qualities of the soul which are undetermined by this immense inheritance and are the products of intelligent volition.

Such is in brief the outline of a doctrine which is only just beginning to work its way into our standard treatises on psychology. It is beyond the purpose of the present discussion to treat of the very vital part which this doctrine must play in all future theories of instinct, of intuition, and of the origin of knowledge. Practically it must revolutionize the whole study of the original constitution of the human mind. But the present object limits the discussion to the relation of the doctrine of heredity to a single theological tenet. With that relation in view, the general principle has been presented at some length, that it may be fairly before us as the basis of theological reasoning.

Yet in approaching its theological bearings one feels as those modern critics of logic do, who complain of the syllogism because, indeed, it adds nothing new to the premises! With the facts admitted, is not the conclusion self-evident? Psychology as thus developed vindicates triumphantly the old Greek anthropology in Christian doctrine, as against the later Latin discussions of the same principles.

As thus developed modern psychology, through its doctrine of heredity would reduce to absurdity any and every hypothesis of pre-natal sin. This it does by its denial of pre-natal existence. If any utterance claiming the authority of inspiration teaches that all men, or any man, personally sinned

in Adam — teaches it not in figure of speech which may mean anything or nothing, but in sober fact with which the common sense of men has to do — all that this psychology has to say in response is: "So much the worse for the authority of such inspirations." Upon the common sense of men that theory was always an outrage, and psychology only echoes the decision of common sense in pronouncing it absurd as a scientific hypothesis. Consciousness in all men protests against it as an insult. Conscience the most morbid has failed to discover justification of it in its own vagaries. The instinct of justice in every man revolts from its pretensions. Indignant will denounces it as treasonable to the rights of character. Wrought into a system of dogmatics it produces moral chaos, deadens sensibility to right and wrong, and confuses reason hopelessly. It removes theology summarily from the list of rational beliefs. Even mysticism, which can cover the deformity of almost any self-contradiction, fails to shield this from deserved contempt. Saintliness of character in its believers does not protect it from the shafts of ridicule. It comes back to us to-day only as one of those curiosities in which theology, like other sciences, has indulged itself by contortions of reason which wise men mourn over and sceptics laugh at. To all this testimony of the common conscience and common sense embryology lends the dignity of an inductive science to whose conclusions the interpreters of the inspired word must give attention.

Further, psychology through its doctrine of heredity, teaches that there is no such thing as a transmitted depravity of will. On this point Clement and Origen were better psychologists than Augustine and Calvin. It is marvellous that this form of determinism, so far-reaching and so fatal in its consequences, should have become so thoroughly ingrained in our traditional theology. The genius of Abelard gave the title *Sic et Non* to his collection of the self-contradictions of the fathers. The time has come for the modern critic to proclaim the *Sic et Non* of the modern schoolmen, by disclosing their monstrous syncretism of necessity and freedom.

"An inherited depravity of the will" must mean one of two things. It means either no will at all, or else a will doomed by a creative Power which cannot in any human sense of the word be called just. Inherited defects in nerves, in lungs, in liver, we can understand and reason about. We can admit them and account for them without stultifying our moral sense. But if I am to be held responsible for an inherited quality of will which "disables it to all good," I must appeal from the justice of the Creator to the superior justice of the creature. Man's whole moral nature must be reconstructed before such a doctrine can stand the test even of the instincts of a child. Here again psychology comes to the support of common sense, by proving that there is *no* inheritance of a determined will-power. It teaches us that the power which was made to be supreme in the inner soul *is* supreme. The ancestral sins of a thousand generations have not emasculated its strength or directly tarnished its purity. Cyril only uttered the dictum of consciousness when he said: "There is no kind of souls that are either sinful or righteous by nature"; and the authority of consciousness is now seconded by the repetition of the truth as an inference of physical science.

The modern scientist renders an unconscious service to theology by his theories of persistence of force and conservation of energy. These are, only in materialized, forms the standard Christian doctrines of divine immutability and divine omnipresence. The scientist seems equally unconscious of the alliance he offers to theology in the point now under discussion. For the heredity of the physical organism, with its results in psychical disposition, aids us to a true interpretation of the churchly doctrine of depravity. That is to say, psychology teaches with irresistible emphasis the doctrine of the inheritance of depraved conditions of body and depraved tendencies of mind. What is this but the old Greek doctrine of the corruption of the *σῶμα* and of the *ψυχή*, as taught by the Alexandrine school? The fact is established beyond reasonable dispute that, while there is

no pre-natal sin, and no inherited depravity of will, still there is a positive inheritance of many, perhaps most, of the elements which underlie character. The human will stands in'act in its royalty, the image in miniature of the self-determining First Cause; but beside and around and under it we find a "raw material" of character—a natural disposition of soul upon which the will-power must work, and with which it must often enter into deadly conflict for supremacy. Thus, and only thus, character must grow.

A rational theory of ethics therefore places that raw material outside of the sphere of personal responsibility. The will has not created it, but has found it. The man is born to it; he is no more responsible for it than for the color of his eyes. For its depraved condition he is no more accountable than for a club-foot or a diseased heart. Psychology, more humane and more just than some types of theology have been, traces the responsibility not forward to the growing man, but backward to dead parents and grandparents, to a forgotten or unknown ancestry, to rivers, mountains, temperatures, accidents of location, and revolutions of government—to anything and everything in the ancestral and historic line and in material nature which has coacted in the formation and the conformation of the individual man. He starts in life the resultant of innumerable forces, yet supreme over them all. He begins to be as both subject and sovereign—subject if he wills to yield, sovereign if he wills to rule. He must be what he wills to be, no other, no better, no worse.

Things minute and seemingly insignificant, as well as things vast and potent, enter into the making of a man. The long, sharp nose of his grandfather may make to him, or rather in him, all the difference between success and failure in his career as a merchant. The width of his father's forehead may make him a statesman or a hod-carrier. The pulsation of his mother's blood may drive him into the church or into the grog shop. The character of a certain gentleman was once described as a cross between the traditions of the Reformed church and New Jersey apple-jack.

We do not scruple to relieve the man from responsibility for this raw material of character, when illustrated in small things and on a narrow scale ; but he is no more responsible by the tests of psychological science when that material appears on a grand scale and in things sublime and sacred. At both extremes and all along the line between these elements of character are ours by no choice of our own until we will to make them such. The bare existence of them involves no sin on our part. Sin may lie back of them in our ancestral history, but it stops short of the point at which a new individual begins to be. From that point onward it may be misfortune, not sin, till the will-power of the new being adopts them as its own superior in the growth of character. Heredity thus explains depravity, so far as any product of a free being admits of explanation ; but heredity is not depravity. Psychology reasserts and proves the facts which theology has sometimes ignored.

Involved in what has been already said is a further principle which the history of theological opinion has by no means exalted to the place claimed for it in the Christian Scriptures. It is that the inheritance of good, as well as of evil, tendencies is the birthright of the human soul. Herein psychology is more philosophical than theology has been. It does not stop with the dark side of the picture. Theology has often claimed that both vicious tendencies and vice itself are transmitted from father to child. It has been self-deceived by its use of the phrase "vicious tendencies" and its equivalents. It has understood the phrase to mean not only tendencies *to* vice, but tendencies *of* vice as well. Vice has been lodged at the beginning as well as at the end. Meanwhile theology has often been silent as to the double working of the principle of transmission. The inheritance of virtuous tendencies has been overlooked, if not denied. Psychology has recognized the phenomenal facts in both directions, and has thus preserved the equilibrium of science.

Psychology, therefore, authorizes us to teach not, indeed,

in the New Testament, the separate books, which were not so much *sub judice* as to origin, author, or age, have been examined more with reference to their positive contents and doctrinal teachings, and their investigation has assumed more of an exegetical character. As biblical theology, which is an historical branch in the family of theological sciences, seeks among other things to understand the various books in the light of the age in which they were written, it must everywhere endeavor to draw this historical background in as vivid and faithful colors as possible. And it is from this standpoint that the history of New Testament times (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*), which has for its object the delineation of the New Testament age in its religious, political, and social aspects, has proved such a thankful auxiliary to the study of the Gospels and the Epistles. While as yet we have no larger English work on this subject to compare with the magnificent German treatises of Schürer, Hausrath, and others, yet a good deal of the solid metal brought to the light by such investigators has been used with profit in the volumes of Dean Stanley, Farrar, Geikie, and others.¹ In these works has been collected from the history of Christ's time and of the centuries preceding it whatever could contribute to make clear the days in which Christ moved upon earth. History, profane and sacred — Josephus among the Jews ; Polybius, Strabo, Plutarch, and Dio Cassius among the Greeks ; Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus among the Latins ; Philo and the Alexandrian school ; Targum, Midrash, and Talmud ; the Apocrypha and the apocalypses, — in short, all the literary connecting links between the Old and the New Testaments have been made to do good ancillary service to the theology of the New Testament ; and in this way the three centuries between Malachi and Matthew, which former generations of theologians were apt to regard as barren and unproductive as far as biblical investigation was concerned, have offered a harvest well worth gathering ; and the literary remains of

¹ A good example of what can be done in this line can be seen in Delitzsch's *Artisan Life*, recently translated by Dr. B. Pick.

that period, many of which were frequently regarded merely as literary curiosities, have secured a new dignity and worth.

As to many important points the New Testament history can find a satisfactory explanation only when regarded in the surroundings of time and circumstances, one of the most important of which is the doctrinal position of the Jews in Christ's day, especially the Messianic hopes entertained by his contemporaries. Pharisaism, which was really the orthodox Jewish theology of the times, was not the theology of Moses and the prophets. The views which we hear from the lips of those who conversed and disputed with Christ are not a normal and natural development from the basis of pre-Christian revelation. The spiritual leaders in Israel no longer speak the words and reflect the spirit of a Moses, a David, or an Isaiah ; their doctrines are untheocratic and unbiblical. This thesis scarcely needs as proof a reference to the repeated declarations of Christ to this effect. Christ opposed the teachers of the Jews because they had departed from the revealed truth. And this departure from revelation did not consist merely or chiefly in theological odds and ends, or in exegetical eccentricities that practically would do no harm, but rather in fundamental principles and cardinal points, — the very life-blood of the Jewish church was poisoned. The central doctrine of the theocracy, namely the kingdom of God upon earth, had been emptied of the deep spiritual meaning assigned to it by the prophets of old, and in its place had been put the human figment and folly of a temporal and carnal kingdom, and a Messiah whose power would be in the strength of his arm. Not a kingdom of grace, but a kingdom of power and supremacy ; not a Messiah to save from the wrath of God, but a Messiah to save from the sword and rule of the enemies, were the centre of Israel's hope in the days of Christ's earthly pilgrimage. And not feeling the need of a Saviour for their sins, they taught an anthropology that admitted the possibility of securing righteousness through one's own exertion. The apostle Paul, himself formerly an ardent Pharisee, knew well what he was doing when he maintained

that this theology taught an *ἰδία δικαιοσύνη*, to be secured by *ἔργα τοῦ νόμου* (Rom. iii. 27 ; x. 3, 5). And when John the Baptist, and still more Christ, began to preach of a *πιστεύειν* and a *μετανοεῖν* as a necessary condition of citizenship in the kingdom of God, and also emphasized, as did the prophets and psalmists of old, the anthropological and soteriological principles of human depravity and divine grace herein presupposed, the religion of the day could only feel disappointed and express its dissent. It had as little understanding for this as it had for such grand prophecies as that of the suffering servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl.-lxvi. And that a people who had so far departed from the landmarks of their fathers, and had become unfaithful to their high calling as the chosen people of God, should, when the Promised One really appeared as he had been predicted, reject him, is not surprising. They had learned to entertain false hopes of the Messianic future ; and when the true Messiah came, they knew him not.

This is the state of affairs which we find when the star of Bethlehem arose ; and New Testament theology must answer the question, How came this to be so ? The genesis of the theology of the Jews in the New Testament is a real historical problem. That these radical deviations and departures from those books which professedly were, if not the sole source of religious beliefs, at least one source, and the regulative rule for the other tradition, were not spasmodic or the work of a night, will be evident to every student of human nature and of religious systems. They were manifestly the result of a historical development that covers decades and even centuries. And from the fact that not only the leaders of the people, but also the people themselves, rejected Christ, it is plain that these false Messianic views were not the result of wild speculation or mere theories of the schools, but were rather a part of the popular and settled faith of the people. A mere *stet pro ratione voluntas* will not explain this phenomenon ; and upon its explanation depends for New Testament students the full appreciation of the standpoint taken

by the opposition to Christ, and negatively, at least, of his position over against his adversaries. It would not be a difficult matter to show that frequently the words and arguments of Christ, as was quite natural, received shape and form from the peculiar views of his opponents.

The existence of this deep chasm between Christ, the prophets, and revealed truth on the one hand, and the orthodox theology of the Jews on the other, is all the more remarkable when we remember that but a few centuries before the Jewish communion had been re-established by the zealous Ezra on the historical foundation of the theocracy, namely, the law. Among the remnant that returned in the second Exodus the supremacy of the law in the whole spiritual life of the people had been enforced with a vigor and a rigor never before dreamed of. Deutsch, in his *Literary Remains* (p. 12), says: "From a reckless, godless, lawless people, they returned transformed into a band of Puritans." With the written code of revelation at their command, with the sad fate of their disobedient fathers to warn and check, with the systematic study of the law and the prophets, with the regular reading of these books according to the *Parshioth* and the *Haphtaroth*, with the "hedge" which the fathers of the Mishna were building around the law, it would have seemed but natural that the religious development of the people should be a normal one, and that when the fulness of time had arrived they should have the lessons of the law and of history sufficiently well learned to receive and welcome him who was the realization of the dearest hopes of every true Israelite. The very opposite, however, of this took place. In the years that intervened between the cessation of prophecy and its revival in John the Baptist, a biblical and theocratic Israel had developed into a rabbinical and talmudical Israel, with its vain hopes and false expectations.

This being the case, it is very evident where we must look for the birth of these errors. Even if we did not possess any historical documents to cover the events of the Persian, Syrian, Maccabean, and Roman supremacy over Israel, it

could with good reasons be concluded, from what has been already stated, that the three centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ must be the ground out of which this false theology sprung. There must have been agencies at work in the political and religious life of Israel that were sufficiently powerful to rob the people of their faith. The vicissitudes of the nation in this period must have been of such a character as to blind them to the true meaning of the word of God, and permit the hopes and fears of the hour to substitute therefor carnal wishes and selfish expectations. Here is where we must seek an answer to this historical problem as to the genesis of Jewish errors; and this examination will show that these do not, as it were, hang suspended on nothing, but have an historical background and admit of a rational explanation.

In order to learn what were the views entertained by pre-Christian Judaism, it will be necessary to look into the literature we still possess from those days. For we have no history of the Messianic ideas of the Jews written by one of their number, but must collect our information from every available source, and from the data thus secured judge as to the how and why. Naturally a beginning will be made with the best known class of literature from that period, namely, the Apocrypha of the Septuagint and of the Vulgate. But here we are doomed to disappointment. Instead of finding here a rich storehouse of information on this point, we learn but little in reference to the matter in question. The Messiah and the Messianic kingdom do not form the burden of apocryphal wisdom. While the elements of religious disintegration are already apparent, and the germs of many errors can be detected, which the contemporaries of Christ have developed in their fullest form,—as e.g. when the *opus operatum* idea finds advocates in Tobit¹ and elsewhere,—yet what would seem the cardinal feature of Jewish theology, the Messiah and his rule, is scarcely noticed. Beside the

¹ Cf. Bissell. The Apocrypha, p. 119. It is a significant fact that the LXX sometimes translates the word מְשִׁיחַ by ελεημοσύνη.

hope for a return of the scattered Israelites (Baruch iv. 36-37; v. 5-9; 2 Macc. ii. 18), of a conversion of the heathen (Tobit xiii. 11-18; xiv. 6-7), and of an everlasting duration of the Jewish nation (Sirach xxxvii. 25; xlv. 13), there is only a brief mention made of the everlasting kingdom of David (Sirach xlvii. 11; 1 Macc. ii. 57).¹ Just how to explain this silence is not an easy matter. The majority of critics are inclined to think that at the time these books were written the Jews had ceased to feel the need of a personal Messiah.² This is not improbable, especially when we remember, what will be clearer farther on, that in many of the books of those days the complexion of the author's time had a great influence upon the character and the contents of his work, especially in reference to the Messianic hopes; that the necessities and prayers of the hour had a determining influence on the character which these expectations assumed. Besides, the almost purely intellectual, literary, and historical character of the Apocrypha would exclude to some extent ideas that were more exclusively theological. The almost entire absence of such Messianic hopes in these books teaches at least the negative lesson that the grand prophecies of the evangelists of the Old Testament concerning a suffering and merciful Servant of God had been well nigh forgotten; while the few notices they do offer only go to show that the same spirit which exercises absolute sway over the Jews in Christ's day had already begun to rule.

Nor will an appeal to the legal literature in Targum, Talmud, and Midrash find many reliable results for the solution of our problem. Christian theologians in former times were very diligent in drawing from these sources whatever seemed to favor Christianity and Christian theology. The Horae of Lightfoot and Schöttchen are rich storehouses in

¹ The passage 1 Macc. xiv. 41, which the reformers and later commentators interpreted as referring to the Messiah, will not bear this explanation. The omission of the article before *προφήτην* is decisive on this point. Cf. on the whole matter, Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, p. 196 sqq.

² Cf. Bissell, *l.c.* p. 47 f.

this regard.¹ But the critical researches of later investigators have shown that the views as expressed in these works are but of little value for the determination of the *status controversiae* in the day of Christ, and for the elucidation of the history of Jewish theology in that period. Not that these works contain no references to the Messiah and his kingdom (although this feature is by no means as prominent as might be expected); for that this is the case, and that the views are not without some harmony and system, is apparent from that most valuable work of the recently deceased Dr. Ferdinand Weber, published by Professor Delitzsch and Dr. Schnedermann, entitled *System der altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch, und Talmud* (chap. xxii., xxiii., Leipzig, 1880). But the great difficulty lies in determining the age of these works. That their final codification is post-Christian is acknowledged by Jewish and Christian scholars, however much they may differ in deciding the exact date. What portion of them, however, can be regarded as pre-Christian at least in sentiment, if not in words, and what portion can thus be regarded as being the reflex of ante-Christian Judaism, or as having an influence on the beliefs of those days? Here is the debatable ground. Even in reference to the older Targums — that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch and that of Jonathan on the Prophets — the question as to pre-Christian roots and post-Christian aftergrowth is still, and probably will remain for many years, under discussion. And in regard to Midrash and Talmud the doubt is still more doubtful. Careful criticism will have to subscribe to what Drummond says (p. 159): "It is evident that even the earliest Targums can no longer be appealed to

¹ Of the latter work, Schürer, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 563, says that it is a work of eminent learning, but throughout inspired by the endeavor to turn the Rabbis into Christian theologians. Even the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* is proved from rabbinical works. An examination of Schöttchen shows that Schürer speaks the truth. Other and similar works, such as Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, are still more open to this charge.

as direct witnesses to Jewish belief in the time of Christ," and apply this to Talmud and Midrash also.¹

Entirely different, however, will be the results when we begin to examine the philosophical and apocalyptic literature of pre-Christian Judaism. Here we have solid ground, and can reach tangible results, especially when we approach the apocalypses. This is such a peculiar and interesting class of literary productions that it is almost a wonder that they have remained comparatively a *terra incognita* to the majority of American theologians. There seems to be a sting in the name, and the word "apocalyptic" in English has become almost synonymous with false, or at least with doubtful; and anything that bears the name of apocalyptic is thought inconsistent with words of sound faith, as these deal with fact, and not with fiction. Yet it is only ignorance or prejudice that can judge thus. Even though the Jewish apocalypses contain not one item that can be regarded as an historical fact, yet they are not on that account either to be neglected or despised. Homer contains little or nothing that is history; yet the Iliad and the Odyssey are of acknowledged importance for the appreciation of the Greek genius and nationality. Thus, too, with these apocalypses. They owe their existence to the spirit of post-exilic Judaism, and to the course of the history of the chosen people in the days when the voice of prophecy was hushed in the land. The spirit and contents of these works reflect with the fidelity of a mirror the hopes and fears, the longings and desires, the teachings and the doctrines—in short, the inner and spiritual life—of the people. It is generally regarded as reliable history that the principle of legalism which Ezra had so powerfully implanted in Israel was the

¹ The views entertained by some scholars decades ago that the Messianic longings had died out in Israel, and were mechanically revived by the agitation caused by Christ's ministration, need be mentioned only as a matter of history. The mere fact that in the Shemone Esre, or the eighteen thanksgivings which every Israelite was commanded to repeat three times every day, the very first Barcha contains a prayer for *גאון מלך*, a last or second (Moses being the first) deliverer, shows that these hopes belonged to the daily spiritual food of the pious Israelite. Cf. Weber, l.c. p. 333, and Schürer, p. 564 sq.

cynosure of all eyes and hearts in the land, and that in the period of *Heiligherrschaft*, as Ewald calls it, the ideal of the people's ambition and endeavors was to attain the holiness (righteousness) of outward observance of the official legal code. This is the truth, but not the whole truth, as is evident from the Judaism of the New Testament. The study of the law could satisfy the head, but not the heart, and, moreover, the problems of the present were such as no rabbi with his legal wisdom could solve. The terrors of the Persian, Syrian, and Roman rule, especially the demoniacal lunacy of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), when compared with the promises given of old, were but little adapted to make the Israelite zealous in his trust in God and in the law which was proclaimed as the sure road to future glory. The Jews knew that they were the chosen people of God, and that God had promised, in terms too plain to be misunderstood, that if this people would observe the law faithfully they should inherit all the glories of this world. But the reality seemed to smite this promise in the face. In Enoch ciii. 11, 12 the faithful complain, "We hoped to be the head, and became the tail; we labored exceedingly, and did not gain by our labors; we became food for the sinners, and the unrighteous have made their yoke heavy for us. Those who hated us and those who beat us became our rulers; and we bent our neck to our haters, and they did not pity us." The questions suggested by the difference between the ideal and the real, between the promise and the inheritance, had to be answered; and this the exclusive study of the law could not do. Hence we find, side by side with the legal literature and complementary to it, a rich stream of apocalyptic writings, which reveal to us a side of the people and an important element in the growth of the Judaism found in the New Testament, especially the Messianic hopes. The questions of the day suggested the character and contents of these apocalypses. They are apologetic and exhortative. They declare, even at times with an oath, that the arm of the Lord has not become weak; that his promises are not forgotten; but that, on the

contrary, he is preparing terrible punishment for those who depart from his commandments, who injure his people; and they exhort the faithful to hope, declaring that the golden age is very soon to be inaugurated, and that then the wicked will be punished and the faithful receive their reward. Such being the general features of these writings, their contents are naturally of an eschatological character. The pseudo-prophets, who can find no comfort in the bitter realities of the present, direct their readers to the hopes of the future. For them the *יְמֵי מָלְכוֹת*—i.e., according to the technical definition of Jewish theology, the present world, the preparatory days of the theocracy—is about to draw to an end, and the *יְמֵי מְשִׁיחַ*, with its Messianic glories, is then to be commenced. The prediction of this speedy deliverance and the inauguration of the Messianic rule thus form the main substance of apocalyptic literature, everything else being directly or indirectly subservient to the chief aim, as, e.g. when Enoch discusses the laws of nature, their divine origin and government, and the apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra the doctrine of original sin.

These productions are peculiar compositions. Their most striking feature is the enigmatical form of presentation. Everything is put in symbolical, figurative language; persons are represented as animals; their different attitudes towards God and his laws, by tameness and rapacity. Everything was avoided that could give a positive clew as to author, time, or events referred to, especially those just then occurring; so that only those who were initiated in the spirit of the authors and their co-religionists could understand the references and object of the work. The peculiar hiding of names and dates—possibly as much to be attributed to necessity as to choice, at least in the most important cases—is the cause of the difficulty in understanding and arranging these productions chronologically. The contents embrace a series of succinct revelations, and thus differ from the prophecies of the Old Testament, which are often unchronologically arranged. And to give authority to these *piae fraudes* they are put into the

mouths of old heroes of faith, and are usually sent out into the world as productions of these fathers. We thus have the Book of Enoch, the Assumptio Mosis, the Ascensio Isaiae, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra.¹ Of course it would be in vain to seek in these productions a systematic and dogmatic discussion of theological topics. They are not compendiums of Jewish dogmatics. The writers have an eye only for the people's present wants, and their thoughts circle around the pivot of Israel's future greatness. Whatever bears on this subject is introduced and discussed, and the theology of the Old Testament is important only in so far as it subserves this purpose.

It is in these works that the hearts of the patient and suffering faithful pour out their innermost desires and hopes, and these seem, at least as much as any other, to have formed the spiritual meat and drink of those who were anxiously scanning the horizon for the first dawn of the day of peace and the first signs of the coming reign of happiness. It is not without significance that none of the so-called apocryphas have been quoted by the New Testament writers, or seem to have had any influence on what they say or how they say it; but that, on the other hand, there is at least one direct quotation of an apocryphal book, namely, in Jude 14, from Enoch i. 9. Not that thereby any inspiration was assigned to this or a similar production; but it simply shows how well-known their contents were. It is here principally, then, that we find those data which furnish the historical foothold for the unbiblical Messianic views entertained by Christ's contemporaries, and a glance at two or three of the most important of the literary remains of this period will prove profitable and instructive.

¹ This whole matter is treated *in extenso* in the writer's translation of the Book of Enoch (Andover, 1882), Special Introduction, p. 12 ff. The existence and authority among the Jews, and later among the early Christians, of such works is one of the strangest phenomena in the history of religion. It seems almost that the Jesuitic principle that the end justifies the means was not without advocates in those days. Whatever the psychological and moral explanation of the influence of these fabrications may be, certain it is this influence was great.

Pursuing the historical method, we shall undoubtedly have first to take into consideration the oldest portions of the Sibylline Books. For of the twelve books (written in Homeric hexameters, and occupying in Friedlieb's edition one hundred and fourteen pages of Greek text, each containing forty lines) that compose the present collection, only the third book, and not even all of that, can with anything like critical certainty be ascribed to a pre-Christian and Jewish source. When Judaism in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria learned of the Gentile pseudo-prophetesses, and of the authority and influence their utterances had gained for themselves in the course of time, it did not scruple to adopt the fabrication of sibyllistic vaticinations for its proselyting purposes. While Philo sought by allegorical interpretation to smooth the rough edges of the law, and make it palatable for his Grecian readers, others found in the Sibyl a welcome medium to give authoritative antiquity to the contents of their sacred writings.

Investigation with marked unanimity has pronounced Book III. 97-907 the oldest portion of the sibylline collection,¹ of which the natural subdivisions are 97-294; 295-488; 489-807. The Messianic kingdom, rather than the person of the Messiah, forms the burden of these predictions. The prophetess places herself at the head of historical times, looking back to the events of the heroic and mythological ages as things that are passed, blending with this narrative accounts from the biblical records, and gliding almost imperceptibly into a prophetic tone when pronouncing the burden of all apocalyptic prophecies, viz. the tribulations of the present and the glories of the future. By a strange inconsistency, but probably as a bait for Gentile readers, the fables about the quarrels of Jupiter and his brothers with the Titans are affixed to an account of the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues. This remarkable mixture of

¹ The investigations and results of Bleek are generally regarded as satisfactory by scholars; at least no later examination has seriously modified his conclusions. The portion under consideration was written between 160 and 140 B.C.

heathen fable and divine truth prepares the way for the chief or prophetic portion of the book. Beginning with line 161 the future fate of Israel in the historical development of the Oriental nations is prophetically depicted. True to the Jewish spirit of the time, and also of the time of the New Testament, the author sees in the Israel of glory only the people as a body politic, outwardly organized and governed as the nations around them, bound together only by the ties of race and of nationality. The theocratic principle as such occupies no prominence and scarcely any position in the sibyllistic theological ideas. Their relation to God and their obedience to the law (246 and 285) are evidently regarded only as means by which the people hope to attain a high rank among the nations of the earth. After the fall of the Roman empire, which shall take place when "a seventh kingdom over which an Egyptian king of Hellenic descent shall rule" (192 f.; cf. 607) shall arise (this is of course Ptolemy VII. Physkon, 145-117 B.C.), then Israel's time shall have arrived. "Then the nation of the mighty God will again become powerful, who will be leaders to life for all mortals" (195 f.). Toward the close this Messianic age is described more fully, especially from line 652 to 794. The sibyl prophesies that God will then send a king from the East (*ἀπ' ἡελίου*) who will put an end to wars on the whole earth, who will destroy certain ones, but keep his promises to others. But this he will not do from his own will, but according to the command of the great God. The people of God will then be loaded with riches, with gold and silver: the earth and the sea will send forth their wealth. On seeing this the kings of the earth will assemble against him and his country, but only to their own destruction. They desire to destroy the house of the great God (i.e. the temple at Jerusalem) and the faithful; they offer sacrifices to false gods around the city. While thus engaged the mighty voice of God will speak to them, and all will be destroyed by the hand of the Everlasting. Fiery swords fall from heaven; burning torches appear; and the earth and the sea are dis-

turbed by the hand of the Almighty; and the Erebus, the dark, will appear. The crevices in the rocks will be filled with dead bodies; blood will flow from the rocks; and all the powerful enemies of the new kingdom will fall to the ground, because they have not acknowledged the law. God will judge them by fire and the sword and great waters. Brimstone will fall from heaven, and hail will descend, and death will destroy also all quadrupeds. Then first will the ungodly begin to know the everlasting God, and will lament exceedingly. They will then bathe themselves in blood, and the earth will drink in the blood of the slain. After the removal of the wicked by the judgment of the sword, the reign of peace for the children of God commences (line 702 ff.). They will all assemble around the temple of God in peace, thankful for their lot to the just Judge. There will then be no war, for the Everlasting is their aid. The islands of the ocean (i.e. the heathen nations) will then say: "Up, let us all fall down on the earth, and worship the Everlasting King, God the Most High and Great; let us send to the temple; let us all consider the law of the Most High God. For it is best for us all to fall down and worship. But we had departed from the ways of the Everlasting, and had honored the works of our hands."

After a brief interruption, the author continues (743) by saying that then the earth will yield abundantly of all kinds of fruit, and all species of animals will be plenty; fountains will flow with milk, and the cities will be filled with good things. Then, too, all the kings will be friends, and the Everlasting God will govern all mankind according to *one* law. He will then establish an everlasting kingdom (*βασιλῆϊον εἰς αἰῶνας*) for *all* men, and all men will become God-fearing, and will bring presents and frankincense to the house of God; it will be the only house in which worship will be held, and all mortals will call it the temple of God (*νῆδον θεοῦ*). The prophets will then put away the sword. God will dwell on Zion, and there will be universal peace.

Lines 36-92 of this book are a somewhat younger portion,

the contents pointing to the date of the joint tyranny of Anthony and Cleopatra over Egypt. The prophetess says (46-50): "And then when Rome shall govern Egypt also, and rule with it, then the greatest of kingdoms, that of the Everlasting King, will appear on the earth and a holy king (*ἅγιος ἄναξ*) will appear who will govern all the lands for all times, as the times pass." With the aid of older prophecies this latter one is easily understood. The Everlasting King is undoubtedly God himself, who will establish his kingdom, while the holy king who will govern it, is the Messiah, the deputy of God.

We have quoted at this length from the sibylline vaticinations, because this description of the Messianic era is thoroughly characteristic. Compared with the visions of an Isaiah, Micah, Hosea, Daniel and the other seers, how great has been the fall in Israel's soul! And is it surprising that a nation whose literary representatives can speak such words, and which has been thus trained and educated in such dreamy air-castles, should in the days of Christ prove such a stubborn and rebellious people when brought back eye to eye once more with prophetic truth and its fulfilment? For these Jewish oracles were not an isolated instance; and a comparison of one or two more will make the point very plain.

The history, divisions, date, etc. of the Book of Enoch need not be discussed here, since all these questions have been considered at great length in the new translation of Enoch already mentioned. It will suffice our purpose to mention summarily the leading Messianic views expressed in the different parts of the work. In its present shape the book is a conglomerate of at least three different elements, written by three different authors at different times. The oldest and largest, though theologically considered not the most important, is contained in chapters 1-37 and 72-105. Internal evidence points to the fact that it was written shortly before the death of Judas Maccabaeus, 160 B.C.; and since it owes its birth to the excitement of that ever memorable struggle of conservative and law-abiding Judaism for national, and espe-

cially religious freedom, it everywhere breathes the spirit of war and rumors of war. It is written from the standpoint of the Chasidim party, i.e. the pious party of patriots who fought under the banners of the sons of the Modin priest for their law and their God. Antiochus Epiphanes, unlike the later Roman conquerors, who permitted the individuality of the variegated complex of nationalities that obeyed their behest to remain undisturbed as long as the reality of Roman sway was not thereby endangered, attempted in his blind Oriental zeal to enforce a formal submission or effect an annihilation. Antiochus's command to commit to the flames all the existing copies of the sacred volumes was an index to his character. In the midst of this struggle the groundwork of Enoch appeared, as a manifesto to the band of zealots, urging them on to steadfastness, and promising them a speedy and grand deliverance. The writer, who can find but little comfort in the present, points to the hopes of the future, and these he portrays in the manner common to apocalyptic works. In terms of glowing rhetoric he depicts Israel's deliverance from her trouble, the subjugation of her enemies, and the undreamed-of glories of the Messianic sway. This is to come not by the natural development of events, but by a special and powerful interference of Jehovah. Just when the enemies imagine themselves most secure and most sure of God's little band, their destruction overtakes them. The Lord comes to the rescue of the persecuted faithful. The hosts of heaven and the powers of nature alike contribute to this great revolution. From Azazel, the chief of fallen angels, down to the meanest enemy of God's children, all the sinners shall endure terrible punishments. Then the sway of the righteous shall begin. The character of this sway is chiefly political — the kingdom is of this world — and only subordinately and subserviently religious. The establishment of a universal recognition of Jehovah, with Jerusalem as a central seat of worship, is a factor in this future rule, apparently only because thereby Israel's glory will become more glorious. The fundamental idea in this whole pseudo-prophecy is, then, the future tempo-

ral glory of Israel brought about by the intervention of their God. After the establishment of this new order of things, God, so to say, again returns to his retirement, and leaves the government in the hands of the Messiah, who only now appears on the stage, having taken no part in the organization of the new kingdom. He is one of the people (90, 37), not a messenger from on high, not of divine nature or power. He grows out from among the re-established faithful, and, characteristically, he is distinguished from his fellows only by superior strength and power. He is really only *primus inter pares*, and in his hand the rule of this kingdom, which is to abide forever, is placed. In chapter 105 the Messiah is called the Son of God, but evidently only in the sense in which the Israelites are called the children of God in the Old Testament. He is the child of God κατ' ἐξοχήν.

Deeper in contents and more systematic in presentation is the second part of the Book of Enoch, embracing chapters 37-71, and called by the writer himself The Book of Parables. It evidently at one time existed as a separate collection of prophecies, attributed to the seventh from Adam, and was later incorporated into the other work. Its character, tone, tendency, and object are almost radically different from those in the groundwork. It does not find the people threatened by sword and conflagration; the subtler weapons of religious indifference, or even of outspoken atheism, in the circles of the aristocratic leaders, threaten to leaven the whole mass of people and to be productive of dire results. The rulers of Israel are not theocratic in heart, but rely upon their own wisdom and power. Historically these and other features point to the fact that the political heads of the people are the representatives of the Hellenistic movement which threatened to destroy Israel's individuality. Herod and his family, those monsters from the alien house of Esau, were the recognized leaders of this movement, although the last of the Asmoneans had also been culpable in this respect. And against this direful school of thought, their theology and their morals, the Parables of Enoch are directed; they

expose the godless character of the heathenish innovations in the people's faith, and prophesy the speedy exaltation of the despised few, who walked in the paths their fathers trod. In no apocalyptic work do the people of God appear so distinctly as an exclusive and united band. They are again and again called "the congregation of the righteous." As the dangers that threaten Israel are almost exclusively of an intellectual, and hence doctrinal, and of a moral character, the deliverance of the true Israel shall correspond to these evils. The general, more transcendental, way of thinking displayed throughout these parables is shown expressly in this connection where God does not, as in the first part, come to the relief personally, but sends his messenger the Messiah. This idea, the deliverance of the people from their false wisdom through the Messiah, is the distinctive feature of this book, and thus has dictated the characteristics that mark the Messiah's person and work. He must be the wisest of the wise. This is secured by attributing to him an eternal pre-existence. In the forty-sixth chapter we find this plainly and distinctly taught, and only here in all apocalyptic literature is the Messiah pictured as superhuman or pre-existent. Here we find the highest idea of a Messiah that an uninspired mind ever produced. To enforce the wisdom he has to impart, he is endowed also with great power. Those who have abused their high positions to lead the people astray will have meted out to them the punishments their deeds have merited. For the Messiah, the wise leader of the faithful, is also the just judge of the unrighteous. After this latter function has been performed, he establishes the promised kingdom. Jerusalem again is the centre, and the people's glory shall be a temporal supremacy. This latter, however, is not so distinctively emphasized here as in other portions of *Enoch*. For the blessings of his kingdom are more of an ethical character, including even the blissful state of sinlessness. Naturally this latter is not to be taken in the deep sense of the New Testament, just as little as words like *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἐλπίς*, *πίστις*, and the like, when found in the

Apocrypha or other writings, express what Paul or Peter mean by them. But throughout, the author of the Parables remains a Jew, writing with the prejudices and carnal hopes of pharisaism.¹

Entirely different in outward form, but in many respects similar in thought to the Parables of Enoch, are the so-called *ψαλμοὶ Σαλομῶντος*. The eighteen odes bearing this name are the only productions of a lyrical character from this period. Their entirely Jewish origin and character is already apparent from the mould into which they are cast. Like the Psalms of the Old Testament, these imitations are a poetry of thought, and not of form. No effort is made at a metrical system, but a successful *paralellismus membrorum* is carried out. Here, too, the contents point with sufficient clearness to the historical background; and this again goes far to explain the general character and tendency, as well as the eschatological and Messianic views of the composition. The sad fate that had befallen Israel and the many calamities of the people who had a right to expect the special protection of Jehovah's almighty hand, were again the inspiring motive that guided the heart and the pen of the poet. But in this case the misfortunes came not from the East, but from the West. The Psalms narrate that after Israel had been governed by unrighteous rulers (referring to the Syrian sovereigns) they had welcomed the conqueror of Syria with these words: "Thy path is longed for; come hither, enter in peace"; and the stranger entered, like a father into the house of his children (viii. 15, 20). This welcome is answered by outrageous conduct. He destroys the walls with a battering-ram (ii. 1; viii. 21); the city is full of heathen, who even ascend to the altar of the Lord without removing their shoes (ii. 2); the noblest men in Israel are destroyed, and the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem flows like the blood of uncleanness (viii. 23). The author then fully identifies the heathen conqueror (xii. 13-14) by

¹ For full particulars on all these points we must refer those interested to the Introduction and Notes of the Andover edition of Enoch.

stating that he took captive the young men, the old men, and the children, and took them to the West; but "the dragon" who took Jerusalem was slain near the mountains of Egypt, on the ocean, and "none was there who buried him" (ii. 29-31). These statements point directly to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem and his treatment of the Jews 60 B.C., as described by Josephus and Tacitus. As Pompey's ignominious death is recorded, these Psalms cannot have been written before his death. They must, therefore, have been composed shortly after 48 B.C.

The spirit of these hymns throughout is the same that we discover in the religious representations of Christ's day. Pharisaically the doctrine is that both reward and punishment are *κατὰ τὰ ἔργα* (xvii. 9-12); they teach a *δικαιοσύνη προσταγμάτων* (xiv. 1). Men have the choice between good and evil (ix. 7); and the essence of their doctrine is probably best expressed in these words (ix. 9):

ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίου,
καὶ ὁ ποιῶν ἄδικα αὐτὸς αἴτιος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ.

From this historical and dogmatical basis these apocalyptic prophecies flow naturally. Over against the godlike rule of the later Maccabean princes, and in view of the high-handed injustice of the Roman general, the pseudo-psalmist remembers the promises which have been attached to the seed of the house of David. He takes up this peculiar thread and spins it out. As deliverance in such a crisis can come only from a powerful source, the Messiah who is expected is above all a mighty potentate. Here more than elsewhere the royal character of the expected one is emphasized. So strongly is the advent of David's Son insisted upon (xviii. 5 sqq., 23 sqq.) that we almost imagine that we hear the voice of the New Testament Pharisees. The singer prays that this promised seed may come soon, and cleanse Jerusalem of the heathen walking in iniquity. The Messiah's mission will be of a double character. The sinners will experience the fire of his mouth, and the saints the wisdom of his instruction; so that neither will the

former again draw their swords against the children of righteousness, nor the latter be in danger of being again misled. After the removal of the unclean elements from Zion, the new rule shall be established, at the head of which is the Messiah, the Son of David, sent for this purpose by God. The nations that have disregarded the law will flee from before his face, or will be destroyed; and then the saints will be gathered, even from all the Diaspora, and unrighteousness will not be permitted to dwell in their midst. He will know them all as the children of God, and will divide the land among the different tribes. No stranger (*παροικὸς καὶ ἀλλογενὴς*, i. xvii-31) will be allowed in this sacred congregation. The heathens, fearing this mighty king, will come and serve under his yoke, and will bring as offerings to the Lord the weakened children of Israel, i.e. those in exile and in the Diaspora.

A glance suffices to show that these hopes are of a carnal, Jewish character. Everywhere Israel is the chosen people, and the special object of God's goodness. They are "the first and only begotten children of God" (xviii. 4), and Israel is the *παῖς* of God (xvii. 27); the Israelites will inherit a powerful kingdom of this world under a mighty Messiah, and the other nations shall be but "drawers of water and hewers of stone" for the favored few. In connection with the views entertained by the contemporaries of Christ, as recorded in the New Testament, the Psalterium Salomonis is highly interesting, as it probably more than any other work contributed to nourish those earthly and unbiblical views. It certainly was a favorite book in those days, and continued to be such for centuries later. Just how many in the days of Christ entertained the views here laid down cannot, of course, be stated; but that these very views had sunken deep into many hearts is most sure from the sacred records themselves. The royal character of the future Messiah, as the mighty Lord to conduct the people of the theocracy to the hoped for political supremacy and moral perfection of obedience to the law, is the all-pervading idea that we find

throughout these Psalms; and just these ideas again and again fall from the lips of the Pharisees in the days of Christ's humility.

Of the Apocrypha called by the Greek Fathers *Ἀνάλληψις Μωϋσέως*, which had been lost since the days of Origen and Clemens of Alexandria, a fragment of a Latin translation was found in 1861 in an Italian library. It claims to be the last exhortations and instructions of Moses, given to his successor just before departing from earth. Prophetically the future of the chosen people is portrayed in general outlines and on a theocratic principle. The history proceeds in the manner of apocryphal writings down to the Roman expedition under Varus in 4 B.C. against Jerusalem, and then suddenly turns into prophecies concerning the speedy coming of the Messiah — a sure sign that it was written about the time that Christ was born. This is corroborated by the fact that, after a description of the horrors of Herod's reign, the statement is made (chapters 6 and 7) that his sons will rule a shorter period (*breviora tempora*). As it is an historical fact that they ruled longer, the book must have been written before their death. The woes of Israel under Roman supremacy furnish the background for the author's picture of the Messianic period. Preceding its advent Satan will have an end; the Celestial One will arise from his seat of government, and come out of his holy place in indignation and ire on account of his children. Earth and heaven will exhibit the signs of the last times; the moon will be changed into blood (cf. Joel ii. 31), and the circuit of the stars will be destroyed. Then the nations of sin will be destroyed, and the happy days for Israel shall begin. God will exalt them and make them cling to the starry heavens (*haerere coelo stellarum*), and they will view the destruction of their adversaries. For this great blessing Israel will thank its God.

These are the chief features of the fragments of the *Assumptio* or *Ascensio Mosis*. The prominence given to the destruction of Israel's enemies was manifestly dictated by the words and wishes of the hour. Only a small portion of the work

has been preserved, and it breaks off in the middle of the preparatory state of the Messianic development. But it is thoroughly Jewish throughout. It expects Messianic glory, but only a carnal glory, for the Israel of the flesh.

The catalogue of apocalyptic writings is by no means exhausted by those mentioned. But the others are either of a very uncertain date (Book of Jubilees, Apocalypsis Baruchi); or their contents can scarcely be satisfactorily analyzed, consisting of Jewish and Christian elements (Ascensio Isaiae), or they originated after the second destruction of the temple (4 Ezra), which event greatly modified or even changed the expectations of Israel. But the contents of these and of other writings, as of Philo, are virtually the same as those just discussed, and, besides, those mentioned will suffice for the object of this article. That these works, which deal with what was nearest and dearest to the heart of every child of Abraham, had an important influence in moulding the doctrinal tenets of the people, and are of importance in explaining the religious atmosphere which Christ breathed, and make the history of his earthly career more plain, is an undeniable fact of history. As purely literary productions their value may be little or nothing; but as expressions of a school of thought in Israel, of the fears and hopes, false though they be, of the down-trodden people of God, and as the documentary testimonies of the spiritual forces that contributed to the production of that peculiar type of Judaism found in the days of Christ and his apostles, they have a value that calls for and fully repays searching investigation and careful study. New Testament theology, and especially the history of New Testament times, must ever accept with gratitude the assistance afforded by a careful investigation of all the literary connecting-links between the Old Testament and the New.

ARTICLE V.

THE THEOLOGY OF CANON MOZLEY.¹

BY REV. CHARLES F. THWING, CAMBRIDGE.

It is my purpose to give an account of the theology of Canon Mozley. Before entering upon this task, it is fitting to present the principal facts of his life.

James Bowling Mozley was born the fifteenth of September, 1813, in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. Early he was sent to Grantham—a school which had graduated, among other great men, Sir Isaac Newton. His preparation for the university, thus begun, was completed under private tuition. In October 1830 he entered Oriel College, Oxford. For the following twenty-six years he resided at the university. In 1840 he was elected a Fellow of Magdalen. In 1856, on his marriage, he accepted the living of Old Shoreham. By Mr. Gladstone's recommendation, which was also the premier's first act of patronage, he was in 1869 presented to the canonry of Worcester. Two years later he was made Regius

¹ The following Articles and other Works by Dr. Mozley, appeared in the order here given. (It would not be safe to infer that the list includes all his published writings.) Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages (*British Critic*), Oct. 1838; The Lollards (*British Critic*), Jan. 1839; De Clifford (*British Critic*), Jan. 1842; Bishop Andrewes's Sermon (*British Critic*), Jan. 1842; Palmer on Protestantism (*British Critic*), April 1842; Development of the Church of the Seventeenth Century (*British Critic*), Oct. 1842; Strafford (*British Critic*), April 1843; Bishopric of Jerusalem (*British Critic*), July 1843; Plea of the Six Doctors (Pamphlet), 1843; Dr. Arnold (*Christian Remembrancer*), Oct. 1844; Land (*Christian Remembrancer*), Jan. 1845; I promessi Sposi (*Christian Remembrancer*), April 1845; Recent Proceedings at Oxford (*Christian Remembrancer*), April 1845; English Churchwomen, 17th Century (*Christian Remembrancer*), July 1845; Blanco White (*Christian Remembrancer*), July 1845; History of the Church of Russia (*Christian Remembrancer*), Oct. 1845; The Recent Schism (*Christian Remembrancer*), Jan. 1846; Dr. Pusey's Sermon (*Christian Remembrancer*), April 1846; Carlyle's Cromwell (*Christian Remembrancer*), April 1846; Newman on Development (*Christian Remembrancer*), Jan. 1847; Luther (*Christian Remembrancer*), Jan. 1848; The Book of Job

Professor of Divinity at Oxford. After an illness of somewhat more than two years, he died at Old Shoreham, on the fourth of January, 1878.

It was not till perhaps after his death that the church in the United States, or even in England, came to realize the loss which the cause of theology and of literature thus sustained. His mind was of slow growth. In that brilliancy to which John Henry Newman, Keble, Pusey, and Hurrell Froude contributed the fire of their genius the light of his intellect shone but dimly. Nature had endowed him with certain intellectual treasures as rich as those that any Oxford contemporary possessed; but time was needed for their development. Nature also gave him the qualities necessary for the training of his powers. Diligence, conscientiousness in the use of opportunities, constant discipline and self-correction continued through more than fifty years, served to develop his intellect into an instrument of thought strong, vigorous, and incisive. He was pre-eminently a thinker. His scholarship was noble, his knowledge broad and exact; but in thought, abstract and profound, he specially delighted. "Thinking was part of his diversion" even from boyhood. His powers of thought were to a large degree devoted to religious doctrine. He entertained profound views of doctrine, and supported these views with arguments equally profound. His style is precise,

(*Christian Remembrancer*), Jan. 1849; *Recent Arguments on Baptismal Regeneration* (*Christian Remembrancer*), 1850; *The Oxford Commission* (*Quarterly Review*), June 1853; *Maurice's Theological Essays* (*Christian Remembrancer*), Jan. 1854; *A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination* (Murray), 1855; *The Primitive Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration* (Murray), 1856; *Indian Conversion* (*Bentley's Quarterly*), Jan. 1859; *A Review of the Baptismal Controversy* (Rivingtons), 1862; *Subscription to the Articles*, a letter to Rev. Professor Stanley, 1863; *Bampton Lectures on Miracles* (Rivingtons), 1865; *Observations on the Colonial Church Question* (Pamphlet, Rivingtons), 1867; *Of Christ alone without Sin* (*Contemporary Review*), April 1868; *Argument of Design* (*Quarterly Review*), July 1869; *Education of the People* (*Quarterly Review*), April 1870; *Newman's Grammar of Assent* (*Quarterly Review*), July 1870; *The Principle of Causation; a Lecture written for the Christian Evidence Society*, 1872; *University Sermons* (Rivingtons), 1876; *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages* (Rivingtons), 1877; *Essays Historical and Theological*. 2 vols. (including several of the above-named papers), Rivingtons, 1878; *Sermons, Parochial and Occasional*.

concise, powerful, and at times of great beauty. He was a controversialist, but, unlike many controversialists, he believed in and did "underground work." Whatever he undertook he accomplished, and whatever he accomplished was accomplished with honor to himself and to the cause he served. An editor, interested in the *British Critic*, the *Christian Remembrancer*, and the *Guardian*, his papers, many and diverse in their topics, are elaborate studies which deserve a permanent place in literature. A preacher, his sermons rank among the great sermons of the nineteenth century for their profundity and comprehensiveness of thought. A professor, he was a teacher rather of teachers than of the ordinary Oxford students. The theology of such a man merits attention.

As exhibited in his works the theology of Canon Mozley is fragmentary. It is not seen as a system well proportioned, each part fitly adjusted to every other. This characteristic is due, however, simply to the fact that his published writings relate in the main to a few particular doctrines. His views in reference to doctrines not thus considered can be gathered only crumb by crumb, by inference and suggestion. In this paper his views are presented respecting these doctrines: § I. The Being of a God; § II. Predestination; § III. Miracles; § IV. The Atonement; § V. Regeneration and Baptism; § VI. Eschatology.

§ I. THE BEING OF A GOD.

The views of Canon Mozley regarding the evidence for the existence of God are chiefly contained in the lecture "delivered in connection with the Christian Evidence Society" in 1872. The discourse bears the title, *The Principle of Causation considered in opposition to Atheistic Theories*. It presents little or nothing that is new to the philosophical student; but it points out with rare skill and directness the bearing of the principle of causality upon the proof for the being of God. The idea of a cause, Canon Mozley holds, belongs to that class of fundamental conceptions which lie

beyond all experience. Although experience may bring the idea into the light of consciousness, it cannot originate the idea, any more than the photographer's iodine can originate the image on the sensitive plate, which it only makes visible, and which the sun has imprinted. Possessing this axiom, that every event must have a cause, the problem which we have set is this: To derive from this principle the proof for the existence of a Supreme Being. In the attempt at a solution the important consideration is, whether this idea of a cause demands a finality, — a cause which is itself uncaused, — or whether it is satisfied with an infinite series of causes. Reflection appears to prove that this idea does demand finality, and is not satisfied with an infinite series. As the first part of our idea of cause is motion, — a progress from one event to another in sequence, — so the last part is rest. That necessity of thought which compels me, on the one side, to think of an event as a cause, also compels me to think of that same event, on the other side, as uncaused. The cause of its own effect, it is itself the effect of nothing. This is a necessity of thought; a law of being which every man reads in his own consciousness. When this idea of cause is applied to the universe, it furnishes the proof for the existence of a Supreme Being. For this existence, which is itself uncaused, but which is a genuine cause, must be, and must so be denominated, the First Cause; and a First Cause is necessarily eternal and self-existent. Although in Clarke's famous work, the *Demonstration of the Being of a God*, there is much unworthy of so lucid and profound a thinker as its author, yet he has well expressed the necessary character of the belief in the existence of a First Cause. "How much thought soever," he says, "it may require to demonstrate the other attributes of such a Being, . . . yet as to its existence, — that there is somewhat eternal, infinite, and self-existing, which must be the cause and original of all other things, — this is one of the first and most natural conclusions that any man who thinks at all can form in his mind. . . . All things cannot possibly have arisen out of nothing, nor

can they have depended on one another in an endless succession. We are certain, therefore, of the being of a Supreme, Independent Cause, that there is something in the universe, actually existing without, the supposition of whose non-existing plainly implies a contradiction."

Kant both agrees and differs with Clarke. He agrees with him in the necessity of the being of an ultimate, original First Cause. He differs from him in believing that the existence of an "objective reality" can be proved from any course of reasoning which is not founded upon the "very conception of the being itself." From an idea cannot be proved a fact. With the German philosopher, therefore, this method of reasoning is not a demonstration of the being of a God. But Clarke, in common with most English metaphysicians, was satisfied with resting the course of reasoning to prove the existence of God upon the existence of this visible world. So also Dr. Mozley. And, although this method cannot have the strength of mathematical reasoning, it is ever to be remembered — a fact which the great German forgot — that the strength of mathematical reasoning is not needed to prove conclusions which are not mathematical, but which are simply moral in their origin and character.

But the argument is by no means complete when the existence of a First Cause is proved. It is quite as, if not more, difficult to prove from causation that this First Cause is God — that this self-existent Being is a moral Being. Yet the method of reasoning is simple, and similar to that just employed. Every cause must be a cause sufficient to produce its effect. An adequate or a sufficient cause is only the carrying out of the theory of causation. Moral and spiritual beings exist. Personality, intelligence, feeling, volition are qualities of man. These existences are effects which require a cause sufficient for their production. If pursued through a series of causes they must finally be thrown back upon the First Cause itself. But from any being cannot issue that which is not contained in it. Therefore, as these qualities have their origin in this First Cause, this First Cause must

be personal, intelligent, possessed of feeling and of will. At this point the argument from design touches the argument from causation. The adaptations and contrivances of nature and of the human system demand a cause, and an adequate cause. This cause cannot be found in nature itself; for nature presents to our view a series of causes which leads us back to the First Cause. This First Cause, being the origin of adaptations and contrivances, must itself be an intelligent Being—a Being who thus, so far forth, may be denominated God. Intelligence proves intelligence; personality, personality; volition, volition; and mind, mind. The great difficulty in this argument Kant finds in identifying the moral, Self-existent Being and God. He confesses his perplexity in erecting a proof of the ideal upon the ground of experience. "The transcendental idea of a necessary, all-sufficient, original Being is so immensely great, so raised above all that is empirical, which is always conditional, that we can never collect matter enough or experience in order to fill such a conception." This chasm, however, he holds is bridged over by an "intuitive impulse, which springs from the whole view of creation, and carries the mind, by a quick movement of thought which it cannot resist, to the transcendental conclusion of an Infinite, Perfect Being." But it is still further to be asked if the existence of this ideal in the mind of man does not itself prove the existence of a power outside of that mind sufficient there to implant this ideal? Is not this conclusion necessitated on the theory of sufficient cause or reason? And can the Being who implanted this ideal be other than himself its fulfilment?

§ II. PREDESTINATION.

The theories of our author respecting the relation existing between God as a moral governor and man are mainly contained in a volume entitled, *A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*, and published in 1855. This relation is made to centre in the principle of predestination. In the treatment of this subject a distinction is, in the

first place, to be drawn between the predestinarian and the fatalist, or the necessitarian. The two agree in representing man rather as acting necessarily for either good or evil, than as acting by an original impulse of the will. But for the reasons of this state of slavery the predestinarian goes to the Bible, and the fatalist to philosophy; the former argues from a particular fact of which he is informed on good authority, the latter from the nature of things. The fatalist thus believes free-will to be not only false, but impossible. The predestinarian cannot grant that free-will is impossible, for he admits, on the authority of the Bible, that Adam possessed it at his creation. Only since the fall has man been devoid of it, and the fact of free-will is merely historic. "It is confessed by all that whatever God does, he determines or decrees to do from all eternity; for no one who believes properly in a God at all can suppose that he does anything on a sudden, and which he has not thought of before. There is, therefore, a divine decree from all eternity to confer this certain salvation upon them on whom it is conferred. And, again, it is universally admitted that only a portion of mankind are saved. But these two admissions complete the doctrine of predestination, which is, that God has decreed from all eternity to save by his absolute and sovereign power a select portion of mankind, leaving the rest in their previous state of ruin." The defence of this doctrine is contained in the doctrine of original sin. This doctrine of original sin teaches that all men deserve eternal punishment. Election, therefore, confers undeserved happiness upon a portion of the human family. To this favor no objection can be offered. Are we to complain of the divine mercy? Outside of Scripture the argument for predestination rests upon two grounds: first, the law of causality, that every event must have a cause; and, second, the idea of the divine power. If every event must have a cause, the conclusion that a necessity controls human actions is inevitable. But by the side of this principle of causality is to be placed another principle, viz. the self-determination of the will. According to this, we are our-

selves the original causes of action. "Here, then, are two contradictory instincts or perceptions of our reason which we must make the best of, and arrive at what measure of truth a mixed conclusion gives. We certainly have both these perceptions, and one must not be made to give way to the other. However reason may declare for the originality of our acts, it says also that every event must have a cause; again, however it may declare for a cause of every event, it says that our acts are original." The second ground of predestination, the idea of the divine power, is allied to the first, the principle of causality. For this divine power is the first cause of all things; and as such it is directly or indirectly the controlling power in human conduct. It thus leads to predestination. By the side of this conception also must be placed the contradictory one of the freedom of the human will. It is contradictory, "for we cannot conceive how that which is caused can itself be a first cause, or a spring of motion to itself." These two conceptions of divine power and free-will are "two great tendencies of thought inherent in our minds, which contradict each other, and can never be united or brought to a common goal; and which, therefore, inasmuch as the essential condition of absolute truth is consistency with other truth, can never, in the present state of our faculties, become absolute truths, but must remain forever contradictory tendencies of thought, going on side by side till they are lost sight of and disappear in the haze of our conceptions, like two parallel straight lines which go on to infinity without meeting." The doctrine of predestination thus interpreted rests upon an imperfect foundation, and must be held as an imperfect truth. It is *a* truth, but not *the* truth. If it is based upon the doctrine of original sin, it is also to be remembered that the statements of the Bible are explicit that man deserves punishment only for his own sin. It is not "an absolute, but an indefinite truth." "Scripture has, as a whole, no consistent scheme, and makes no positive assertions; it only declares, and bids its readers acknowledge, a mystery on this subject. It sets forth alike the divine power

and man's free-will, and teaches in that way in which alone it can be taught, the whole, and not a part alone, of truth." Upon this important doctrine Canon Mozley held a theory quite akin to the law of the contradictories of the philosophy of Pascal and of Sir William Hamilton. That God is a First Cause and that man is in himself an original cause are contradictories; but of contradictories only one can be true. And yet reason and Scripture assure us that both are true. What then is man's position? It is, answers Mozley, as answers Pascal, one of faith. "Listen to God," commands the Frenchman.¹

§ III. MIRACLES.

The relation of God to man is still further made known by the miracles recorded in the New Testament. Yet the question directly discussed in the volume, *On Miracles*, which comprises the Bampton Lectures for 1865, is not miracles as a revelation of the divine character, but the intrinsic credibility of miracles. This narrow scope, it is to be acknowledged, is best adapted to the needs of the present time. For, many minds, especially those learned in science, have become impressed with the impossibility of suspensions of physical law. Other minds, too, devout as well as learned, have been inclined to discredit belief in miracles though holding fast to the belief in a Christian revelation. With this exact aim, the arrow of Professor Mozley's argument flies straight and swift. It were indeed well had a more precise definition of miracles been adopted. The definition which is given, that miracles are "visible suspensions of the order of nature for a providential purpose" is offered only in a sort of parenthesis. What is the difference between a miraculous and a supernatural event? Need this suspension be visible? May the suspension not appeal to some other sense beside that of vision? These and other questions are considerations which might with fitness have been examined.

At the outset it is declared that miracles are necessary

¹ Pascal's *Thoughts*, chap. x.

for a revelation. They are not necessary as a part of the contents of a revelation, but they are necessary as a proof of the truth of a revelation. This evidential function is founded upon the principle of design as manifested in coincidence. An interruption of the laws of nature taken by itself proves nothing, but taken in connection with the word or the deed of a person it is seen to be a miracle. The coincidence proves design. A thunder-storm is no infrequent occurrence in certain localities. Its appearance is no sign of an interruption of the laws of nature. But a thunder-storm occurring in a clear sky immediately after a certain command may be a coincidence so remarkable as to furnish evidence of design, and so of a miracle. The necessity of miracles is not removed by the strength of the internal evidence of Christianity. However strong this evidence may be, and very strong it certainly is, it can never reach beyond what is undiscoverable by the human reason. This kind of evidence is a constant appeal to the reason, and can never go beyond rational limits. The adaptiveness of a doctrine of the Christian system to men's needs is no absolute proof of the truth of the doctrine. The doctrine of the Atonement requires evidence other than its adaptiveness to the sense of ill-desert and the desire for forgiveness. Nor can the historical results of Christianity be regarded as evidence sufficient to prove its divine character. Great as these results are, they do not as evidence supersede the need of miracles. Even if the faith of the individual does not rest upon miracles, their falsehood could not but weaken his faith; for the miracles form a part of the biblical record and are bound up with its doctrines, and they cannot be separated without a certain sacrifice both of the Bible and of Christian doctrines. "Christianity as a dispensation undiscoverable by human reason, and Christianity as a dispensation authenticated by miracles — these two are in necessary combination." Hence it follows that a miracle although an anomaly in relation to a part of the universe is not an anomaly in relation to the entire universe. It has a complete adaptation to the whole.

It is an instrument, a means to an end, not an end in itself. Spinoza's definition is in this respect defective. "A miracle," he says, "as an interruption to the order of nature, cannot give us any knowledge of God, nor can we understand anything from it." Considered as a means to an end a miracle can and does give us some knowledge of God, and we can and do gain from it an understanding of various things. "The same works that I do bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me" (John v. 36).

The credibility of miracles bears intimate relations to the order of nature. For the difficulty of believing in miracles arises from the circumstance that they are an interruption of the order of nature. And what is the meaning of this expression "order of nature"? It means such a connection of those natural phenomena which we know with those which we do not know that we expect the latter to be like the former. It is an expectation of likeness. What is the ground of this expectation? The ground is not self-evident; for self-evident truth is that the opposite of which is self-contradictory; and it is not self-contradictory to affirm that the sun will not set to-night. The ground is not that of the working of a permanent cause; for repetitions of effects prove that the efficient cause is permanent only so far forth as those effects are concerned. From the particular cannot be inferred the universal. No demonstrative reason can be given for this belief in the order of nature. No probable reason can be given; for probable reasoning rests upon this presumed similarity which is itself to be explained. That the belief in the uniformity of nature has no necessary connection with the reason is seen in the fact that brutes possess it quite as strongly as human beings. This belief is one of those many processes which are "entirely spontaneous, irresistible, and, so to call it, of the automaton kind." It is like the impression which time makes upon us, or like the force of association in place. It is "an unintelligent impulse, of which we can give no rational account."

Such being the nature of the belief in the order of nature,

this belief cannot properly be made to oppose the credibility of miracles. "A miracle in being opposed to our experience is not only not opposed to necessary reasoning, but to any reasoning." The remark frequently made that miracles are impossible because they are opposed to law is inconsequential; for we know nothing of law in such a sense as to compel it to prevent miracles. Science proclaims that antecedence and consequence reign in nature, but we see no necessary connection in the parts of the succession. The objection against miracles founded upon experience, that we expect future facts to be like those we have known, and miracles are unlike these facts, is also thus set aside. For philosophy shows that we have no reason for such expectation. Even when this unintelligent impulse is known by the name of induction and is applied to the subject of miracles, the application shows that no argument is thus derived against the credibility of miracles. The scientific part of induction is simply the pursuit of a particular fact. The existence of a particular fact does not interfere with the existence of a fact entirely dissimilar. Therefore the scientific part of induction is not an armory whence to draw weapons to attack miracles. Neither can the inductive principle itself, which establishes the order of nature, be thus employed. For this principle is simply the unreasoning impulse by which one expects that the future will be like the past, unless there be evidence to the contrary. The proper function of the inductive principle, or of the belief in the order of nature, is in the practical concerns of life. Without it human society would either be impossible, or, if possible, chaotic. Its proper function is not in laying down speculative propositions. It has no right to affirm either what can or what cannot occur. Such affirmations are beyond its sphere. It cannot therefore furnish conclusive objections against the belief in miracles.

In respect to the credibility of miracles the force of testimony bears important relations. For it is chiefly by means of testimony that we believe in miracles. But when applied to prove miracles, testimony is subject to certain conditions

or limita. And, first, that which it is attempted to prove must be within the bounds of reason. "Pure, boundless enormity is itself incredible, and therefore out of the reach of testimony." It is further to be observed that "all evidence of miracles assumes the belief in the existence of a God." To an atheist human testimony for miracles has no weight. In the absence of the belief in the being of a God the witness to a miracle can have no credence. It is this consideration which constitutes the essence of Hume's famous argument. His argument is based upon experience. "The source of our belief," he says, "in the uniformity of nature is experience, and this experience is constant; the source of our belief in testimony is also experience, but this experience is variable, because testimony has sometimes deceived us. We follow the constant experience, which is against the miracle, in preference to the variable, which is in favor of it." But this consideration is overthrown by the fact that belief in testimony is not, as Hume claims, a "mere derivative from experience"; it is "an original principle in our nature, and has an antecedent ground of reason." We believe testimony even before we have learned by observation that the witness is usually truthful. This assumption of the existence of a Divine Power helps to make clear a distinction between miracles and ordinary facts as matters of belief. A miracle is an extraordinary fact, and therefore requires extraordinary evidence. A miracle as a subject of credit, further, assumes a basis of faith which is not assumed in believing in a common fact. "A miracle is both an outward fact and also an invisible and spiritual fact, and to enclose the twofold whole both testimony and faith are wanted." The remark is frequently made that "no testimony can reach to the supernatural." If this remark is designed to distinguish merely between the fact and the cause of a miracle, it is a true, but it is also an inconsequential distinction. Testimony may prove the fact of certain miraculous occurrences; but whether these occurrences are the result of divine interposition depends upon the existence of a Deity, and also upon the argument

of design. Testimony does not, indeed, reach to the supernatural; it is not intended so to reach. But the human reason, acting upon the data which testimony furnishes, may be said to reach to the supernatural. It is still further objected that the assumption of an Infinite and Supernatural Power places miracles upon the ground rather of faith than of testimony. In reply, it is sufficient to say that miracles rest upon the ground of faith so far as they assume a truth which it requires faith to adopt, namely, the being of a God; but no further do they rest upon this ground of faith; and even if thus resting, the fact of the occurrence of these events may be proved by testimony. It must also be borne in mind that faith is not arbitrary supposition, but is belief founded upon reasonable grounds.

Although miracles are summarily described as violations of the laws of nature, it is frequently affirmed that they are instances of the operations of laws which are unknown to us. The expression "unknown law" in relation to miracles has two meanings: first, unknown connection with known law; and second, law which is absolutely unknown. The former is of slight relative importance; the latter suggests what is known as the "higher law," i.e. a law which embraces other laws less extensive. Under this second meaning a miracle is an instance of the operation of the higher law. But before this question of the higher law can be entertained in reference to miraculous facts, the question of the lower law of these facts must be considered. A miracle is a violation of natural laws as these laws are known by us. Therefore a miracle is not affected by any imaginary supposition concerning laws of nature not known by us of which it would not be a violation. "For no new order of things could make the present order different. . . . A miracle, could we suppose it becoming, the ordinary fact of another different order of nature, would not be the less a violation of the present one. But it is frequently asked if in the original creation of nature its law or principle may not have been so combined that miracles are the regular consequences of its operation?" The calculating machine is

so adjusted as to run on for a long time ; but at certain and distant intervals a number appears which is very different from the ordinary series. In answer it is to be said that this invariable antecedence produces a law of nature, and if this law of nature is unknown the question of miracles has no relation to it ; for miracles are concerned only with known law. It is further to be said that miracles do not occur at certain physical junctures ; they occur under diverse circumstances, and do not come under an intermitting law of nature. The question of the method of divine action in producing miracles can be waived ; in reference to the argument, it matters not whether this action be immediate or mediate through secondary causes. The suspension of the physical and material laws of a Supreme Being are no more inconceivable than their suspension by man. For the laws of matter are constantly thus suspended. I myself move matter, my body, and suspend its laws. The laws of vegetation constantly suspend the law of gravitation.

The credibility of miracles is by no means dependent upon the excellence of their practical results ; and yet the evidence for miracles ought to have the benefit of these results in any consideration of their claims. It is generally acknowledged that Christianity has wrought the greatest change ever known in the moral standard and practice of men. This change is attributed by common consent to the doctrines of the Christian system. But these doctrines were communicated and proved to be true by means of miracles. Therefore miracles have been the most powerful means in the moral and spiritual regeneration of men. A religion founded on miracles as compared to a religion founded upon the evidence of God as seen in nature, has a superior motive-power in the very fact of its supernatural origin. The voice of God speaking from the heavens has more influence with men than a sign of his existence discovered in the growth of the forest or in the peculiar adaptations of the air-cells of a bird to its flight. The Epistle to the Romans suggests the great effect of the doctrines of Christianity in the moral elevation of men.

This Epistle shows the method of translating knowledge into action. It proves the influence of the incarnation and of the death of the Son of God upon moral conduct. It indicates at once the righteousness of God, for he demands an atonement for sin; and the mercy of God, for he accepts an atonement for sin. This revelation of God in Jesus Christ has been the great motive-power in moral and spiritual action. This doctrine, which is founded upon a miracle, has had the greatest influence on human conduct.

This influence of miracles may be one occasion of the origin of those miraculous pretensions which have characterized the history of the Christian church since the apostolic age. And yet these pretensions are not confined to the Christian church. They seem to form a "running accompaniment of human nature," assuming different shapes according to the religious conceptions and the prevailing notions of a people or of an age. These false miracles must be distinguished from the miracles which serve as evidence of a Christian revelation. In making this distinction the first point to be noted is the character of the facts themselves. The believers in these miraculous pretensions appear to see almost as great a difference between a genuine miracle and their own pretended supernaturalism as between that miracle and the order of nature. The Jews who believed in and practised thaumaturgy made a vast difference between their magic art and the miracles of Christ. A difference likewise as great was spontaneously made between the miracles of the apostolic and of the sub-apostolic age. This difference is explained by the character of the facts in the two sets of miracles. This current supernaturalism is confined to a certain class of occurrences which, at the best, are "very ambiguous miracles." Visions, vaticinations, exorcisms, wonderful cures comprise these miracles of human history. They fail to include such a fact as the resurrection of the dead. They frequently embrace events which are rather special providences than genuine miraculous occurrences. This characteristic suggests the uncertainty which rests upon

this assumed supernaturalism, and is in striking contrast with the range and the freedom of the Gospel miracles. Although a large share of the Gospel miracles are cures and exorcisms, yet they are not all of this sort; and this lower class of miracles are to be judged by the higher class. The question is, What is the power working in these events? It is certainly more than sufficient for the production of this lower class of events. The lesser miracles do not therefore cancel the higher; but the higher explain and make reasonable the lower. It is further to be observed that in the instances of the operation of this current supernaturalism "is a wildness, a puerile extravagance, a grotesqueness and absurdity" which disqualify them as being a subject of evidence. "The sense of what is absurd, ridiculous, and therefore impossible as an act of God, is part of our moral nature; and if a miracle even seen with our own eyes cannot force us to accept anything contrary to morality or a fundamental truth of religion, still less can professed evidence force us to believe in divine acts which are upon the face of them unworthy of the divine authorship." The comparison of the results, moreover, of these two sets of miracles reveals this difference: The miracles of the Gospels have worked, as before suggested, marvellous changes in the moral constitution of human society; the miracles of the later ages have claimed only to effect an intercourse between the living and the dead and to cure certain diseases.

The difference also in the kind of evidence for these two classes of events deserves notice. The miracles of the Gospel are supported by contemporary testimony, the miracles of a subsequent time are not always thus supported. The character of the witnesses, also, is to be considered. The witnesses of the New Testament had a strong perception of and regard for the claims of truth; the witnesses of subsequent periods, though self-denying, courageous, of enterprise, and of high faith, were ambitious, and inclined toward certain exaggerations in the growth of moral character and toward certain excesses in moral practices. They could not, therefore, be so

truthful witnesses as those whose testimony is recorded in the New Testament. It is still further to be observed that the testimony of the early witnesses was tested by the ordeal of sacrifice and suffering; and that the testimony of later witnesses is subjected to no such ordeal. The miracles of the Mediaeval Period labor under still another peculiar difficulty. By common confession at least a part of them are acknowledged to be spurious. The Scripture miracles are free from any such stain. Two causes contributed to the spread of miraculous pretensions in the Middle Ages. One cause was the desire of the church to concentrate its power into an absolute monarchy, and its willingness to extend the beliefs in certain dogmas by means of deliberate and audacious fraud. Hence arose the bold forgeries, the false compilations of authorities, and the counterfeit miracles of the Middle Ages. The other cause of the spread of miraculous pretensions was the "adoption of miracles as the criterion and test of high goodness." The popular idea was that before a saint was admitted to the Calendar, proof should be given of a miracle performed either by him or by virtue of his bones. The desire for canonization would thus tend to increase the number of spurious miracles.

But it is to be said that even were these miracles of the Middle Ages proved to be authentic, this fact would not at all invalidate the miracles of Christ and of his apostles. These early miracles still stand firm upon evidence which cannot be overthrown. The Roman Catholic who accepts the miraculous pretensions of the later period, also accepts the miracles recorded in the New Testament. Nor does the assertion, frequently made, that in the multitude of spurious miracles it is impossible to distinguish the true, have more than a show of truth. All cases of recorded miracles cannot be thus summarily disposed of. Each case is, like each case in civil justice, to be decided upon its own evidence. It requires only the application of this rule to prove the credibility of the miracles of the Gospel and the spuriousness of the miracles of the Mediaeval Period.

§ IV. THE ATONEMENT.

Canon Mozley's doctrine of the Atonement is suggested in a sermon included in the volume of University Sermons and in a criticism of Frederick Denison Maurice's Theological Essays. I say *suggested*, for the doctrine is not explained with fulness of definition or defended with that comprehensiveness and detail which belong to a treatise. Yet the suggestions thus made are sufficient to yield an outline of the form of his belief in the central truth of Christianity. In general the doctrine of the Atonement is defined as "the doctrine that Christ's death and sufferings have been accepted as a sacrifice in our behalf; and, whereas our sins would, in the natural course, have brought eternal punishment upon us, this sacrifice has redeemed us from it." Although this definition omits certain essential elements in the Atonement it yet includes certain other elements which are essential. It includes the element of substitution, and also that of the influence of the work of Christ on the mind of God. In respect to substitution Canon Mozley repudiates that interpretation which represents the sufferings of Christ as literally and fully taking the place of the punishment of the sinner. Christ is not punished for the sinner. The substitution is genuine, but it is a moral substitution. The substitution is not simply in behalf of another, it is also and more, instead of another. Christ takes the place of another and acts in his stead. "He suffers that another may escape suffering, he condemns himself to a burden that another may be relieved." This is very different from the substitution which has frequently been represented as an element of the Atonement. It does not mean that one person is *punished* for another person. This interpretation is nothing less than pagan. The teachings of Scripture, on the contrary, are rather a protest against this interpretation. Objectors to the Atonement on this ground are not attacking the biblical doctrine, but rather a heathenish conception of it. Their missiles are therefore ineffective.

The mediatorship of Christ is also represented as having influence on God. It increases the love of the divine Father for his children on the earth. But this change on the part of God does not dispense with the need of moral change in the sinner. "We cannot, of course, because a good man suffered for a criminal, alter our regards to him if he obstinately remains a criminal." If there is a change in the regard *for* the sinner there must also be a change *in* the sinner.

The Atonement is not a literal fulfilment of justice. It contains no *quid pro quo* element. Yet it contains a certain fulfilment of justice. "It is a fulfilment in the sense of appeasing and satisfying justice; appeasing that appetite for punishment which is the characteristic of justice in relation to evil." "There is," Canon Mozley remarks in the sermon to which allusion is made, "obviously an appetite in justice which is implied in that very anger which is occasioned by crime, by a wrong being committed; we desire the punishment of the criminal as a kind of redress, and his punishment undoubtedly satisfies a natural craving of our mind. But let any one have exposed himself thus to the appetite for punishment in our nature, and it is undoubtedly the case, however we may account for it, that the real suffering of another for him, of a good person for a guilty one, will modify the appetite for punishment, which was possibly up to that time in full possession of our mind; and this kind of satisfaction to justice and appeasing of it is included in the scriptural doctrine of the Atonement." Thus in a sense the mediatorship of Christ is a fulfilment of justice, although *not* in that sense which certain of the older theologians have represented.

It is to be observed that the benefit of the Atonement consists not simply in the deliverance of man from punishment, but in his deliverance from sin as well. Here two advantages are closely allied, but the former should not be allowed to absorb the latter. Deliverance from sin, even if by grace sin is

cast off, cannot amount to more than repentance and reformation. But reformation cannot effect the sins already committed, it can affect only the future life. We can therefore escape the natural consequences of past sins which are represented in punishment only through the Atonement. As Bishop Butler well says, in language which Canon Mozley employs to fine effect against the weak theories of Professor Maurice, Christ "interposed in such a manner as was necessary and effectual to prevent that execution of justice upon sinners which God had appointed should otherwise have been executed upon them, or in such a manner as to prevent that punishment from actually following, which, according to the general laws of divine government must have followed the sins of the world, had it not been for such intervention." The Atonement thus has regard to man's future and to man's past, and to God as well as to man.

§ V. REGENERATION AND BAPTISM.

The Atonement does not result in the salvation of the sinner except he be regenerated. The views of Canon Mozley in reference to regeneration are set forth in an early work having the title, *A Review of the Baptismal Controversy*. The purpose of this work is to affirm two positions: first, "that the doctrine of the regeneration of all infants in baptism is not an article of the faith"; and second, "that the formularies of our church do not impose it." The purpose is indeed narrow, and perhaps at the present time apparently inconsequential. But in the course of the closely reasoned argument the views of the author concerning important doctrines, and especially concerning regeneration, are stated. The term "regenerated" he interprets Scripture as meaning "born of God," or "child of God." The first birth is of man, and the second of God. The term also means likeness to God in character. The "child of Abraham" is one who resembles Abraham in character; "the child of the devil" one who resembles the devil in wickedness; "the child of hell" one who resembles the occupants of that world in malice.

and sin. The "child of God" is, therefore, one who is like God in character. The scriptural sense of regeneration is to be distinguished from several incorrect, inadequate, and false meanings which have been given to it. Regeneration is not merely grace. Grace is a generic term, and may embrace grace which is ineffective or merely assisting and not wholly sufficient. Regeneration implies an actual state of goodness in the individual. Regeneration is not simply a change of federal relations to God. Regeneration implies not simply a capacity for goodness, but goodness itself. Regeneration is by some pronounced as totally different from renovation. But in the New Testament it is represented as "the renewal of the inward frame and disposition," which is equivalent to renovation. It is, however, renovation and more. It is renovation plus the remission of sin. "The act of regeneration is a birth, but it is a birth into a state of actual possession, not means of acquisition only; and from the moment that it takes place goodness exists, and has not to grow *into existence*, though it admits of growth. The regenerate man may rise indefinitely in the scale of perfection; but he is still, from the moment that he *is* regenerate, a formed spiritual man, having actual goodness, of which his birth is the beginning and first enjoyment indeed, but not the mere rudimental capacity." Regeneration implies remission of sins, but it is more than this. Remission of sins is the removal of the guilt for past sin which is an impediment to the individual's present goodness. It is true that in the case of moral agents the removal of guilt signifies a certain degree of actual goodness as the condition of its removal. But this goodness is not the effect of this remission, although it may be thereby increased. Regeneration is thus more than this negative quality of the remission of sins. It signifies also the formation of the quality of positive goodness. Remission implies faith and repentance in the individual.

With this definition, the relation of the regeneration of adults to their baptism is easily formulated. The general theory is that an adult is regenerate in baptism with faith and

repentance. Those who maintain that wicked adults become regenerate in baptism can do so only on the supposition that "regeneration is only the imparting of a *power* or *faculty*." In this meaning it is possible for the wicked while wicked to be regenerated; for there is no inconsistency in the idea that God confers great powers or faculties alike upon the good and the evil. The relation, however, of the regeneration of infants to their baptism is not so easily stated. Canon Mozley affirms that "an infant is not regenerate in the sense of being actually good, if he has only a new capacity for goodness implanted in him at baptism. A faculty or capacity for attaining goodness is a totally different thing from goodness, the power altogether a distinct thing from the fact. The inhabitation of the Holy Spirit as a prompting and assisting divine influence within the soul does not make that soul actually good." Nor is an infant "made actually good in baptism, if he is only freed from the guilt of original sin; because the cessation of the imputation of sin does not constitute goodness, which is a positive quality, and consists in a good moral quality or habit." Yet again: "An infant is not made good in baptism by being admitted into a new federal state or covenant with God"; for this federal state is only a combination of the two states of forgiveness and the *opportunity*, by means of divine grace, of attaining salvation. Nor can it be affirmed with apparent truth that an infant becomes actually good in baptism by means of an "implanted character," that is, character in a rudimentary or seminal stage. But it is not reasonable to affirm that *all* infants thus have this character implanted in them by baptism. For a character of so holy a nature as would thus be given does not show itself in after life in the case of all baptized children. In the lack, therefore, of evidence to the contrary we are obliged to believe this character was not implanted. The precise theory of Canon Mozley concerning the relation of the regeneration of baptized children to their baptism it is not easy to discover. The purpose of his work is negative, and many of his positions are negations. "Scripture is silent with respect to

infants as recipients of the grace of baptism." He, therefore, also declines to lay down affirmations.

§ VI. ESCHATOLOGY.

The theory of eternal punishment appears, like the theory of the Atonement, in the criticism of Professor Maurice's views. The reverend Professor who was removed from his chair of Divinity in King's College, abstracted from the words eternity and eternal all idea of time. He explained them as meaning pure and simple existence. This interpretation is by no means as new or as universal to-day as it was thirty years since, when the teaching of such conceptions was the principal cause of the removal of a professor of great ability and energy. But this interpretation has been deftly overthrown by Canon Mozley, not on the ground of exegesis as is customary, but on the ground of metaphysics. Whenever we think of existence we do not think of existence pure and simple; we think of the existence of some object; and the existence of this object we think of as continuing or as not continuing. "If the idea of eternity, then, is reduced to the idea of pure existence, independent of duration, it is reduced to an idea which I have not got within my mind." The idea of pure existence is an idea which the very laws of thought prevent one from forming. But, further, the affirmation that eternal does not mean everlasting or endless would by the popular mind be received as indicating that eternal punishment does mean punishment of which the duration is limited. The popular mind will not rest in the refined conceptions of pure existence. It explains eternal as referring to time, and if the scholar affirms that the word does not mean everlasting, it, still holding to the notion of time, infers that the word must mean time finite.

Seldom have the disastrous effects of entertaining such a theory been expressed with greater force and comprehensiveness than in the strong sentences of Dr. Mozley. "The release from the notion of eternal punishment," he remarks, "would be felt by the great mass as a relief from the sense

of moral obligation ; and, relying on this certainty that all would be sure to be right at last, men would run the risk of the intermediate punishment, whatever it might be, and plunge into self-indulgence without hesitation. It may be said that men do this now under the belief in eternal punishment. They do ; and there is no limit to the powers of imagination by which men can suppress the reasonable certainty of the future and make the present everything. But the belief in eternal punishment is the true and rational concomitant of the sense of moral obligation. Destroy the punishment and you destroy the sin ; limit it, and you make sin a light thing. Moreover, the belief in eternal punishment, however suppressed, leaves a blank and dark ultimate prospect before the sinner's mind ; but this prospect is removed by the limitation of punishment, and in the place of a cloudy termination of the view, which the sinner at any rate had rather have removed, and which therefore must so far operate as a stimulus to that change of life which alone can remove it, he has a bright ultimate termination anyhow, whether he changes his way of life or whether he does not, and therefore he loses a stimulus to change which even the most careless must in some way feel. For even those to whom eternal punishment is thus a mere negative and suppressed idea had rather have a bright termination than this suppressed bad one before them. . . . A general relaxation of moral ties, a proclamation of liberty and security, the audacity of sins which had before been abashed, carelessness where there had been hesitation, obstinacy where there had been faltering, and defiance where there had been fear, would show a world in which the sanctions of morality and religion had been loosened, and in which vice had been a controlling power, and got rid of an antagonist and a memento." Although these words were written nearly a third of a century ago, and in England, they deserve to be pondered by the American theologians of this generation.

ARTICLE VI.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY REV. I. P. WARREN, D.D., PORTLAND, ME.

I PROPOSE in the present article to support and illustrate the truth that the Old Testament Scriptures are the word of God. They are, in a sense that is true of no other book save their younger sister the New Testament, his communication to men. As such, they possess whatever qualities necessarily attach to his word, of truth, of sanctity, of authority, of infallibility.

This high character I prefer to designate by the word *divine* rather than *inspired*, because the latter, in addition to the quality itself, carries with it by etymological inference the assumption that it was imparted in a particular way, viz. by a direct influence of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of the writers. Whether this was true or not is worthy of special inquiry, but it is not, I think, necessary to the result. God may, conceivably, have given us a communication in some other way, and it tends to confuse us to be obliged to think of it always under the regimen of a term which blends the fact with a particular mode. The word *divine* will sufficiently express the fact, leaving the question of the mode to be considered by itself.

The truth of the proposition that the Old Testament is the word of God is, for Christian believers, readily established. It is directly affirmed in many ways by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the apostles. It cannot be necessary that I should cite their utterances here. They are thickly strewn through all the Gospels and Epistles. The divine sanctity and authority of the Scriptures were with them always a first principle, assumed as a matter of course, which nobody disputed, and which needed no proof. It may, indeed, be reckoned as among the primary Christian truths.

And let us note how comprehensive it was, as it appears in the sayings of the Lord and of those who had been taught by him. The sacred writings were classed by the Scribes under the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, an arrangement which Christ himself recognized. But he made no difference between them in this respect. Never did he single out one at the expense of the others. Never did he distinguish between known and unknown authors. Never did he speak of some that were more and some that were less inspired. If he did not quote from every one, it was not because he did not recognize their place in the sacred canon, but simply because he did not need to do so for the purpose in hand. He made little of the personality of the writer, but every thing of the authority by which he wrote. It was not what was spoken by the prophet, but what was spoken by the Lord *through* the prophet. To him the entire collection was a unit, and it was the word of God. The temple was made up of parts; it had its courts, outer and inner; its gates, some more and some less beautiful; its apartments, of varying use and dignity, from the closets which stored wood and ashes and salt up to the awful, unapproachable Holy of holies, but it was one sacred edifice throughout; it was the house of God. So with that book which was our Saviour's Bible,—it was in all its parts a divine unity,—the word of God.

Thus far we have solid ground to rest upon. Let us now inquire more particularly what is meant by that proposition.

Our Saviour, while declaring the Scriptures to be the word of God, did not say how they became such. Neither he nor the apostles gave us any theory of inspiration. That which, perhaps, comes nearest to a dogmatic statement, and has done most to shape our conceptions of the subject, is the language of Peter in his second Epistle: "No prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (i. 21, R. V.). But I do not understand the apostle as referring here to the Scriptures generally, or to their writers, but to prophecy in its stricter

sense, the utterance of predictions as to the future.¹ It was, he says, the power and the coming (the Parousia) of the Lord Jesus Christ which the scoffers derided, but which nevertheless should certainly take place as promised. To these, the prophetic portions of the Scriptures, his assertion is applicable and, doubtless, strictly descriptive, but that hardly gives us warrant for extending it to other portions of a wholly different nature.

With this exception, I do not remember that anything is said of the inspiration of the *writers* of the sacred books. Indeed, of a large part of those books the writers are wholly unknown. Their names are not mentioned, nor their characters, the circumstances in which they wrote, the motives that prompted them, nor the spiritual conditions they were in. Nearly everything pertaining to their personality is left in utter oblivion. Tradition to some extent has attempted to supply this lack, but its testimony is unreliable. Whatever affirmations of a divine quality in their writings are made belong to the writings themselves, not to the writers. "All Scripture," says Paul, "is *theopneustos*." Literally, "every writing, being inbreathed of God," or as DeWette defines it, "breathed through," "full of the Spirit," "is also profitable," etc. No matter whether the word be regarded as subject or predicate it applies to the *writing* only; of course, collectively, to the whole body of sacred writings which Timothy had been taught from his childhood, and which were able to make wise unto salvation. The word, therefore, is not a word of mode, but simply of quality. It covers any and all modes—every sort of divine action, direct and indirect, by which the volume came into being and form, and was clothed with authority as the vehicle of the divine will and thoughts to men. Says Dr. Van Oosterzee, in almost precisely the same language as Olshausen, "This passage alone is not sufficient to found a theory of inspiration upon, since the relation of

¹ Huther says: "*προφητεία γραφή* is undoubtedly to be understood of the prediction of the Old Testament, either the prophecy contained in Scripture, or that to which the Scripture gives expression."

human activity to the disposing power of the Spirit of God in the composition of Holy Scripture is not stated in words, and the question whether we must consider here an inspiration of words or of things remains wholly unanswered. A correct theory of inspiration will not rest upon this or the other passage of Scripture, but can truly and vitally result only from a consideration of the *object* which is the product of divine inspiration.”¹

There being, then, no authoritative statement as to the mode in which the Scriptures became divine, and the readers being left free to determine it for themselves from a consideration of their characteristics, let us inquire whether we may not find the answer in the distinction above alluded to between the *writers* and the *writings*; and whether, also, we may not therein reach a solution of most of the difficulties which confessedly attend the usual statements and theories on the subject. Let us begin with a simple illustration.

A father undertakes to prepare for his young son a manual of instruction for his conduct and happiness through life. Obviously, it is not necessary that these should be written out by the father's own hand. It is not necessary that they should be of his own composition. They are, we will suppose, in the form of a book or library, like this of the Scriptures, of thirty-nine volumes, of varying size, structure, and style. They may have been composed by different authors, at different dates. Some are by amanuenses who have put down at the father's dictation statements and directions which could only originate with him. Some are compilations made under his care from existing literature, history, philosophy, poetry, or perhaps even the drama and fiction. Still others are independent productions of distinguished authors adapted to the purpose in view. The collection thus made up, thus composite in its sources, kinds, and qualities, he presents, say as a birthday gift, to his son, saying, “This, my son, I give you, selected and prepared with much care and expense, to make you wise for this life and the life to

¹ Lange's Commentary on 2 Tim. iii. 16.

come. Here you will find my counsels as to what is best for you. Here is my will as to what you are to do. Here are my promises and my admonitions. Take it as *my word* to you; study it, obey it, and you shall have my love and blessing."

Now, it is obvious that such a gift would be plenarily invested with that father's authority to his son. That authority would attach to every part of it, and to all alike. No matter who held the pens that originally composed the several portions. No matter whether they were known to the son or not, or in what age or land or language they wrote. No matter whether the penmen were prince or peasant, priest or philosopher. No matter whether they knew, when they were writing, what use would one day be made of their productions or not, or shaped their utterances with any reference to such use. No matter how many marks of their personality they may have impressed on their writings,—peculiarities of diction, taste, linguistic purity or defect. No matter how much they betrayed the spirit of the age in which they lived, of the nationality or caste or school to which they belonged, or any other individual quality, intellectual or moral. The simple fact that the father has chosen them to be vehicles of his thought extinguishes in them, so far as the son is concerned, all personality but his own. They become to him his father's word. Whatsoever they say to him his father says. They are plenarily filled with the love, the mind, and the will of the giver.

With this illustration in mind, let us take up this volume of the Scriptures—our Heavenly Father's book to us.

1. First, we have the prime fact that it is *his* book. Of this we are assured by the testimony of Jesus Christ and his apostles, as already stated. I do not adduce this as proof for infidels, but for those who believe that he was a teacher sent from God, and that his words and those of the men who were commissioned to speak in his name are true. They taught nothing more plainly or constantly than this, and for Christians this testimony is sufficient.

Still, though the fact rests primarily and satisfactorily on Christ's authority, there is no lack of corroborative evidence, sufficient even, were there no other, to render it the most certain of all truths. That evidence is found in the book itself, and in every department of human knowledge external to it. The subject is too wide for consideration here. I will briefly advert to but a single topic—the remarkable *unity* of the book as a collection not dissimilar to the one supposed.

The Old Testament as it was in Christ's day was a volume or body of writings substantially the same in form and contents as now. Probably the line between the canonical and the apocryphal had not been quite as sharply drawn. Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles were in portions of the Jewish church still antilegomena; as, on the other hand, the First Book of Maccabees, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus may have been publicly read in some of the Hellenist synagogues. But, with these unimportant exceptions, the canon of the Scriptures had been completed, presenting that noble unity which is one of its most marked characteristics. In doctrine, in precept, in moral purpose and spirit, it is throughout one. In its institutions, history, and prophecy it converges to one point—the coming and work of the promised Messiah. Jesus himself claimed that unity as a part of his credentials: “All things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and the prophets and the Psalms concerning me.” It stood on a footing unique and alone; it was “the Scripture”—ἡ Γραφή. Such a unity of contents evinces a unity of design in the collection, and a corresponding unity in the Giver. It is more than a uniformity in binding and lettering would be in the supposed case of a library, inasmuch as an interior oneness of subject and purpose is of greater significance than any oneness of outward dress and appearance.

2. We have the historical fact of an actual *collection and reception* of this composite volume as the word of God by the ancient church in the exercise of that spiritual intuition which was imparted to her by the indwelling Spirit of God.

It has long been the custom to attribute that work chiefly to Ezra, or rather to that body of learned men contemporary with him in the reconstruction of the commonwealth, sometimes called "the Great Synagogue," of which Ezra is said to have been the president. But this now appears to be a fable of the Talmud, growing out of an exaggeration of the account given in Nehemiah of the assembly which convened at Jerusalem to renew the covenant and subscribe to the law. Professor W. Robertson Smith has shown, on the contrary, that "the canon of the Old Testament was of gradual formation; that some books now accepted had long a doubtful position, while others were for a time admitted to a measure of reputation which made the line of demarcation between them and the canonical books uncertain and fluctuating. In short, we must suppose a time when the Old Testament canon was passing through the same kind of history through which we know the New Testament to have passed."¹ The principle underlying that history is familiar to us all. The collection of our New Testament books was not made by any one man, nor by any one church or council of churches. In other words, it was the product of the Spirit of God dwelling in the churches, and, according to our Saviour's assurance, guiding them into the truth. This was one of the great promises included in his parting legacy to his people — the ministration of the Comforter, who should dwell with them and be their abiding teacher in his name. And such an indwelling of the Spirit is a true inspiration; if not one which involves a commission to write in his name, at least one that empowers them to judge of what has been written, to exclude what is unworthy, and to gather and set forth what shall truly convey both to the church and the world the mind and will of God. The gift of discernment is by the apostle ranked as not inferior to the gift of utterance.

So likewise in the ancient church. We have become so much accustomed to think of the corruptions of that church, especially of the formality and hypocrisy of its leading classes

¹ Old Test. in Jewish Church, p. 153.

in the days of our Lord, that we are apt to forget that it was, after all, in its time, the church of God, and that his promise had been given it, "I will dwell with them and walk with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." And this inspiration in the whole church was greater than in any individual in it—greater than in any priest or prophet, or in any school of the prophets. And any body of writings which the church collectively thus made, spontaneously, out of its own enlightened instincts and perceptions, to meet its own spiritual wants and to carry out the will of God, may safely be regarded as more truly theopneustic than if it only bore the prestige of a single great name, as Ezra, or Isaiah, or David, or Samuel, or Moses. It is, indeed, the product of the combined inspiration of them all.

What, precisely, was the process by which this result was reached is now unknown. The Rabbis have handed down to us their traditions, but they are all uncertain. Professor Smith and other writers of his school have advanced their theories, many of which are ingenious and plausible; but they have not as yet carried with them the majority of Biblical scholars. Probably the exact history is now irrecoverable. But we may, looking at the materials before us, discern some probabilities which will aid us in studying the problem in hand—the nature and methods of their inspiration.

We begin with those writings that present the least difficulty—those which stand nearest to our usual idea of inspiration because of the known inspiration of their authors, viz. the prophetic books. I do not mean that in the order of time these were first introduced into the canon; I only mention them first for convenience sake. The prophets were literally inspired men, acknowledged to be such, and some of them armed with miraculous credentials of their office. They spoke and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Undoubtedly there were many prophecies, in the long line from Samuel to Malachi, which were of local and temporary interest, and which for that reason were not preserved. The question as to which should be preserved and which passed

been denominated the Hebrew classics,—Job, the Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Job is a record of the discussion of a knotty point in theology,—a question of theodicy,—in which those five Oriental sages agreed about as well as eminent theologians and professors have been wont to do on the same topic, and whom when the Lord appeared in the whirlwind he pronounced to be *all* wrong, “darkening counsel by words without knowledge.” What can that theory which places inspiration in the authors make of a book like this? Five *inspired* men *disputing* among themselves, getting angry, and heaping sarcasm and reproaches upon each other, and all of them in *error*! Or if you place it in the transcriber of the conversation, the mere composer of the book, what does any body know of him? And yet, the book itself, however originated, was worthy because of those very imperfections of human reasoning, to be set by the discerning Spirit indwelling in the church, in its sacred records as a vehicle of profoundest wisdom to mankind in all ages whensoever this great and perplexing problem of God’s ways should be thought upon. The Proverbs were collected from many sources; we do not know that any were higher than human. Solomon could have been the author of but a part of them, and I know of no evidence that even he was inspired. True, he was endowed with surpassing wisdom in matters of science, and foreign traffic, and kingcraft, but his debaucheries and idolatries do not recommend him as the ideal of an inspired teacher of divine truth. Ecclesiastes was formerly supposed to be his work, a sort of Book of Confessions growing out of his experiences in worldliness and sensuality. Modern criticism ascribes it to a much later writer, who personated that monarch and put forth similiar confessions in his name. The Song of Solomon is *prima facie*, a beautiful love-poem, of some unknown author, but very surely not by him. Esther is a bit of history pertaining to an episode in the capital of Xerxes, the great Persian monarch, in which originated the Jewish Feast of Purim. All these books about whose *authorship* so little

can be said, are in their uses of the greatest practical value, — precious specimens of the literature of remote antiquity, in consequence of the very fact that they present divine instruction through the media of human thought, and even of human imperfection, all the better fitted to train mankind to virtue and godliness.

Lastly, we have the historical books. I need not go into the question of their authorship, especially that which is now so much disputed, the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Nor does it seem to me of such vital importance as is often assumed. For if the divine quality of a book does not so much depend upon who wrote it, as upon its adoption by the Holy Spirit as the vehicle of instruction to mankind, the full divine authority of the Pentateuch is not impeached even though it was made up from many original sources, and brought into its present shape, partly by Moses and partly by one or more supplementary writers after him. As early as we can discern anything in Hebrew history, we see evidences that the substantial contents of these books were accepted as God's word by Moses. There was never any dispute or doubt as to his being the Deliverer, Lawgiver, and Judge of the people of Israel ; and if in some of the troublous times of their history his laws fell into desuetude or were forgotten, it cannot prove that they had never existed. It was upon the basis of this impregnable fact of tradition that Ezra's reform and reinstatement of the ancient institutions became possible. That the Jewish church then and ever after accepted the Pentateuch as the foundation of their institutions, and the other historical books as the true annals of their nation, is an attestation of their divine authority which cannot be disputed without denying that special covenant calling and providence which made them the chosen people.

These, then, are the two great facts on which we build our theory. Here is a volume which purports to be our Father's book, given by him to be the light of the world. Jesus Christ affirms it to be such, and its own contents corroborate the declaration. The various compositions entering into it

constitute a whole, which in its spirit, in its purpose, in all ethical and rational qualities is a grand unity, worthy of its lofty claim. This unity is itself a fact no less worthy to be noticed and to claim consideration than the authorship of its several portions. How meagre would be that anatomical philosophy which should describe with never so much truth the separate members of the human body, but had no word to say of the transcendent skill which adapted all these members to each other, binding the whole together by such mutual correlations as to make the complete man more wonderful than any of his parts,—a microcosm in himself.

And the other fact is, that the process of collecting and giving form to the volume by which said divine unity was attained, was carried on through the centuries under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the church of God. What if it was not done at any one time by any one man, say, as has been alleged, by Ezra; what then? Is not the whole church more than any one of her ministers? What matter where and by whom the massive stones that were used in building the temple were quarried and sculptured; what matter though we know not the name of a single carpenter or mason or architect, if we know that *what* they built was the house of God? Those workmen in their various stations labored as the needs of the undertaking required; they gathered materials of every kind, new and old, wrought and unwrought; they laid them up in their places as directed, with a greater or less knowledge of the plan and purposes of the edifice, and then, when the work was finished, the Divine Builder descended into it in a cloud and filled it with the Shekinah of his presence and glory. It was not the workmen nor the work, which made it divine; it was the adoption of it by him for his own most holy ends.

I anticipate a question which may be interposed here, though the answer is logically no part of my subject, but pertains to the theory of *interpretation*, not *inspiration*. If any writing, originally human only, was by divine direction taken and placed in the canon of the Scriptures, how are we to

determine what is divine in it?—how distinguish between the divine and the human? I answer, in precisely the same way that we determine it upon any other theory. Suppose you are told dogmatically that the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm was directly dictated to the writer by the Holy Spirit; how does that enable you to see anything divine in it? The assertion itself does not alter its character. It may indeed introduce disorder into our moral convictions, but it cannot stifle or reverse those convictions. The assertion has done nothing to uplift the Psalm; it has done much to dishonor its alleged Author. The difficulty is that we find such sentiments *in* the sacred writings, and we only make it more inexplicable to say that the God of infinite purity and goodness put them there. I say, no; men put them there, though God for his own good purposes deigns to use them. He uses them not for their own sake, but for that of some other sentiment or truth in the composition, which fits them to be a source of instruction to man. It was the piety of that barbarous age *speaking in character*; one of the uses of which, at least, is to show by contrast to later ages the immeasurable advance wrought in human sentiments by the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ.

That which is to be our guide in such cases,—a clew of safety through all the intricacies involved in the connection between the divine and human in the Bible, is an enlightened and sanctified *common sense*. Or if we prefer it, we may call it as some do, *faith*, or the Christian consciousness. The *thing* is nothing new. Our New England theology and metaphysics have been familiar with it ever since Edwards's day. All of us who sat at the feet of Nathaniel W. Taylor as he delivered those masterly lectures on mental philosophy will remember his lucid teachings on that subject. Let me cite a single paragraph from the pages of my note-book.

“God has so made the mind that it cannot but know something. And he has placed truth with its evidence before it, and such motives that, from the necessity of its nature and condition it will know so much truth that, if it never over-

looks nor denies known truth, it will never fall into criminal error. Here is our responsibility. We can see and admit truth, and we can overlook and deny it. It is upon this ground that God will be clear when he judgeth. Common sense, then, is the arbiter of God in the soul of man on that most absorbing of all questions, 'What is Truth?'

It is, then, neither a new departure nor a new return when we recognize an inward faculty of the soul, which, when pure in purpose and enlightened by the Spirit of God, is a sufficient guide in the interpretation of the inspired word. I do not say it may sit in judgment on what is properly established to be his word. There is but one Sovereign of truth. It is for him to speak, and for man to obey. But it is man's prerogative and duty to discern his utterances, and to distinguish them from what are not his, and by his own nature as a moral being he is endowed with a capacity for doing so.

Apply this test to any portion which upon the usual theory of interpretation has been found most difficult to explain. Here is the Book of Job, for instance, a *human* book, apparently, except in the very last scene, where God speaks directly, and a book of human *controversy*. The speakers in it disagree in what they say. What, then, does God say through them? Manifestly not what the letter of any one of the speakers affirms, of itself. That may indeed be true, and it may not. But consider what the book as a whole *means*, and that is what God says. As Richard Baxter remarks, "The *sense* is the soul of the Scripture."¹ The book thus read says concisely: "The problem at which you are laboring is insolvable by man. The administration of Divine Providence is a mystery to be disclosed, if at all, in another world. Man's duty is to be humble, to be obedient, and to trust." And this one lesson, taught in such an interesting because so human a manner, is worth the wealth of a kingdom. No matter what Eliphaz and Bildad and Zophar and Elihu, and even Job himself said, as men; God said to them, and to us all, *this*, and this makes the book divine. So with all the

¹ Catechizing of Families.

other books; apply the maxim, "God *says* what the book *means*," and the volume becomes luminous throughout with the presence of the Divine Giver.

I am aware it may be said that this is to make the word of God the subject of every man's caprice. That only will have authority which he chooses to acknowledge. Any portion that he cannot reconcile with his own judgment he may set down as no part of God's utterance, and so escape its claims. But this is a perversion of our doctrine. Could the son who had been presented by his father with such a gift library as I have supposed pretend that he could not distinguish that father's will therein? I did not say that human caprice was to be the judge, but common sense, *enlightened* and *honest*. And, after all, we must come back to this at last, on any theory, unless we deny the right of private judgment altogether, and give up reason to the keeping of pope or council. They who object to the decisions of an enlightened understanding do it by the dictates of their own reason; that is, they determine by reason that nothing can be determined by reason.

In the view of the subject thus presented, I find no difficulty in saying that the Bible is a divine, or, if you please, an *inspired* book. Nearly all of the perplexities which ordinarily lie in the way of that proposition have arisen from the endeavor to attach the quality of inspiration to the *composition* of its several parts. Remove that quality to the process of *collecting and fitting* them as an instrument of instruction for man, and the perplexities vanish. We know nothing, in most cases, of the original *writers*; we do know, because Christ asserts it, that their *writings*, as they were taken and wrought with plastic skill under the guidance of the Spirit in the church into this book, are God's word. We refuse to be bound by the etymological trammels imposed by the word "inspiration." The apostle's term, "theopneustic," is one of wider scope than that. It may include all that divine action and influence of every sort which eventuated at last in the production of the book. It operated through a long

series of years and in a great variety of ways. The waters of a hundred fountains are gathered by it. Those fountains may have been remote, obscure, unknown to man. Whether they were natural or artificial, — living springs gushing from the recesses of the hills or rising from deep wells dug by patriarch or prophet, — they alike meet here and flow in a broad channel prepared for them by the divine hand — the river of the water of life.

Nor, again, do I hesitate to say that in this sense it is *wholly* inspired. If a father gives a library to his child, he gives it all — the first volume, the fifth, the twentieth; the small as well as the large ones; the history as well as the didactics; the songs as well as the essays; the anonymous as well as those whose writers are known. To single out a portion as the father's gift, and reject the rest, is an unwarrantable distinction, dishonorable to him whose kind care and beneficence included the whole.

Lastly, thus interpreted, I am able to say that the Bible is *verbally* inspired; that is, its *words* have been chosen by God as the vehicle of his communication to man. You cannot have a written revelation without having that which is written. Its own affirmation which it makes of itself is that its *writing* is theopneustos; not its writers, not its contents, apart from its words. I am not content with that ambiguous statement, which may mean much and which may mean nothing, "The Bible *contains* the word of God"; I prefer to say what it says, "The Bible *is* the word of God."

ARTICLE VII.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL AND THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY, B.C.: EIGHT LECTURES BY W. ROBERTSON SMITH, LL.D.

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THIS work covers the mission of Elijah, Elisha, the Books of Amos and Hosea, and parts of Micah and Isaiah. It has many of the characteristics that marked the preceding publications of Professor W. Robertson Smith. If it had been the first of the series it might have attracted as much attention as they did. But his views have now lost much of their novelty, and cease to startle. There is, moreover, no such attractiveness in the style or vigor of treatment as to be an independent source of interest. It is one of those works which beguile the reader and lead him to think that he is getting hold of some valuable truth or profound analysis, which, however, soon passes out of sight and gives place to something else, leaving him at the end quite at a loss as to the definite ground passed over and the exact nature and value of the results reached.

The writer does not seem to grasp the whole subject and hold it before his vision at once. He approaches it from different points of view, and fails to give the reader the key to his positions, or to take him understandingly to the changed point of outlook. The words are used carefully and accurately. The sentences are generally clear. The paragraphs individually give out, some of them a definite meaning, some an equivocal one. But the chapter as a whole is quite dubious. There is no clear perspective in the treatment. The various parts of the picture are introduced without respect to their relative distances from the spectator, like the different parts of a landscape in a Chinese painting.

If the writer sees things clearly, he does not enable the reader to do it. He suggests the thought that there is something kept back. He leads us around a fine elucidation of history and prophecy in the age of the prophets, but does not take us into it, showing us only glimpses of it here and there.

The naturalistic view of the Old Testament religion which clearly enough runs through the book is not brought out in bold relief, but lurks in plausible statements, in subdued colors and tints, well calculated to deceive the reader and lead him to an unconscious acceptance of positions at length which, if stated clearly and in logical form, with their real premises, would be instantly discredited. It is a work which persons of an enthusiastic turn, fond of novelty, adventurous in speculation, and not grounded in their faith or much troubled with discrimination, are quite likely to be carried away with. It may, therefore, be well worthy of careful critical consideration in the interest of truth and the knowledge of Scripture. But from what has been said it is evident that it is not an easy task to reduce it to its logical substance. It is difficult to overtake the evasions or equivocal meanings and put the right estimate on them. The book must be read and reread; for, while the impression and spirit are definite, the grounds on which they rest are not always tangible in chapter or paragraph.

An obvious criticism turns on the *inconsistencies* of statement. This may be a natural fault in a writer who treats his theme so much from interest in the parts, rather than from a comprehensive insight into the whole; but it is a serious fault. At one time he represents the Northern tribes as faithful to their religious observances, living up to the light that had been given them. Thus he says: "The prophets themselves, amidst all their complaints against the people's backsliding, bear witness that their countrymen were assiduous in their religious service, and neglected nothing which they deemed necessary to make sure of Jehovah's help in every need. The Israelites, in fact, had not reached the

stage at which men begin to be indifferent about religion ; and if Jehovah had been such a god as Baal or Chemosh, content with such worship as they exacted from their worshippers, there would have been no ground to complain of their fidelity to his name or their zeal for his cause " (pp. 65, 66). At another time he represents them as having fallen below the standard God had expressly given them, and having thus incurred the denunciation of the prophets. He says : " Prophecy had sunk to a mere trade. Hosea brackets prophet and priest in a common denunciation. In the fall of the priesthood the prophet shall fall with him " (p. 105). And again : " The guilt of Israel is its declension not from the common standard of other nations, and not from a new standard now heard for the first time, but from a standard already set before them by the unique Jehovah, who had made this nation his own " (p. 108). At one time he goes through quite an argument to prove that in the early ages of the prophets the Northern tribes were as faithful to Jehovah and as devout as the two Southern tribes (pp. 199-205). He says : " It is common to imagine that the religious condition of Judah was very much superior to the North ; but there is absolutely no evidence to support this opinion." Yet over against this statement he says, four pages later : " On the other hand, the growing corruption of Ephraim [by which he means the ten tribes] in religion and social order was full of peril to Judah." In another place he gives this picture of the low religious condition of the North : " The priesthood were naturally associated in feelings and interests with the corrupt, tyrannical aristocracy, and were as notorious as the lords temporal for the neglect of law and justice. The strangest scenes of lawlessness were seen in the sanctuaries — revels where fines paid to the priestly judges were spent in wine-drinking, ministers of the altars stretched for these carousals on garments taken in pledge in defiance of sacred law. Hosea accuses the priests of Sechem of highway robbery and murder. The sanctuary of Gilgal was polluted with blood, and the prophet explains the general dissolution

of moral order, the reign of lawlessness in all parts of the land, by the fact that the priests, whose business it was to maintain the knowledge of Jehovah and his laws, had forgotten this holy trust" (p. 101). So much for the author's confutation of his own statement that the national religion of Judah was not more advanced than that of Ephraim. Then we have, further, the explicit testimony of Hosea: "Ephraim compasseth me about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit; but Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the saints" (Hosea xi. 12).

But there is a more serious defect than inconsistency that must be noted. Professor Smith seems to have the faculty not only of coloring but of spinning the threads that go into the web of history. He is always ready to tell us what the facts must have been, and to reconstruct the supposed historical fragments that have come down to us, putting aside such impertinent statements in the old records as stand in the way of the theory, and supplying the lacunae which the scriptural writers left with the desired data. Thus the theory requires that the idea of God—his absolute and solitary divinity and spirituality—should come gradually into the world. He provides for it, and removes all opposing evidence. He says: "The very name of Jehovah became known as a name of power only through Moses and the deliverance" (p. 33). Again, all that lay in the personal difference between Jehovah and the gods of the nations "came out bit by bit in the course of a history which was ruled by Jehovah's providence and shaped by Jehovah's law" (p. 53). Yet the very first verse of the Bible, which, as he does not call in question, was indorsed and put in writing by Moses, points to the underived and absolute existence of God: "*In the beginning God* created the heaven and the earth." The idea of self-existence contained in the name Jehovah, and of the divine spirituality indicated in the second commandment, he summarily disposes of, as a charmer with a wave of his wand dismisses spectres that have intruded on the scene. "As for the common notion that the name

Jehovah expresses the idea of absolute and unconditional existence, that is a mere fiction of the Alexandrian philosophy, absolutely inconsistent with the whole language of the Old Testament, and refuted even by the one phrase 'the Jehovah of the armies of Israel.' " As if God could not be the God of all the earth and the God of Israel in a special manner at the same time. "Even the principle of the second commandment," he continues, "that Jehovah is not to be worshipped by images, which is often appealed to as containing the most characteristic peculiarity of Mosaism, cannot, in the light of history, be viewed as having had so fundamental a place in the religion of early Israel" (pp. 62, 63). But does the lapse of the people from the high idea in practice, shown in history, prove that the idea did not exist as a revelation? All revealed ideas do not work themselves out into recorded national history.

The theory, also, requires that the worship of God in the Jewish nation should begin in simplicity and go on to a more complicated ritual. Accordingly, the facile reconstructor of history goes through the ancient records and adjusts them to the necessities of the case by regarding all the passages that oppose the *a priori* theory as manifest interpolations by a later hand, the evidence of the work of a post-exilian editor. In this way he regards the Book of Deuteronomy as written in a later age, thrust forward, and incorporated in the Pentateuch; the priestly and ritualistic legislation no older than Chronicles as also antedated and thrown back to the time of Moses and ascribed to him; and the Books of the Kings as resolvable into strata of very different dates,—some of which, as the histories of Elijah and Elisha, the author thinks "every one can see to be ancient and distinct documents, while others take their coloring and their facts from a much later age" (p. 109).

The theory requires that there should be no priestly legislation,—no sharp discrimination between the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites, such as is recorded in Leviticus,—till after the Exile, and no requirement of worship at one central

sanctuary till the time of Josiah, in the seventh century B.C. Accordingly, everything in the narratives purporting to describe the preceding events, containing intimations of the existence of a priestly caste or the requirement of centralized worship, must be set aside as a later addition designed to give the weight and authority of a Mosaic origin to a ritualism that had sprung up centuries afterward. He speaks of modern historical criticism as having resulted in "the demonstration — for such," he says, "I will venture to call it — that the priestly legislation did not exist before the Exile" (p. xi). And he ascribes "the principle of the one sanctuary," as contained in Deuteronomy, to the age of Josiah, "as the chief visible mark of the religious revolution which the teaching of the prophets had effected" (p. 293). Of the idea of the one sanctuary, he adds, in another place, "there is absolutely no trace in history before the Exile" (p. 435). The fact that from the time of Moses down through the period of Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, and Saul to David, the clear testimony of history shows that the ark was the central place of worship, and that the ritualism of the nation revolved around it, and the fact that subsequently the temple of Solomon emphasized and increased this tendency, and burned the idea of one sanctuary as the religious faith of the nation into history beyond any possibility of erasure, give him no trouble. The theory does not require these facts, and they are quietly overlooked by the late historical criticism.

The theory of religious progress which the author adopts requires him to believe that God in those early days was occupied with the training of the nation as a whole, not with that of persons. He says: "The basis of the prophetic religion is the conception of a unique relation between Jehovah and Israel, — not, be it observed, individual Israelites, but Israel as a national unity. The whole Old Testament religion deals with the relations between two parties — Jehovah on the one hand, and the nation of Israel on the other" (p. 20). Consequently his eyes are holden, that he

should not see the bearing on this theory of the numberless denunciations by the prophets of the personal sins of the people, and their repeated calls to practical righteousness, nor the blazing light of the ten commandments focussing the moral law upon the individual conscience, and held up from the beginning of the nation as the central, authoritative standard of personal duty. The theory destroys the vision, and prevents the discovery of patent facts. "Obedience to Jehovah as King," he says, "is not the affair of the individual conscience, but of the nation in its national organization. The righteousness of Israel which Isaiah contemplates is such righteousness as is secured by a perfectly wise and firm application of the laws of civil justice and equity" (p. 303). Yet he now and then admits more than his theory demands, and concedes that God's real aim included the individual righteousness and obedience of the people. For example, God "desired mercy, and not sacrifice; obedience, rather than the fat of lambs. While these things were wanting, his very love for Israel could only show itself in ever repeated chastisements, till the sinners were consumed out of his land, and his holy will established itself in the hearts of a regenerate people" (p. 69).

The theory requires that the righteousness of God as first made known should not be personal and spiritual, but administrative. He calls the ancient conception "forensic" (p. 388). He says, "Jehovah's righteousness is nothing else than kingly righteousness, in the ordinary sense of the word, and its sphere is the sphere of his sovereignty; that is, of the land of Israel" (p. 245). To maintain this view he represents the conception of God's holiness as not so much an ethical conception as a conception of distance and exaltation (p. 224). So all the moral terms descriptive of the character of God, in the earlier period of the Old Testament are emptied of their ethical meaning, and the primitive materialistic, or a low earthly, thought put into them. Accordingly the earnest efforts of the prophets and sacred writers to exalt the character of God before the people, or to

have them conceive of him as a morally perfect being, jealous of the purity of his service, and rebuking men for their sins, break down, because the very terms used are considered as having been incapable in that age of delivering any such high message, as also those using them are regarded as having been incapable of having any such high thought. The author overlooks the intuitional nature of man — the native moral and spiritual divine image in him — which enables him, having hints only of sublime moral and spiritual truth, to apprehend it readily, borne on to the full knowledge by some inner instinct of kindred. The slow progress of the world in religion is not owing to the difficulty of conveying the fundamental spiritual and ethical conceptions, but of having them put in practice. The ancient sacred writers were not beating the air in using terms having a materialistic origin in a metaphorical way, and putting into them fundamental spiritual meanings, but they carried the apprehension of the people with them. The whole trend of the sacred history shows this. The very atmosphere of the Old Testament proves that the fundamental conception of God's righteousness in the background of the messages of the prophets, and in the religious consciousness of the people of God, was a conception of exalted personal righteousness, an absolute righteousness, and that this is the ground of the "forensic" or "administrative" righteousness, and of the wailings and chidings of the prophets on account of the personal sins of the people. A fundamental mistake of Professor Smith is in regarding the picture in the Bible of the lapsed condition of the Jews, when they had fallen into idolatry, or when they blended idolatry with the worship of Jehovah, and were living in open sin, as indicating all they knew about the true God and his service, and in denying that any higher revelation of duty existed at that time or had been made known to Israel previously.

In like manner, at the demand of theory, the ethical contents of the conception of sin are largely spirited away, and sin becomes rather an outward mistake than a spiritual wrong.

It is "missing the mark"—a failure to reach the prescribed end, and that end is the formal acknowledgment of Jehovah as the king of the land, and obedience to his kingly rule. The deeper action of the human conscience in the experience of sin is ignored; so also are the facts, the historical facts, of remorse, which does not require a revelation from God or any especial divine training for its activity, but springs up spontaneously in the human heart even in pagan lands. But the attempt to reduce all sense of sin exhibited in the early writings of the Jews, and especially in the Psalms of David, to grief on account of ritualistic or civil blundering, or failure to meet the formal requirements of Jehovah, or anything short of a feeling of personal guiltiness, betrays a very superficial reading of the history, and of man in the history.

The theory requires Professor Smith to maintain that the Levitical ritualism had not been developed in the time of the early prophets, because it had not been instituted at that time, and was an after-thought of later ages. Hence he is oblivious of the significance and force of the allusions to the priestly services in the historical books, or regards them as later fabrications. He regards the silence of the prophets about the necessity of maintaining the ritual forms as evidence that these forms had not been then authoritatively enjoined. He says: "There is never the slightest indication that repentance and obedience require to be embodied in acts of ritual worship in order to find acceptance with God. There is not a line in all the prophecies that have come down to us which gives the slightest weight to priesthood or sacrifice" (p. 360). Therefore, he argues, they did not then exist. He loses sight of the fact that at that time formalism was the dry-rot of Israel, and needed no emphasis laid on it. What Israel then needed was to be awakened to more spiritual devotion. The burden of the prophets was to bring them back to the spiritual requirements of the service of Jehovah.

The theory also demands that the mission of the prophet should be to speak to his own time—to dovetail a message from God into the wants of that particular age; further

than that Professor Smith has no use for the prophet ; and thinks God has none, and the world has none. The prophet was simply a living medium between God and his own age, not between God and that age and coming ages. That is, the Professor does not give scope to the mission of the prophet by conceding to him the office of prediction beyond a shrewd discernment of the outcome of existing tendencies, and sometimes outlining the course of present historical principles to their definite future issues. On the contrary, the prophetic mission is regarded as simply to outline current principles of the Divine government, and apply them to existing conditions. It is the possession of these spiritual principles as certainties, he says, "which constituted Isaiah a true prophet. Everything else in his teaching is nothing else than an attempt to give these principles concrete shape and tangible form in relation to the problems of his own day. . . . But when he embodied his faith and hope in concrete pictures of the future, these pictures were, from the necessity of the case, not literal forecasts of history, but poetic and ideal constructions" (p. 341). Thus with him all prophecy as prediction of history in remote events, or of anything more than the principles underlying such history, falls to the ground. He affirms that "the substance of the Messianic prophecy is ideal, not literal; the business of the prophet is not to anticipate history, but to signalize the principles of divine grace which rule the future, because they are eternal as Jehovah's purpose. Their faith asks nothing more than this" (p. 249). Accordingly, under the arresting gaze of the Professor, all the prophetic intimations of the Messianic times contract themselves to descriptions, "poetic and ideal," of events near the time when they were written. The wings of the prophet are clipped. The words are "poetic and ideal" enough, but they collapse, when we see their object, to a paltry application. A specimen of the value of the critical acumen which settles at sight all exegetical difficulties in the way of this contracting and belittling view, may be seen in the way in which he empties of its

meaning the prophecy, "His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace" (Isa. ix. 6). He refers these words to a king and adds: "The prophet does not say that the king is the Mighty God and the Everlasting Father, but that his *name* is divine and eternal, that is, that the divine might and everlasting fatherhood of Jchovah are displayed in his rule" (p. 307).

It is sad to see what havoc is made of the prophecies by thus restricting the scope of the mission of the prophet to his own age. The interpreter is left, often to find meagre fulfilments in current history or the near future, or, failing of these, to charge the prophet with idealizing or falling into mistakes. Thus, as we have seen, Professor Smith explains all the early Messianic prophecies, in Isaiah as referring exclusively to some near Davidic king,—he does not tell us which one,—and he sees the fulfilment of the prediction that the land should then be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea, that the wolf should dwell with the lamb, the leopard lie down with the kid, and that the sucking child should play on the hole of the asp, in "the abolition of all hurt and harm as the fruit of judgment and pure government" (p. 301). In another place he speaks of Isaiah's apprehensions of evil as "of the nature of a shrewd political forecast, rather than of exceptional prediction, and as the future actually shaped itself his worst anticipations were not realized" (p. 268). Again, "the prophets speak in broad, poetically effective, images" (Ibid). The vindication of their divine mission, he adds, "in the precision of detail with which they related beforehand the course of coming events must be received as a vain imagination" (p. 336).

Again, the theory that the prophet has reference to his own times finds the last part of the Book of Isaiah, from the fortieth chapter to the end, in the way. There are no events in that period to which the glowing prophecies of the coming Messiah and the future church could possibly be referred. But the difficulty is easily overcome by this ready readjuster of sacred writings. He says: "Instead of taking up his

prophecies in the order in which they now stand, we must look for internal evidence to connect each oracle with one or other part of his career. Those sections of the book which can not be read in close connection with any part of the prophet's life and times must provisionally be set on one side" (p. 213). He gives the final verdict: "The great prophecy, chapters xl.-lxvi., which is separated from the rest of the book by an historical section, was certainly not written by Isaiah" (p. 217). He gives no reasons for this exclusion, except the want of connection between the predictions and the times; and we are left to the infallibility of the historical instinct under the guidance of the genius of modern historical criticism for evidence that no mistake has been made. All these last chapters of the Book of Isaiah are, therefore, omitted from his survey, though he generously enough suggests that they, too, written some time after the Exile, may doubtless refer to some passing events of their day. Other portions are also omitted because they do not relate to Israel, but foreign nations, and his special purpose is to consider the prophets of Israel, and the prophecies in relation to Israel.

But, apart from the coloring and distorting influence of theory on Professor Smith, and the seeming disposition to reconstruct history out of his own consciousness, there are many assertions in the book calculated to mislead, if not destitute of proof of their truth. The following are specimens. He denies the authenticity of the blessing of Moses, in Deuteronomy, and calls it "the so-called blessing of Moses," and says it "does not itself claim this name, but, on the contrary, bears clear internal marks of having been written in the kingdom of Ephraim" (p. 49). It is misleading to say, "It does not *itself* claim this name," when the blessing is *introduced* in the sacred narrative by the words, "This is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death" (Deut. xxxiii. 1). He refers to the complaint of David: "They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord,

saying, Go, serve other gods" (1 Sam. xxvi. 19), as proof "how absolutely access to the sanctuary was conceived as the indispensable basis of all religion," and of the "conception that Jehovah cannot be worshipped in foreign lands" (p. 98). He seems to have forgotten, when he writes this, that he holds that the Jews at that time knew nothing about the necessity of one place of worship. But, apart from this, what David said only shows the popular estimate that the worship of Jehovah was best observed by the use of the prescribed ritual, and that David felt it could not be conducted by him abroad in the customary way.

He affirms that Elijah and Elisha "are indifferent even to the worship of the golden calves" (p. 109); and he does this because there are no recorded utterances of theirs against it. As if the modern critical faculty discerns that the ancient prophets approved all the evil about them concerning which, in the fragmentary history, there is no record of their disapproval.

He asserts that in the time of Amos and Hosca "the feasts of Baalim were Jehovah's feasts" (p. 176). As if the fact that Baal's rites had in some instances usurped the place of those of Jehovah, on account of the lapse of the people into idolatry, proves that the people thought they were still practising the religion Jehovah had revealed to them.

He also interprets the story, in the first chapter of Hosea, of the marriage of the prophet to Gomer, and about "the wife of whoredoms and the children of whoredoms," as a literal occurrence, not as an allegory (p. 179 et seq.) He insists on this as actual history, although the ancient Oriental practice both of acting and speaking allegories, and the allegorical names given the children,—Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi,—with the explanation of their allegorical meaning by the prophet in the immediate connection, betray the absurdity of the interpretation to other eyes than those anointed with the critical discernment.

But it is time to consider more directly the fundamental

assumption which underlies the book, and comes out in it in many ways and forms. It is briefly this: Moses wrote nothing about the necessity of one central place of worship, nothing about the priestly legislation which discriminates between the Levites and the sons of Aaron. Both of these things came into existence as the result of the religious awakening under the early prophets, and were not incorporated in the sacred books till after the Exile; and then they were written as if they had been instituted by Moses, and their origin put in his mouth. Professor Robertson Smith says it did not seem important to these later writers "to distinguish the very words of Moses from the equally authoritative additions of later organs of revelation" (p. 35). Everything in the historical books, as we have them, from the time of Moses down, which conflicts with this theory, and which intimates the necessity of one place of worship or the existence of a priesthood as a separate order from the Levites is therefore summarily branded as of later origin, and set aside from being evidence in the case. And it is the high function of historical criticism to go through the nominal records of those ancient times, assort their contents and declare authoritatively when the several parts were written, what portions were original, and what interpolations — a task which is not so difficult as it might seem to be, inasmuch as each part must have been written, it is assumed, at a time when it would dovetail in with the stage of religious knowledge which the theory accords to the people at that period. The method and rate of religious progress are assumed, and the facts are interpreted under that, instead of inferring the method and rate of religious progress from the historical records as they come down to us. The history must be assorted and adapted to the theory of progress, rather than the theory of progress shaped to the history. This makes the task comparatively easy, and at the same time proclaims the greatness and sagacity of the historical critic.

The central point of attack, in the readjustment of the

authorship of the Old Testament, is the Pentateuch. The historical criticism in question denies the Mosaic origin, in any literal sense, of the first five books of the Bible. The only things which we know Moses really wrote, it affirms, are the ten commandments on the tables of stone. Other portions are doubtless to be ascribed to him, as the directions about "a primitive mode of worship" by the use of an altar of unhewn stones, contained in Ex. xx. 24-26; and the primitive code of moral and social duties immediately following, to the end of the twenty-third chapter. But the other portions were written, it claims, when the progress of the people was up to them. As they run in the general line of the teachings of Moses, they were ascribed to him. In the time of Ezra the whole Pentateuch had thus come into existence as a collection of sacred writings, and was in this sense covered by the authoritative name of Moses, the leader of the movement.

An obvious objection to this hypothesis is, that at the first appearance of the Pentateuch, as we follow it back into the dim twilight, it comes forth, taken as a whole, as the production of Moses. Professor Smith admits that in the time of Ezra, in the fifth century B.C., it was complete, and was ascribed to Moses. He regards the time of Ezra as an age of reform and special religious quickening and activity — a "renaissance." Is it not fair, then, to presume that the leaders of a movement of fresh religious life would know as much about the authorship of that portion of Scripture then current and authoritative, and would be as trustworthy in expressing an opinion about it, as the critics in our day? Is it the presumption that the modern critical faculty can give us better insight into the history of that period than the men divinely quickened to know it, and living amidst the fresh tests of the truth or falsity of the history? Is it the office of historical criticism to make history, or to find it and recognize it?

Again, if this method is to be carried into the treatment of the Pentateuch, and if the plain statement, reappearing

in it in so many different places, "The Lord spake *unto Moses*," is to be discredited, what authority can there be in the book? What evidence can there be from the record that anything in it is from God? What becomes of a book the contents of which can thus be spirited away at the movement of the wand of a criticism largely subjective? If there are allusions in it to names, points of the compass, and colorings or shadings of fact, in single words or phrases here and there, which do not so well suit the idea of the Mosaic authorship of the book, and of the wilderness as the place of its composition, as the theory of a later and Palestinian origin, — as is admitted, — which is the easier and more in accordance with true historical criticism, to suppose that the later Palestinian transcribers, sometime during the thousand years before the age of Ezra, while the Jews were living in Palestine, made certain verbal changes in unimportant matters, by substituting current for ancient names of places, using familiar terms to denote the points of the compass, and changing certain words to those having a more exact agreement with the local coloring of the place where they then lived, for the convenience and the understanding of the people, — a most natural thing to do, — or that devout men forged the whole narrative, with the exception of a few germinal teachings, antedated it, and put it in the mouth of Moses? As a question of historical criticism, which is the more probable? Our critics of the school of Robertson Smith see insuperable difficulties in the way of admitting a few verbal changes by copyists to promote greater geographical and national or civil adaptation in the narrative to the changed circumstances of the people, but none in imagining a wholesale fabrication and reconstruction of history by new authors.

Besides the testimony of the age of Ezra, which is admitted by the critics, there is a higher endorsement of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. At the time of Christ, it is conceded by all parties, Moses was universally regarded as its author by those who accepted the sacred writings. Christ

endorsed this belief. When the pharisees came and questioned him, "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement and to put her away?" he replies, Moses because of the hardness of your heart suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so" (Matt. xix. 7-8). Here he says, "*Moses* suffered you to put away your wives"; but the place where Moses says this is in Deuteronomy, one of the books which is ascribed to the age of Josiah. Would Christ speak thus, if he knew that Moses had not given the permission, but some one else a thousand years later? Again, Christ says: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead" (Luke xvi. 31). He here refers to a well-known classification of the Scriptures at that time, and evidently credits Moses with the authorship of the part assigned to him. In many other places he confirms the popular belief. In Luke xx. 37, he says: "Now that the dead are raised even Moses showed at the first, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob"; and in John v. 45-47: "One accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust; for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he *wrote* of me [explicit testimony]. But if ye believe not *his writings*, how shall ye believe my words?" The apostles and evangelists, also, gave their sanction to the same view. Are we to suppose that Christ and the inspired writers of the New Testament knew less about the authorship of the Pentateuch, or had less discernment to find it out, or less care to be accurate about it, than this school of modern critics? Did the Son of God and the apostle Paul know less of the real origin of the early historical books of the Bible than W. Robertson Smith, Wellhausen, and Graf? Or are we to believe that, knowing differently, they indorsed the popular fallacy? Must we sacrifice our respect for their honesty and moral courage to magnify the sagacity of the modern critics, and to applaud their honesty and moral courage—taking the ground that the conscience of the

critics will not suffer them to be quiet about the supposed authorship of the Pentateuch, while they see no difficulty in believing that Christ and the apostles could be indifferent to it, and indorsed the popular misconception?

But, apart from the testimony of the most remote and most authoritative witnesses to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the question comes up about the practicability of a scheme to introduce a new and complicated ritualism in the age of the prophets, frame it into a fabricated ancient history, and then impose both the ritualism and the history upon the age as the work of Moses. Must not the innovation have been known, and the fabrication been detected at the time? How could the real authors, in introducing a great and radical novelty into the religion of a people who were proud of the beginnings of their history, studied them, and kept them alive in their traditions and usages, come out with new and unheard of documents, — purporting to recount the events of those early times, and having these novelties framed into them, — and escape instant detection?

Then there is the question of motive prompting to the strange concealment of authorship — Why should the authors desire to ascribe it to another? Men of honesty and purity of life, who have helped their age to take what they conceive to be a great step in advance, a new departure in true religion, are not wont to wish to hide their agency in bringing it about, or to conceal their work. In general they willingly leave their mark behind them. Yet, according to Professor Smith, a remarkable change in the ritualism of the Old Testament was introduced clandestinely, leaving not a positive trace of its origin or of the action of those introducing it on the historical records; and this work was so skilfully done as to cause that age and all subsequent ages — including that of Christ and the apostles — down to the nineteenth century, when these critics arose, to believe that it had actually been done a thousand years before.

Furthermore, if Moses was not known to be a great legislator on religious subjects by those who invented the ritualism

and by that age, why should the inventors be so anxious to put the new ordinances to his credit? And how could he be popularly regarded as a great religious legislator, unless he had already been in fact the author of such a system? And how could he have been the author of such a system, if the larger part of the system and its characteristic features originated many centuries after his time? Professor Smith denies that most of the Mosaic system was due to Moses, yet makes the fame of Moses as such a legislator a reason why those who invented it were eager to trace it to him, and committed a religious forgery for that purpose.

There is another objection to the hypothesis that the priestly legislation and a new ritualism originated after the early prophets. If we search the period in question — that is from the age of Josiah in the seventh century to that of Nehemiah in the fifth century B.C. — we scan the historical evidences in vain for those signs of surprise, abruptness, opposition, controversy, or even curiosity, which generally accompany the introduction of great social innovations and religious revolutions. The ritualistic customs in question spring up on the sacred page describing the events of that period naturally, not as novelties, but rather as a return to neglected customs, or an attempt to overtake an ancient neglected ideal. Professor Smith considers the requirement of one sanctuary and the complex Levitical ceremonial a great innovation on the simple primitive worships instituted by Moses, making an epoch in the development of the Old Testament religion. Yet the historical records give no hint of such a revolutionary epoch. There is nothing in the history that suggests the throes of such a crisis. The documents have no place for such a record. The discovery must be guessed out from the silence of the prophets concerning ritualism, when the burden of their hearts and of their mission was to raise the people to the spiritual demands of worship above formalism and idolatry. In the actual records the advance in ritualism comes in, not as the lighting of an electric light in a dark night, but as the light of day follows a

dim and distant dawn. It comes naturally, from a preceding historical cause and long preparation.

There is a further difficulty. Professor Smith regards the ritualistic movement as the result of a renaissance under the prophets, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, and considers the religious condition in the time of Jeremiah very much in advance of that in the time of Isaiah. But while the influence of the earlier prophet was by no means inconsiderable, there are no historical indications of a general reform beginning in the time of Isaiah and increasing through the age of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as to justify at the close of that period the term renaissance. In fact, Jeremiah bewails the spiritual decadence of his times in terms even more despondent and pathetic than those his illustrious predecessor used a hundred years before. Ezekiel takes up the same sad refrain. Neither of them has the air of jubilation and hope characteristic of one living in a spiritual dawn and witnessing the breaking in of day. Yet Professor Smith supposes that that was an era of renaissance, and in that was the birth-hour of ceremonialism. The decisive steps he thinks were taken in the age of Josiah. The cast was then made. The practice of preparing the sacred books, of recasting the alleged history of Moses, and blending into the narrative the doctrines and prescriptions of ritualism, one central place of worship, and the distinctions of the priests and Levites, was then begun, and went on till the compilation of the historical books, some time after the Exile. According to him and this school of critics, that period of awakening was a creative religious age, an age of discovery and production, of literary brilliancy in religion, outside of the writings of the prophets. This is not openly stated. The assertion would be too preposterous. But it must have been so; for these writers ascribe to that age a most complicated and skilful series of literary creations, so adroitly managed and woven in with authentic facts, that they carried the whole nation over to the practice of the injunctions of the forgeries without questioning their genuineness. But we look in vain for the evidence of such a

creative age. There is not a scintilla of historical proof of its existence. That was not an age of originality or production, so far as there is evidence, apart from the prophets. What power there was was not shown in invention, but in stimulating the people to recover a spiritual standing with God, to regain lost ground, overtake abandoned ideals. The only freshness that appears, from the historical evidence coming down to us, was in the prophets; and their whole influence was to call the people up to something higher and more important than ritualism,—to revive the moral and spiritual ideals of worship and practical righteousness, which had already been too much covered up and lost sight of by the popular ceremonial. The only creative power of the age, of which there is any trace, was directed against the very end for which our critics suppose the age was ripe. They ascribe invention and literary creation to an age which was not an age of invention and creation, but of reform; and the invention and creation of ceremonialism to a renaissance, when the influence of the renaissance, whatever that was, was against any such production, and when its leaders, the only ones of whom we have any knowledge who were at that time capable of producing it, were using every exertion in an opposite direction, to quicken the public conscience to a sense of the spiritual claims of Jehovah, and were, besides, morally incapable of such a forgery. The critics bring out of that age what could not have been in it; and they bring it out when the drift of the only creative thought in the age was against its production.

Moreover they are involved in another difficulty. By discarding the accounts in the historical books detailing the practice of the ceremonial in the earlier times, and holding that it sprang up under the influence of the prophets, they have this strange phenomenon on their hands: the introduction among a historical people of a revolutionary ritualism, not only with no record of its introduction, and in an age showing no signs of invention or creation apart from the prophets, whose influence was in another direction, but with

no recorded historical preparations for it. It sprang full-grown into power, not like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, but out of the womb of historical night and nothingness, historically unannounced, uncaused; and it sprang into such instant dazzling and bewildering influence as to send its glamour back over the past and cause a new history of the preceding times to be written, in which it should have the appearance of all the gravity and dignity of hoary age. And this is done in the name of historical criticism, by those who think that sacred history is an orderly and natural flow of events, and is to be explained on rational principles; discrediting the records we have of the antecedents of ritualism, they bring it in by a bound as a new creation, and with such a weird, supernatural power as to charm all the historical records into a false representation of its antiquity! This is another instance of facility of credulity in those who lack faith.

We take our leave of this work of Professor W. Robertson Smith, feeling that the study of it has been the means of greatly quickening interest in the ancient prophets and the Old Testament history, but with the profound conviction that the subject is too broad and deep for him. There are many good things well stated in the book; but to divine the secrets of God's purpose and method in the training of Israel, and to fathom the scope of the mission of the prophets and interpret them, and then reconstruct the whole sacred history around a narrow and superficial theory is too much for an ordinary human mind to do. The difficulties in the way of the proposed reconstruction of history are far greater to one who attempts to think the subject through, than those of accepting the common view. And to press this hypothesis, which can only make its way by a singular keenness in sighting minute historical facts and colorings and tints of historical facts, and a marvellous inability to see great historical facts and the general drift of history, in the name of historical criticism, is a strange misnomer, calculated to degrade the science. True historical criticism is just to the historical

sense, keenly sensitive to the facts of history, and weighs them with a judicial mind. Meanwhile, the writings of this school have been the occasion of a more general and thoughtful study of the Old Testament history and literature among Christian scholars, and seem likely to usher in the dawn of a genuine Old Testament renaissance.

ARTICLE VIII

RECENT EVANGELISTIC MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND ON THE CONTINENT.¹

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THIS is an age of great cities. London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna are growing in population and magnificence every year. And there are a score of other cities on the continent that are opening their gates for the thronging multitudes. For weal or woe the masses are deserting the country and pressing to the cities, until, as has been estimated, from a fifth to a seventh of the population of some countries live in cities. As the battle centres where the enemy is most thickly gathered, we shall find that the recent evangelistic movements have been especially confined to cities and large towns.

These movements have sprung from certain needs. London, Paris, Berlin are each situated at the foot of slumbering volcanoes. To the ordinary eye all is calm and peaceful; and but for an occasional wreath of smoke around the summits of the heights that overhang them, there would be no suspicion of those molten streams that are liable to leap forth at any moment, carrying ruin and death in their train. The moral tendency in these cities, so far as the ordinary and historical agencies of Christianity is concerned, is, I am constrained to believe, downward. In London, Paris, and

¹ Part of a paper read before the Congregational Club, Chicago, Oct. 15, 1883.

Berlin this tendency is manifested, to a greater or less degree, in social, political, and religious life. If good morals, political safety, and religious life are not gaining ground in the centres of population, under the ordinary means which are used for the elevation and Christianization of society, then we must examine our methods, and see whether we are governed by the right spirit.

Let us look at the religious condition of England, France, and Germany. I think we must admit that England stands at the very summit of the Christian nations. The missions and charities¹ of London are magnificent; but there is a very dark background. If we turn to one of the most moral cities in Great Britain, Edinburgh, we shall find that out of a population of two hundred and twenty-eight thousand there are forty thousand² who are supposed never to attend church, and that under the most favorable circumstances less than half are found in the churches.³ Or if we take the statistics of cities and towns we shall find that only about twenty-nine per cent are in attendance upon church.⁴ It is an accepted fact that the working-classes are deserting the churches,⁵ while the poorest and most vicious are beyond the pale of ordinary Christian endeavors.⁶ But it is affirmed that this

¹ See Fry, *The Royal Guide to the London Charities for 1882-83*, pp. 1-247.

² *The Christian*, London, Dec. 1, 1881, p. 9.

³ This conclusion is based on the census taken by the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, cf. *The Christian*, Jan. 19, 1882, p. 5. The attendance in Glasgow and its suburbs is much smaller. Their population is 705,437. On an exceptionally fine day, Jan. 15, 1882, only 112,688 were found to be present in all the churches in Glasgow and vicinity. See, *How Best to Reach the Non-Church-going Population*, Glasgow, 1881.

⁴ In one hundred smaller towns and rural parishes the attendance rose to about forty-two per cent. The *Nonconformist and Independent of the first week in February*, quoted in *The Christian*, London, Feb. 9, 1882, p. 12.

⁵ General Booth of the Salvation Army stated at the Mildmay Conference of June 1881, that ninety-five per cent of the working-classes in the English cities are outside of church and chapel. A minister in London is authority for the statement that "the habitual neglecters of public worship in London exceeded the united population of Edinburgh, Bristol, Manchester, Oxford, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton, or equalled the entire population of the principality of Wales," which in 1871 was 1,217,135; compare *How Best to Reach the Non-Church-going Population*, Glasgow, 1881.

⁶ *The Christian*, Jan. 26, 1882, p. 22.

is not confined to the working-classes. Mr. Reginald Radcliffe says: "We make a great mistake when we think it is only the working-class that has forsaken the church. It is those men who pay from forty to one hundred pounds rental a year."¹

As might be supposed, this neglect of the house of God bears its legitimate fruit in the increase of intemperance and crime. Canon Farrar, after remarking on the tendency of population to crowd to the cities, says: "The streets and parks of London at night are more shamefully immoral, and therefore more utterly repellant, than those of almost any other city in the world." Recent investigations by the committee of the London Congregational Union, and as set forth by them in a pamphlet entitled *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, have brought to light an array of facts respecting the vice and moral degradation of certain districts in London before which our Christian civilization may well stand aghast: "Incest is common; and no form of vice and sensuality causes surprise or attracts attention. . . . The only check upon communism in this regard is jealousy, and not virtue. The vilest practices are looked upon with the most matter-of-fact indifference. . . . Entire courts are filled with thieves, prostitutes, and liberated convicts. In one street are thirty-five houses, thirty-two of which are known to be brothels."²

The amount of drunkenness in England is something appalling. On a Saturday night in Bristol, between seven and eleven o'clock, there were found by actual count to be one hundred and four thousand five hundred and fifty-seven, or one half the population, in public houses.³ A writer in

¹ *The Christian*, Dec. 15, 1881, p. 12. Rev. Newman Hall bears similar testimony in *The Christian Monthly and Family Treasury*, Edinburgh. (From a reprint of the article, 1883.) "Throughout this country, in all denominations, there is the sorrowful admission that the progress of the church does not keep pace with that of the population. There is a diminished attendance at public worship; there are fewer admissions to Christian fellowship on personal profession. As a rule, in our large towns, skilled artisans ignore our ecclesiastical arrangements. . . . As a class, they do not go to church. To a large extent this is true also among the upper ranks of fashion, wealth, and intellect."

² *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, p. 7.

³ *The Christian*, Jan. 19, 1882, p. 5.

the London Times says: "While between 1860 and 1880 the population [of Great Britain] has increased by twenty-eight per cent, there has been in the total convictions for crime an increase of one hundred and two per cent; of persons proceeded against for drunkenness, ninety-five per cent; for having no visible means of subsistence, one hundred and one per cent; for desertion or non-support of family, one hundred and twelve per cent; for begging, one hundred and eighty per cent; for prostitution fifty-six per cent."¹

These things are enough to occasion dark forebodings as to the political welfare of the country. Hence we are not surprised to read from a Birmingham paper: "Mob-law is beginning to assert its power with the same marvellous self-confidence it exhibited just before the breaking out of the great French Revolution; but, unlike the French aristocracy, who danced so gayly on the volcano ready to burst forth, we sit sulkily at the mouth of the crater, watching the rising of the lava-flood, and silently devising the means of turning it into another channel, as the impossibility of suppressing it becomes more and more evident with each day."²

If we turn to France we get no relief. We do not find that the ordinary religious institutions, which enjoy the patronage of the state, are adequate to cope with those explosive elements which render a residence in Paris about as safe as a dwelling in the vicinity of a powder-magazine. The Roman Catholic church has not known how to hold these elements in check. The masses of the men in Paris, at least, are estranged from it.³ It was the luxury of the clergy at the time of the siege of Paris, while the masses were starving, that roused such fiendish passions as were displayed by the communists.⁴ The Protestant church was

¹ Mr. William Hoyle, quoted in *The Christian*, April 6, 1882, p. 12. Cf. the issue for May 11, 1882, p. 17.

² *The Christian*, April 13, 1882.

³ "Scarcely a workman is to be found in Paris who is not a free-thinker. The women alone are under the dominion of the priests. The men, as a rule, are infidels."—*Evangelistic Mission in Paris 1882*, p. 4.

⁴ Bonar, *The White Fields of France*, London, 1881, p. 34

small and not largely influential. It is not strange, then, that atheism should be striding forward; that the attempt should be made to place infidel authors, who were in favor before the French Revolution, in positions of commanding influence in the education of the young¹; that the name of Jesus should be hated,² the Bible should be caricatured³ by an infidel press,⁴ and the city itself divided into parishes for an atheistic propaganda⁵; while at least one third of the children born in Paris are supposed to be illegitimate.⁶

If we turn to Germany we find the same evils rampant

¹ On Dec. 21, 1881, the Municipal Council of Paris eagerly supported the plan of replacing the study of the works of Bossuet by those of the philosophers and precursors of the French Revolution, such as Diderot, D'Alembert, and Condorcet." — *The Christian*, Jan. 26, 1882, p. 13.

² "The very name of Jesus is hateful to the ultra free-thinkers. They sometimes leave the meetings abruptly on hearing the mention of the blessed name." At the opening of a hall hired by the Salvation Army, a stalwart workman bared his arm and said: "You may speak to us on any other subject, and we will hear you; but we will not hear the name of Jesus." — *Evangelistic Mission in Paris*, 1883, p. 3; compare p. 11, and the Report of the same Society for 1881, p. 7: "Alas! to many the very name of Christ is a hateful thing; and at the sound of his name some leave the room with disdain. The following quotations are interesting as showing the extent of this enmity: "Never has atheism in France been so blatant and aggressive as to-day. Robinson Crusoe has actually not been admitted into the municipal library of Paris because the name of God occurs in it." — *The Christian*, June 22, 1882, p. 20; cf. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1883, p. 12. "It appears that the name of God is becoming so offensive to French notions of what is desirable for society in the present day, that it is to be expurgated as soon as possible from all school books."

³ It is called *La Bible amusante*, and is illustrated with indecent and absurd pictures which are exposed to view in every part of Paris. — See *Le Signal*, Nov. 10, 1883, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1882, p. 11.

⁵ "According to French contemporaries, the materialistic propaganda is becoming more and more zealous and active. Paris has been divided into parishes for this purpose, each with its free thought association, holding periodical meetings presided over by titled preachers, who occasionally celebrate marriages, and even baptisms into the new faith. The mere mention of God's name throws them into a passion, and in their meetings its use, except for purposes of obloquy, is strictly interdicted." — *Ibid.*, May 10, 1883, p. 18. Compare a remark in *Evangelistic Mission in Paris* for 1881, p. 24: "There are probably more atheists gathered together in Paris than were ever congregated together in any city of ancient and modern times, Paris is the most civilized but the most godless city in the world."

⁶ See *Evangelistic Mission in Paris*, 1882, p. 4.

there as in England, and the religious forces that might be employed against them far weaker. If any are inclined to argue that there has been no religious decline in England, they will not attempt this in the case of Germany. The following facts are too strong to be contradicted.¹ The masses in the cities—and the tendency of population is toward cities in Germany—are estranged from the churches. We find a typical statement in a volume of Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexicon*,² issued eleven years ago, and the facts have not materially changed. The writer says: "Out of a population of six hundred and thirty thousand three hundred Protestants in Berlin eleven thousand nine hundred, hence only one and four fifths per cent, attend church on Sunday, and from this number perhaps two thousand two hundred and twenty-five should be deducted who attend the cathedral for esthetic purposes." From my own observation in Leipzig, the chief city of high Lutheranism, the per-centage is not much better. The Sabbath is more and more trodden under foot. The Germans never observed the day as our Puritan ancestors did; but they admit with regret that there has been a great declension in its observance.³

The Jews have come into enormous power in Germany, and this of course involves an anti-Christian influence.⁴ From

¹ The London Times of April 18, 1883 is quoted by The Christian as giving the following extract from the Kreuz Zeitung of Berlin: "If we look at the moral condition of our country must we not be horrified in our inmost soul? What frightful barbarization! What an increase of coarseness and bestiality! Truly, not a few are taking their places at the head of their brothers, the animals. Every newspaper tells us of murder, of suicide, of terrible derangement in houses and families, of unheard of atrocities, of a moral degeneracy that must fill us with horror. . . . And turning to our social state we see ourselves going downwards on the path of destruction."

² Supplement, Vol. i. Leipzig, 1872, p. 210.

³ Rothert, *Die innere Mission in Hanover, Hamburg*, 1878, pp. 35-43. The author says that the larger proportion of criminal and disgraceful acts is committed on Sunday, such as immorality and drunkenness. Many a maiden has lost her virtue on that day, many a youth has seized the murderous knife. Most of the suicides occur on "blue Monday."—*Die innere Mission in Württemberg*, Hamburg, 1879, p. 13; cf. Beck, *Die innere Mission in Bayern*, Hamburg, 1880, pp. 93-95; Iken, *Die innere Mission in Bremen*, Hamburg, 1881, p. 52.

⁴ The author has no sympathy with the crusade against the Jews. They

some points of view it seems as though Germany lay bound hand and foot in their hands. Every day, in spite of their victim's struggles, they bind the cords a little tighter. Although there are supposed to be only sixty thousand of them in Berlin to more than one million nominal Christians, twenty-four ¹ per cent of the attendance on the highest educational institutions is Jewish.² They are not only the bankers of the country, but also the money-lenders. Their debtors are said not to be confined to the farmers, whose estates gradually pass into their hands,³ but may be found among the legislators of the nation, and rumor says, not far from the throne. They are pressing into the judiciary and into professorial chairs in the universities ⁴ and largely control the

have suffered greatly, and have only within a few decades secured the same civil rights as the people among whom they live. Their remarkable success is simply an indication of the wonderful gifts of a people, for whom we must believe God has some great work in store.

¹ Their proportion should be four per cent.

² The exact population of Berlin according to the latest official sources is 1,122,504, of whom 982,780 are Protestants; 80,818 Catholics, and 53,949 Jews, not to speak of some small sects. Now in the higher educational schools of Berlin there are said to be five thousand evangelical scholars from Protestant families, three hundred from Roman Catholic, and seventeen hundred from Jewish! If the proportion of the Jews were the same as the Protestants, there would be about three hundred and five Jewish scholars instead of seventeen hundred — See *Christliche Soziale Partei, Der Reichsbote*, Sept. 18, 1883.

³ There is undoubtedly good reason for the anti-Semitic feeling in Germany, which is shared in by pastor and peasant. The Jew "comes to the ignorant, innocent peasant, and tempts him to buy what he cannot pay for, and what he knows his victim will never be able to pay for; and when the debt is sufficiently large he pounces down on the unlucky man's farm and house. This is what is occurring daily in the agricultural districts of Germany, Austria, and Russia." *The Christian*, Nov. 15, 1883, p. 19.

⁴ The Jews are constantly rising in wealth and social position. They are said to own the larger number of the finest residences on the Thiergarten, the Central Park of Berlin, and Unter den Linden, the finest street in that city. One pastor reports that in a parish where only a few Jews once lived, the best residences are now held by Jews, and the Christians are crowded out into the cellars and garrets. It is said that if the number of Jewish professors in the legal department of the universities increases at the same rate during the next ten years as it has recently been increasing, there will be a majority of Jews in that department.

press of the country.¹ Their spell is on German life and institutions.

Meanwhile the revolutionary classes are increasing. The Semitic influence augments their misery. If it had not been that the army had its clutch on the socialists Germany would have been shaken to its centre by a social revolution. Family life is on the decline.² The home is neglected for beer-gardens and places of public amusement, which are increasing as never before.³ Intemperance is in the ascendant, and is recognized as a sore evil.⁴

Social vices follow in the train. The massing of young men and women in large manufactories, without proper moral oversight, and the unguarded commingling of the youth of both sexes in entertainments lasting until the early morning, is not unfrequently followed by gross immorality. The efforts of the civil authorities to regulate prostitution, by bringing it under the supervision of the police, have only increased the evil, and have failed to protect society from the spread of venereal diseases.⁵ Along with these evils there has been a general increase of crime, and if the churches in many places have been empty, the prisons have been full.

If the bloom of our civilization could alleviate these evils, they should decrease each year. If grand avenues of magnifi-

¹ I was assured by a German editor that ninety per cent of the German newspapers were more or less completely under their influence. The tone of these papers, while in favor of science and liberal opinions is all the while antagonistic to Christianity.

² Die innere Mission in Hanover, Hamburg, 1878, pp. 24, 25.

³ Die innere Mission in Bremen, Hamburg, 1881, p. 51.

⁴ Ibid., Die innere Mission in Hanover, p. 24; Die innere Mission in Würtemberg, p. 11. The writer shows the evil of the sottish sitting in a tavern in a wine-producing country.

⁵ Prostitution increased so greatly in Stuttgart that it was legalized, and received by this means a sort of recognition as a lawful calling. — Die innere Mission in Würtemberg, p. 13. Another writer says, that since by the legalization of prostitution in Bavaria it is no longer in check, there has been an increase of the evil. — Die innere Mission in Bayern, p. 141. In Bremen the increase of unchastity through police regulation is said to have been enormous, and that the diseases which it was sought to avoid have been multiplied more than thirty per cent. — Die innere Mission in Bremen, p. 52.

cent structures, splendidly illuminated with electric lights ; or the witchery of music in gardens that might well rival paradise ; or the treasures of painting and sculpture thrown open to the public with unstinted hand on Sunday ; or the charms of scenic art interpreted by the music of a Wagner, could bring relief, then this ought to be the most fortunate age of the world's history for the masses ; but, just back of the gilded domes, behind the grand avenues, from tenement houses, from garrets and cellars, are griefs, mutterings, and curses that bode no good. If this is an age of cities, it is also an age of monopolists, and of those tremendous contrasts existing between the very poor and the very rich which are found in all cities.

What is to be done ? Shall a higher plane of civilization be sought ? Civilization unless permeated through and through with Christianity is utterly bankrupt when we speak of the masses. Can education and intelligence do it ? They only sharpen the edge of misery and plunge it more deeply into the aching heart. There is but one remedy. It is in the gospel of him who said "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The gospel is the only salt that can preserve the state. The police who have to do with the most desperate classes of community gladly recognize its subduing, controlling power.¹ The statesman who is not blinded by prejudice must see this ; but the follower of Christ who is in full sympathy with his Lord sees infinitely more. He beholds a terrible procession going down day by day to the gulf of despair.

Recent evangelistic movements have grown out of this view. The church in England too often with folded hands was either waiting for the Lord's time, or in the enjoyment of the pleasantest fellowships which this world knows, while dreamily listening to beautiful music and eloquent preaching, was

¹ "A Commissary of Police in Paris remarked : 'We cannot but welcome you to our quarter ; you are coming to do our work, to labor with us for the order and morality of the community.'" — *The White Fields of France*, London, 1881, p. 80. Similar testimony might easily be gathered from other European cities.

half unconscious of the Christless multitudes. I shall only discuss two evangelistic agencies in England,¹ the Salvation Army and the labors of Messrs. Moody and Sankey.

There can be but two questions for us to consider in forming an opinion as to the Salvation Army: Does it preach the gospel? What are its fruits? No religious movement in England during the present century has attracted more attention. It originated in 1865 as the Christian Mission, and first in 1878 took the name of the Salvation Army. The story of its increase reads more like a romance than a sober narrative.² On its seventeenth anniversary it received a letter of congratulation from the queen. Last year "both the archbishop and several other occupants of the Episcopal bench, as well as the Roman Catholic primate, and many other persons of great influence . . . expressed their admiration of the Army's zealous and self-denying spirit." It would not be strange if they might have been slightly intoxicated by this marvellous success. Many are now speaking against them. One prominent Christian gentleman in England, who had been much in favor of the movement, told me he thought the Army was an invention of the devil. But an organization that sings the following hymns and teaches the following tenets is preaching the gospel:

"Jesus, the name high over all
In hell, or earth, or sky;
Angels and men before thee fall,
And devils fear and fly."³

Or the following:

"To the dear fountain of thy blood,
O Lamb of God, I fly;
Here let me wash my spotted soul
From stains of deepest dye."

¹ There are many more of very great value and interest in the city of London alone. Such a church as Spurgeon's is doing an incalculable amount of evangelistic work, not to speak of Mildmay; but it seems better to confine our attention to two agencies which have perhaps been most prominently before the public in the last few years.

² For the history of the Salvation Army, see *Heathen England*, London, 1879. 12mo. pp. 1-185; *the Salvation War*, London, 1882. 12mo. pp. 1-189; *the Salvation Navy*, London, 1881. 12mo. pp. 1-180. For a general estimate of its character and influence, see two articles in *Contemporary Review* for 1882.

³ *The Salvation Soldier's Song Book*. 12mo. pp. 1-720. No. 50.

Its teaching is: "Utter ruin through the fall; salvation *alone*, from first to last, through the atonement of Christ, by the Holy Spirit; the great day of judgment, with its reward of heaven forever for the righteous, and hell forever for the wicked."¹ Their published works, of which I have examined the most, and two of their meetings which I attended, persuaded me that they preach the gospel.²

The fruits have been remarkable. As their general says, they are the scavengers of society. They reach the lowest strata. To quote from a writer in Whitaker's Almanack³ for 1883: "The Salvation Army at once addressed the mass of the people, the mob. No matter how rough, how illiterate, how careless, how hardened, the general or his officers seized him, pressed him into the ranks, marked him with the S, and made him an active convert. People who had never thought about religion, except to scoff at it, at once confessed themselves penitent, and assumed a religious bearing. Of the success of the Army there can be no doubt; it numbers several thousand members." The Army teaches complete self-renunciation, plainness in dress and living, and total abstinence from tobacco and intoxicating liquors. Naturally the rum interest is stirred to its profoundest depths, and has organized a skeleton army to fight against it. The minions of Satan are up in arms; and still the Salvation Army goes marching on, singing:

"Christian, rouse thee! War is raging;
God and fiends are battle waging;
Every ransomed power engaging,
Break the tempter's spell.
Dare ye still lie fondly dreaming,
Wrapt in ease and worldly scheming,
While the multitudes are streaming
Downwards into hell?"

¹ See the *Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army*, London, 1881.

² I do not mean by this to endorse their teaching, on which many strictures may be made, especially their doctrine of holiness, although they do not teach sinless perfection, and their undervaluation and comparative neglect of the sacraments. While they believe in the baptism of the spirit, they consider baptism with water of but little significance.

³ pp. 439, 440.

"Hark! I hear the warriors shouting,
 Now the hosts of hell we're routing.
 Courage! Onward! never doubting
 We shall win the day.
 See the foe before us falling;
 Sinners on the Saviour calling,
 Throwing off their bondage galling,
 Join our glad array."¹

But the question may be raised, whether the methods adopted by the Salvation Army nullify the power of the gospel. They call their prayer-meetings "knee-drill," and their converts among the young women "hallelujah lasses"; their singing is noisy; their hand-bills sometimes not only border on vulgarity, but seemingly almost on profanity; their secular matters have not always been conducted on sound business principles. These and many other things have utterly condemned the movement in the eyes of many excellent people.

That we may judge of the movement, let us once more fasten our attention on the end,—that is nothing less than the salvation of the lowest classes. If sensational methods are used, which shock the sensibilities of the educated and refined, they are not chosen for their own sake, but simply to arrest and fix the attention of the roughest members of society. I am persuaded that no one holding this end in view can read *Heathen England* and *The Salvation War* without being profoundly moved by their singleness of purpose, and without feeling himself strongly incited to greater activity for those multitudes who are now estranged from the gospel.

When I discuss the work of Messrs. Moody and Sankey in

¹ The Christian Soldier's Song-Book, No. 110. The following is a specimen of another class of hymns, of which, however, there are very few in the collection:

"The Devil and me we can't agree,
 I hate him, and he hates me;
 He had me once, but he let me go,
 He wants me again, but I will not go.
 "The publicans are crying out,
 Because the Army is going about;
 But still about we mean to go,
 And rout the Devil and every foe."

England, I mention an activity that is well known to American Christians. There are doubtless many who think that their work has been without important results. Such persons cannot have the facts before them. If not a single soul had been converted through their own instrumentality, we must count the impulse given to philanthropic and Christian work as something remarkable. I am without the statistics as to the number of missions,¹ free breakfasts, societies for young men, etc., that have been called into existence or strengthened by their labors in Great Britain; but I am confident from my observation that this work has reached large proportions, and I know that some of the most important religious enterprises have sprung up as the result of their labors."²

But there are many testimonies from ministers of different denominations in England bearing unequivocal and emphatic witness as to the value of their labors.³ Four different Methodist bodies report additions to their churches in the years 1876-1877, when the influence of the work in 1874-1875 was felt most, of forty-nine thousand four hundred and

¹ Mr. D. M. Drysdale, Secretary of the work in Liverpool in 1875, after speaking of the large number of individual cases which have come under his notice, says: "Evangelistic work has received such an impetus that mission-rooms and gospel halls are to be found almost everywhere you go throughout our city; and where formerly we had difficulty in getting an audience of two hundred or three hundred people, now we can easily gather two or three thousand; and there has been ever since Messrs. Moody and Sankey's visit such a spirit of hearing abroad as we have never before experienced." — *The Christian*, Oct. 13, 1881, p. 18.

² Compare a quotation from *The Record*, given in *The Christian*, Nov. 15, 1883, pp. 6, 7, in which the writer says: "We must express our profound conviction that few men are more entitled to the gratitude of the Church of England in particular than the two evangelists who have now been once more welcomed to London." The writer goes on to show what agencies were providentially set in motion through the previous visit of the evangelists.

³ See *Results of the Mission of Messrs. Moody and Sankey in 1873-75*. Reprinted from *The Christian Monthly and Family Treasury* (T. Nelson and Sons, London and Edinburgh). One of the articles is by Rev. Newman Hall, who is opposed to revival services; the other is by Mr. David McLaren, who gives testimonies from several prominent ministers as to the blessing which has attended Mr. Moody's labors. After much earnest solicitation, when recently in London, I was permitted to see impressive manuscript testimony from many ministers in Great Britain to the same effect.

sixty-five.¹ This is said, for the most part, to be a larger increase than during any consecutive two years of the present century.

It is certainly remarkable that they should have labored in Free Assembly Hall and in one of the most aristocratic Presbyterian churches in Edinburgh.² We sometimes hear of the people running after some great actor; but there must be some spiritual hunger, as well as curiosity, when sixteen thousand tickets were given away in one evening at the Christian Institute in Glasgow for the Moody meetings. It is surprising to think that Mr. Moody should have gained access to the two university towns of England, Oxford and Cambridge; and that he should not only have held his ground in the midst of disturbances on the part of students before which the most determined heart might well have quailed, but also that through the Spirit's power he should have broken down all opposition, so that scores of university students should flock to the inquiry rooms.³

¹ Additions reported for 1876-1877: 1. Wesleyan Methodists, 24,227; 2. Primitive Methodists, 11,298; 3. United Methodists, 4345; 4. Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, 9595. — See *The Christian*, Oct. 6, 1881, p. 19.

² A Writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* occupies a different point of view when he says: "Cultured society would blush to know anything about Messrs. Moody and Sankey, and others of their tribe; revivalism in general, and American revivalism in particular, is desperately vulgar." He admits, however, that the same might be said of every popular movement in its inception, since every religion has its origin among fishermen and carpenters. He points out the inconsistency of "poring over dreary tomes describing the enthusiasm of some dirty bigoted friars of the Middle Ages, while the labors of such latter day friars as the American evangelists are neglected," and declares "they have probably left a deeper impress of their individuality upon one great section of Englishmen and Englishwomen than any other persons who could be named." — Quoted in *The Christian*, Nov. 15, 1883, pp. 8, 9, and in American papers.

³ For particulars of the work at Cambridge and Oxford, see the issues of *The Christian* for Nov. 1882. The number for Nov. 23, contains an account from *The Cambridge University Herald*, from which I quote the following extract: "The concluding meeting was for undergraduates; it was the most remarkable meeting we have ever seen at Cambridge, and our experience extends over a quarter of a century. Nearly two thousand undergraduates thronged the building, joined in the singing with the utmost heartiness, and listened to the address with the greatest possible attention. . . . On the platform were the University choir composed entirely of members of the University, and a number of doas

But more wonderful yet is the fact that he has reached those who were estranged from the churches. The Edinburgh Daily Review says: "One of the most remarkable events of the time in Edinburgh is Mr. Moody's work among what are described as the lapsed masses. There are few men or women in Edinburgh who could have believed it possible to have secured, many nights in succession, vast audiences filling the Corn Exchange from end to end. And yet this has been accomplished, and people who have flocked in thousands are not church-goers, or what are regarded generally as the respectable classes of the community." A writer in the Inverness Advertiser says: "The immense hall [which has just been mentioned] was crowded last night. It looked as if all our gaols, our poorhouses, and our brothels had been emptied pell-mell into its wide area." He goes on to say that he went steeled against any kind of excitement. A sceptic said to him, as he was leaving the hall, with reference to the Christian helpers: "What brings these gentlemen and ladies here? Not money, not fame; there is a power at work here I cannot fathom." The other replied, "Yes; but do you know, sir, there are fine ladies nursing children in wretched hovels to-night to let their mothers come here?" It is easy to see that such activities, entirely aside from their religious significance, would do much to reconcile the poor to their lot in life, and to free the state from all fear of social revolution.

In passing now to France we can see, at least in a small way, that where sin hath abounded grace doth much more abound. While it is probably true, as a certain speaker has and clergymen." Mr. Moody then addressed the students, "he cautioned them against taking a decided position without giving the matter full consideration, as he said if they became Christians for only a short time and fell back, it would be far worse than if they had never taken the step. He finally appealed to those who had obtained good during the week to meet him in the annex. The sight that met our view was truly marvellous; at least two hundred men rose to their feet, and in sight of all the rest crowded into the annex. This was an entirely voluntary act on their part, and was not the result of personal persuasion. Thus the visit of these evangelists to Cambridge ended, and will never be forgotten by vast numbers."

said: "The real masses are as yet almost untouched; the various missionary agencies scarcely nibble the edge of the net in which the people are held captive by Satan;" yet in no country during the past twelve years has the subduing, renovating power of the gospel been more gloriously displayed than in France.

Of all the laborers whom God has raised up to work in his vineyard in France, none has been more conspicuously useful than Mr. McAll.¹ Called to Paris in God's providence, by a working-man, he left a comfortable congregational parish in England to labor among the communists in the most desperate part of the city.² The police gravely shook their heads at his resolution, but he never faltered, and his work grew upon his hands until the police recognized in him a most faithful ally in keeping the peace,³ and the communists themselves said there would have been no outbreak if the gospel had been preached among them. Nor was this all; two French philanthropic societies presented him each with a silver medal in recognition of what he had accomplished for the elevation of the neglected masses.⁴ Through his ex-

¹ It is my object to give a specimen of the work that is done rather than to enter into details of the various agencies. The Methodists are doing an admirable work in Paris under the superintendence of Rev. William Gibson, who was set apart to this work in 1878; see the Reports of the Evangelical Mission in Paris from 1880 to 1881.

² See Bonar's *White Fields of France*, London, 1881, pp. 32, 40.

³ *Idem*, p. 173.

⁴ The first medal was given in 1877 by the Société Nationale d'Encouragement au Bien. The following extract is made from the accompanying report which was read before a "vast assembly": "Mr. McAll knew that, in the population of Belleville, there exist sufferings of all kinds, — that moral degradation has its abode there, side by side with mental degradation and extreme poverty. Seconded by Mrs. McAll and a few friends, he has founded and subsequently multiplied in Paris evening meetings, the object of which is to bring light to the mind, and to calm the troubled heart. Wherever he has directed his steps, Mr. McAll has been cordially received," etc. — *Sixth Annual Report of the Mission to the Workingmen of Paris*, pp. 6, 7. The second medal was given in the following year by the Société Libre d'Instruction et d'Education Populaires. See the *Seventh Annual Report*, as above. Miss De Broen received a medal in 1879 from the Société Nationale de l'Encouragement au Bien, with a testimonial from which we make the following extract: "The moment she

ample, as well as through the new freedom that is enjoyed, the State Protestant church has been quickened into new life. Now to all human appearance is the time to cast in the seed in France, lest if the friends of evangelical religion should delay, these fields which lie open for the dissemination of gospel seed should be sown broadcast with infidelity.¹

Recent evangelistic movements in Germany² have come through England and America. Several years ago Pearsall Smith visited some of the largest German cities, and preached to very large congregations through an interpreter. His efforts were open to many objections on the part of German theologians, because of his doctrine with reference to the higher life. About two years ago Dr. Somerville who was for many years a pastor in Glasgow, and who took up the calling of an evangelist at an age when most men retire from the ministry, visited many of the chief cities and towns in Germany, preaching through an interpreter. It is difficult to say what the results of his labors have been. Whether there were any converts, this result would certainly be secured, that it would be suggested to the German Christians whether they must not adopt some new methods for reaching the masses who have become estranged from the churches. Any foreigner, however, must labor under great difficulties, not

[Miss De Broen] chose for the establishment of this work in the Belleville district, was when the heart of France lay bleeding, her aim being to draw the people out of the profound despair into which they were plunged, by the light of the gospel. She has succeeded. Let us thank her in the name of France and of humanity; and, in testimony of our admiration, let us present her with our grand medal of honor." — *The Story of Miss De Broen's Mission at Belleville, Paris*. London, 1882, p. 164.

¹ "The spirit of atheism, like miasma over a low-lying plain, has spread throughout the land, although not in the intensified form in which it is found in the centre. The whole of France is ready to hear the gospel. The announcement of a gospel address in any town or village in the land just now will fill the largest hall or theatre which can be obtained. This is emphatically the opportunity for the evangelization of France. There has never been anything like it in the history of the country. . . . Men of Israel, help!" — *Evangelistic Mission in Paris, 1881*, pp. 24, 25.

² The limits of this article forbid me from giving valuable information with respect to recent evangelistic movements of peculiar interest in Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland.

only on account of the language, but also on account of his ignorance of the character and habits of the people. Two recent German evangelists, Dr. Ziemann and Von Schluembach, who was converted in America, have been very successful in reaching the people.¹ Von Schluembach declared, after laboring a year in the fatherland, that he thought no country could be evangelized so easily as Germany. There are, however, some very great difficulties in the way of such evangelistic work. They do not come from the masses of the people who crowd public halls to hear von Schluembach² and Dr. Ziemann, but from the leaders of the state church. There are various reasons for this :

1. There is the power of historic methods. None are more free than the Germans in putting a liberal construction on the old historic beliefs, but the sensibilities and prejudices of conservative German pastors would be shocked at the idea of varying from the old forms of worship which have been in vogue for centuries.

2. The divorce of the theological department in the universities from practical religion is a very serious obstacle.

¹ The work, however, has been ignored by many of the Christian leaders of the people as will appear from the following quotation taken from a Berlin daily, the *Deutsches Tagsblatt* of Dec. 25, by the editor of *The Christian* : " We attended yesterday a religious gathering at which Mr. Von Schluembach from America, gave an address as riveting as it was solid, and with edifying effect. He sang a solo suitable to the subject he was handling, the audience joining in the chorus. We think it remarkable that no notice of these gatherings has been taken by the ecclesiastical newspapers of our town, although the meetings have been held for two months five evenings a week, in the Nazareth church. At first they were attended by about two hundred, and now by about eight hundred persons of every age of good family and rank, but especially by working-men from every part of the town. . . . But why do the ecclesiastical newspapers take no notice of such an occurrence ? They give us often enough long reports about other and far more trivial things. . . . But these phenomena, which bear testimony to the gratifying fact that the interest of the poorest stratum of our population in religious discourses is increasing, are simply passed over with complete silence."

² An interesting account of Von Schluembach's activity in Berlin for five months is given by Mrs. Palmer Davis, a German lady, whose husband was connected for many years with the branch of the London Bible Society in Berlin. See *The Christian*, April 19, 1883, p. 18; compare the number for Feb. 8, p. 16.

It has been argued of late on the continent that theology was not a science, and that therefore it ought to be excluded from the university. The professors of course are very anxious to maintain their position as scientific theologians. To spend one's days in studying the history of some obscure sect is to be a scientific theologian; but to study the religious needs of the men and women of the living present would be likely to bring upon a man the charge of superficiality, and the contempt of the Jewish and liberal interest, which is strong enough in some institutions to chill practical piety.

3. Then there is a jealousy on the part of the clergy of any seeming invasion of their rights. They consider it a reflection upon themselves that evangelists should preach the gospel. The pastors in Hamburg have resolutely opposed all evangelists for this reason.¹ We regard such a thing with grief and astonishment, in view of the spiritual needs of Germany, but it is not strange that where the ministry is regarded more as a profession than as a divine calling pastors should be jealous of their prerogative.

4. A further obstacle is the exclusion of the laity from religious teaching. Outside of Würtemberg a prayer or conference meeting is almost unheard of. The nearest approach to such a service is on Saturday in the Thomas church in Leipzig. The first half hour is taken up by two motettes which are rendered by the celebrated choir of the Thomas boys. There are often more than five hundred people present at the music, which was originally designed to introduce the hour of prayer, which may be attended by a dozen people, and at which services are conducted entirely by the officiating minister. The exclusion of the laity has doubtless come from the old idea that only the clergy were competent to speak on religious questions.

5. Another obstacle is a morbid dread of methodism and pietism. They seem to be more feared in many quarters than arrant unbelief.

¹ See *The Christian*, April 13, 1882; I was also assured of the same fact by a German editor.

There is no reason, however, for discouragement. Germans adopt new measures slowly. They were very cautious about introducing Sunday-schools, but now these have a strong hold in Germany. It is natural that the Germans should be especially slow about adopting American and English methods of evangelistic work, for they have a natural prejudice against anything that is foreign, and are perhaps inclined to believe that Germany has the same pre-eminence in religious life that it has in the domain of scientific theology.

The heaven is working. There are many who deeply feel the needs of the masses, and who are anxiously studying the means for reaching them. The work must undoubtedly be done by Germans, but Christians in America and England can certainly do much to encourage those who are alive to the needs of the people.

My object in this discussion is not to make any comparison between the state of religion in America, and that in Great Britain and on the continent. It is evident, however, that we have the same problem of great cities here. If we are wise as statesmen, philanthropists, and Christians we shall do all in our power to see that the gospel is preached to the poor, as a means of social safety, and especially as a sacred trust which has been committed to our hands by the Lord Jesus Christ.

[NOTE. — The second Article of Professor Curtiss's Notes on Pentateuch Criticism is delayed on account of the late arrival of some important foreign books of reference. The Article will appear in the July number. — Eds.]

ARTICLE IX.

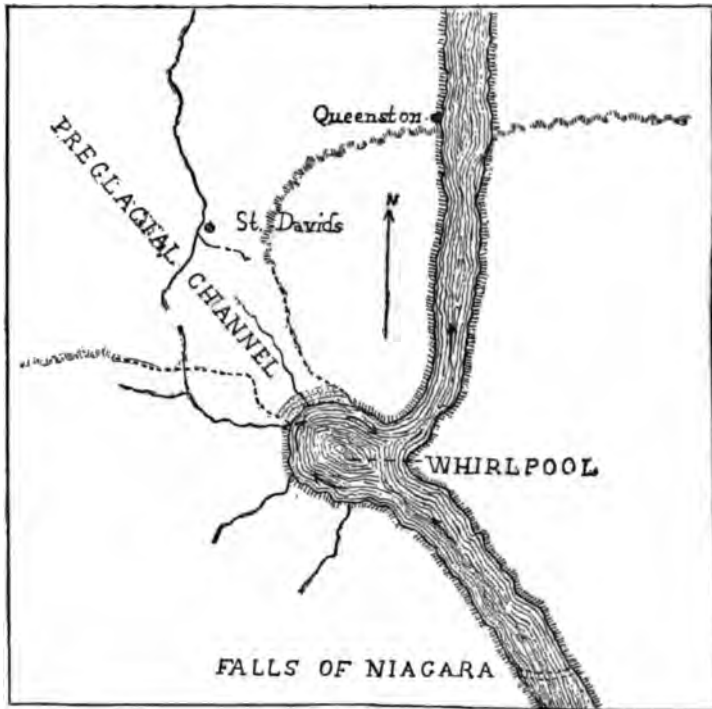
THE NIAGARA GORGE AS A CHRONOMETER.

BY REV. G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
OBERLIN, OHIO.

THE supposed great antiquity of the lower portions of the Niagara gorge has been one of the chief difficulties in the way of accepting a moderate date for the close of the glacial period. And, as there is a pretty general belief among anthropologists that man appeared before the glacial period closed, the age of the gorge below Niagara Falls connects itself directly with questions of human chronology, and hence becomes, even in the strictest interpretation of the word, a sacred subject; and its discussion will therefore rightly find a place in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. During several years past a great mass of facts have accumulated concerning the glacial period which have not been brought within range of common apprehension, and which give an entirely new phase to the current ideas about the drainage of the great lake basins. Having recently, in the light of these facts, been led to study the Niagara gorge on the ground in person, I will briefly present the conclusions which probably now must be accepted.

The situation will readily be understood by reference to the accompanying plate. From Queenston to Lake Ontario the Niagara River flows through a level country whose surface is but slightly elevated above the water level. At Queenston the level of the land suddenly rises, by a perpendicular escarpment, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet, and maintains this general height to the shores of Lake Erie. The line of the escarpment both east and west is seen in the plate. From the falls to Queenston — a distance of about seven miles — the river flows at the bottom

of a gorge which has been formed by the recession of the waterfall. Just below the present cataract, at the new suspension bridge, this gorge is thirteen hundred feet wide. At the railroad bridge, a mile and a half below, the gorge is but eight hundred feet wide, and continues at about that width through the remaining distance, though at places it is even narrower. Throughout the whole distance the sides of



the gorge are perpendicular, and two hundred or more feet in height. On the west side, however, at the whirlpool, there is a remarkable break in the continuity of the gorge. Here, as will be seen by reference to the plate, the face of the wall is penetrated by a circular excavation about fifteen hundred feet in diameter, into which the whole volume of the water pours, and whirls around tumultuously before making its exit through the gorge to the north.

The western side of the whirlpool is not bounded by a perpendicular wall of rock, but in place of it there is a vast and miscellaneous collection of rock and rubbish, such as was everywhere deposited over this region by the action of ice during the glacial period. On going two or three miles in a westerly direction, to the vicinity of St. Davids, there is an opening in the escarpment about two miles wide, which as you go towards the whirlpool becomes filled to the brim with a glacial deposit. The discovery of this opening toward St. Davids early led Professor Hall, of the New York Survey, to suspect that there was a buried channel, which in preglacial times led from the whirlpool to St. Davids; and this view is now pretty generally entertained, though, as will be seen, we need not suppose that a river of anything like the dimensions of the present Niagara ever flowed through it or was concerned in making it. Indeed, if you follow westward from the whirlpool the outcrop of the rocky embankment, you find that in about half a mile the two escarpments approach to within certainly five hundred feet of each other. Whether the channel of the supposed outlet towards St. Davids is even narrower cannot be told without extensive excavations; since from this point onwards two miles to the west everything is covered with the ordinary glacial deposit, consisting of clay, sand, gravel, and boulders. The inference, however, can hardly be avoided that a buried channel of some sort extends through to St. Davids. The first three small streams indicated on the plate, emptying into the amphitheatre of the whirlpool from the south and west, have cut down to the rocky escarpment, and now plunge over it in cascades. The third one, though cutting much deeper, nowhere discloses the rock.

Conceding, then, the existence of this preglacial channel, the question arises, Did the drainage of the great lakes ever pour through it. To this we may now answer with great positiveness, No; and this for several reasons:

First, the preglacial channel is short. It is only about three miles from St. Davids to the whirlpool; and even if

we might consider the portion of the channel from the whirlpool to the falls an extension of the St. Davids channel. it still would be a small amount of work to have occupied the Niagara River during the long periods which antedated the glacial epoch. It has rather the appearance of being a channel formed by some of the smaller streams draining a local area. It is barely possible that this smaller stream may have eaten its way back from the whirlpool well up towards the present site of the falls; though this seems hardly probable, from the shape of the amphitheatre surrounding the whirlpool. That seems more like the common receptacle into which two or three small streams poured, and united their current to flow through the old gorge towards St. Davids. Still, it is difficult to show that some one of these streams had not worn back a considerable distance farther towards the present falls; in which case the work done in that part of the channel by this preglacial stream will have to be subtracted from the total amount of work supposed to have been done by the Niagara River since the glacial period.

The fact that the preglacial drainage of the lake region was not through the present channel of Niagara River is evident also from general considerations, showing that the preglacial outlet from Lake Erie must have flowed at a level several hundreds of feet below the upper portion of Niagara River. This is evident from the depth of the buried channels of numerous streams now entering Lake Erie at its present level. The Cuyahoga River, for example, flowed for twenty-five miles or more along the bottom of a preglacial channel two hundred feet beneath its present bottom. This is proved by numerous borings which have been made at various points above Cleveland. To allow these streams of that low level an outlet, we are compelled to suppose that Lake Erie did not exist; for this body of water is nowhere more than two hundred feet in depth. In place of the Niagara River, then, there was probably a river of corresponding size flowing somewhere through the bed of Lake Erie, and reaching the head of Lake Ontario through a

channel that was completely obliterated or buried during the glacial period, and has never been reopened. Indeed, Mr. Spencer thinks he has discovered marks of such a channel extending from near the mouth of Grand River in Canada to the extreme western end of Lake Ontario.¹ Whether Mr. Spencer has discovered the exact line of glacial drainage is not important for the question in hand. But no fact is much better settled than that the main drainage of the great lake basin before the glacial period was by some other channel than that now occupied.

All this has important bearing upon the next point, which is, that in the present Niagara River the portion of the gorge which is below the whirlpool has been formed since the glacial period; so that we must extend our calculations of time elapsed since the glacial period sufficiently to allow the present river to wear the channel all the way back from Queenston to the whirlpool, and so much of the channel from the whirlpool to the present falls as had not been removed by the action of the smaller streams, to which reference has been made.

That the portion of the gorge below the whirlpool has been formed since the glacial period is evident from two facts:

1. The banks of clay, sand, and gravel, such as now come up to the water's edge above the falls, extend continuously, at varying distances from the edge of the present gorge, not only down to the whirlpool, but beyond it, well on towards Queenston. As you go at right angles from the gorge at almost any point throughout this entire distance, you find the bare rock extending for a score or more yards, when you encounter accumulations of sand, gravel, and pebbles, such as everywhere forms in the bed of a stream; while a little ways farther back, the original unstratified glacial deposit, such as scaled up the old channel between the whirlpool and St. Davids, is encountered. All this shows as plainly as can be that formerly the river in its present volume poured over the surface of the

¹ Second Geological Report for Pennsylvania. Q⁴, p. 359 q.

rock to the vicinity of Queenston, and there made its fearful plunge to the lower level.

2. The other fact pointing to the same conclusion is, that certain fresh-water shells are found north of the whirlpool in the sandy deposits of which we have spoken, and that these are identical with those now found in the bed of the stream above the present falls.

Granting, now, that the gorge from Queenston up to the present falls is the work done by the Niagara River since the glacial period, we have here the *dividend*. If we could obtain in the annual rate of retrocession the *divisor* we should be able to obtain the number of years required to do the work. It is true that we should have to assume that the rate was uniform; and this we may do without great probability of error. The successive strata do not vary in such a marked degree as to introduce into the problem any great uncertainty from this source. That the water should form a cataract, rather than a continuous series of rapids, is due to the facts that the strata of rocks near the bottom of the gorge are much softer than those at the top; hence the lower strata yield more rapidly to the erosive force of the falling water, permitting the upper strata to be undermined, and compelling them to fall in fragments into the chasm, where in due time they are ground to powder. All sorts of estimates have been in circulation as to the rate at which the falls are receding. Desor thought the rate could not be greater than a foot in a century; but there are probably few who would now agree with him in this manifest extravagance. In 1841 Sir Charles Lyell and Professor Hall estimated that the rate was probably one foot a year, which would make the lower part of the gorge about thirty-five thousand years old.¹ From the fact that Lyell failed to present any data upon which he based this inference, it seems probable that he had none which were at all definite, and that his estimate was a mere surmise arising from momentary impressions. On the contrary, Lyell's guide was confident that the American Fall had

¹ See Lyell's *Travels in America (First Series)*, Vol. I. p. 27.

receded at the average rate of two feet a year during the twenty-five years he had observed it. And Mr. Bakewell, an eminent English geologist, who had given much personal study to the question, estimated that for the forty years previous to 1830 the rate of recession had been about three feet a year. Mr. Bakewell having carefully studied the phenomena again in 1846, in 1851, and 1856,¹ finds no occasion materially to revise his estimate. In 1841 Professor James Hall had an accurate map of the falls made for the New York Geological Survey, and determined with great care a number of points to which future reference might be made with view of determining the exact rate of recession. In 1875 another and independent survey was made by the United States government. Dr. Julius Pohlman of the Society of Natural Sciences in Buffalo, after having thoroughly gone over the ground, carefully compared these maps, and reported upon the subject at the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held at Minneapolis (Aug. 1883), where the question was discussed by the leading geologists of the country, including Professor Hall. Dr. Pohlman's conclusion is, that, after "allowing even a wide margin for possible inaccuracies, we must admit that some portions of the Horseshoe fall have receded at least one hundred feet in these thirty-four years, while in the American side differences of from twenty to forty feet are seen, although the northern point of the falls on the American side as well as a monument which marked the edge of the Horseshoe fall in 1841 have remained unchanged." Professor Hall, in expressing doubts as to the correctness of this conclusion, could only do so by supposing that one or other of the surveys was inaccurate; or that, being made by different persons using different methods, they could not well be compared with each other. Mr. James T. Gardiner, director of the New York State Survey,² was led to nearly the same conclusion with Dr. Pohlman; and, in response to

¹ See *American Journal of Science* for Jan. 1857, pp. 87 and 93.

² See *Report* for 1879.

recent inquiries from Professor A. Winchell,¹ says that the assumption that the Horseshoe fall has receded one hundred feet during the last thirty-three years cannot involve any great degree of uncertainty. Thus from the best light we now have, it seems altogether probable that the cataract is receding at a rate that would suffice to produce the whole chasm from Queenston up in less than twelve thousand years; and if, as is not unlikely, any considerable portion of the gorge above the whirlpool had been formed by preglacial agencies, even that relatively short period must be considerably abbreviated.

ARTICLE X.

ASSYRIAN RESEARCH AND THE HEBREW LEXICON

BY PROFESSOR D. G. LYON, PH.D., HARVARD COLLEGE.

LAST year Professor Friedrich Delitzsch published, in the *Athenaeum*, of London, a series of articles on the Importance of Assyriology to Hebrew Lexicography.² Several publishers, who appreciated the excellent quality of the articles, at once offered to reproduce them in a more permanent form. The result is a small book, entitled: *The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research.*³ For the treatment of this subject no scholar is so competent as Professor Delitzsch. An enthusiastic student, with a genius for language, he has been for several years occupied with the compilation of an Assyrian, and also of a Hebrew, lexicon. His acquaintance with the lexicographical material of the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments is certainly greater than that of any other scholar. His little volume, containing only eighty-five pages, is the product of a mind evidently possessed of its subject. The style is simply charming. There has certainly not appeared for many a year a book more important for Semitic study. Any person interested in the Hebrew of the Old Testament will find this a welcome volume.

Two great principles guide Delitzsch in his lexicographical work.

¹ See Winchell's *World Life*, p. 371.

² May 5, 12, 26; June 9; July 21, 28; August 25.

³ London: Williams and Norgate. 1883.

The first is that the Hebrew language must be explained chiefly by Hebrew, and the Assyrian by Assyrian. The second is, that the Assyrian is a better source than the Arabic for the explanation of Hebrew. For the explanation of Hebrew out of Hebrew and Assyrian out of Assyrian, we derive great assistance from parallel passages and from the parallelism of clauses. Independently of all help from outside sources, this parallelism, together with the usage in such passages as 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, might lead one to suppose that רָבַץ and נָחַל are synonyms in Ps. xxiii. 2, and accordingly to translate: "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he causeth me to rest beside the still waters" (p. 6). This conclusion is confirmed by the Assyrian, which represents by the same ideogram the words *na'ûlu* (נָחַל), *nûxu* (נָחַץ), and *rabûsu* (רָבַץ).

In claiming that Assyrian is a better source than Arabic for the explanation of Hebrew, Professor Delitzsch has made a new departure. The consideration that Hebrew and Assyrian were literary languages in the same period, while Arabic attained to the literary stage at least a thousand years after the decline of Assyrian, would lead us to expect closer affinities between the two older branches than between the Arabic and either of these. The vindication of this supposition is, of course, a task for patient comparison.

But now what is the actual state of Hebrew lexicography? We find it hopelessly bound in Arabic fetters. Because the last of the Semitic languages to attain to a literary stage has such a large vocabulary, and because, forsooth, it has often preserved ancient meanings and forms, it has come to be regarded as the great source from which Hebrew words are to receive light. It matters not that the three consonants composing the body of a word have in the two languages utterly divergent meanings. Ingenuity can invent a connection. Of course, שָׁלַח, "to send," and Arabic *salaxa*, "to skin," are one word! Starting with the idea of skinning, we pass through the stages "to draw out, to extend, to stretch out, to send." שָׁקַע, "to lie," is compared with Arabic *shakira*, "to be red," lying being regarded as reddening or varnishing the truth. The connection between שָׁקַע, "to join," and Arabic *kasara*, "to break," is that two objects may be either broken or joined by striking them together. Such etymologies, whose number might be increased, Delitzsch regards as ingenious, but worthless (p. 8).

His volume is throughout a polemic against this mode of treating Hebrew. He arraigns specially the editors of the recent editions

of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon. The charge is not that they have been unable to give the true etymology of words which could be explained only by a knowledge of Assyrian, but that they have forced different and often late Arabic meanings on Hebrew stems, that they have in the last edition repeated errors from which the glossary of any Assyriological publication might have saved them, and, worst of all, that they have made such persistent use of the doctrine of bi-literal stems, at best only an unproved theory. He would dispense with these features of the lexicon, and use the space thus gained to better purpose. Arabic, and indeed all the Semitic languages, should be retained, but he would give to Assyrian the prominent position which Arabic now occupies. Hebrew lexicography has been greatly aided even by adding the Assyriological material at the end of the articles, or placing it in parentheses; but the case is so serious that this treatment will no longer suffice. The greatest Assyrian authority demands nothing less than such a thorough revision of the Hebrew lexicon that scarcely a single stem shall escape the process of overhauling. It may be that the value of Assyrian is here too strongly stated. It may be that Delitzsch's new volume commits the same kind of mistake as that which is chastised in Gesenius's lexicon, and offers here and there a far-fetched etymology or one which time will not confirm. Yet, taken as a whole, the work is so suggestive as to be worthy of the minutest study. In the notices which follow I shall select from Delitzsch's list some of the more interesting words, adding occasionally illustrations and references to the original works.

Let us first note some common nouns in Hebrew. אָדָם, "man" (p. 58), for which Dillmann admits that no certain etymology has been found, is compared with an Assyrian stem *adāmu*, from which we have *admu*, "a child," synonyme of *lidānu* (לִידָנוּ),¹ and *admānu*, "a building, a dwelling-place,"² specially used of the sanctuary, the dwelling-place of the gods.³ The reduplicated stem *dadāmu* gives *dadmu*, "dwelling-place," applied both to houses and to countries.⁴ *Admu* is used of young birds, *abal issuri* (cf. אָבָל יִשּׁוּרִי, "young pigeon"). These words lead us to a stem אָדָם with the meaning

¹ W. A. I., ii. 37, 21; *ibid.*, 30, 44 and 47.

² W. A. I., ii. 34, 7 and 8.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 15, 74; 36, 39.

⁴ References in Lyon's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. 62.

"to build," or "to beget"; and אָדָם, "man," Delitzsch regards as a synonyme of בָּן, "the created one," or "the begotten one."

Much more probable is the explanation of דָּגֵל, "a banner" (p. 39). Starting from the Arabic *dajala* (*dagala*), "to cover," the lexicon explains דָּגֵל as "the covering of the staff." The verb דָּגַל is further explained as a denominative verb, meaning "to erect a banner," or "to provide with a banner," while דָּגִיל (Cant. v. 10) is one provided with a banner. In Assyrian *dagûlu*, synonyme of *amûru*, is a verb oft occurring, and meaning "to see."¹ In an oracular address to Esarhaddon, a goddess says: "Direct thine eyes to me, look to me."² From the verb *dagûlu* comes the noun *diglu*, "something to be looked at." The sun-god is called, in a remarkable psalm recounting his glories, the *digil* of the vast earth, to which all nations look up and rejoice.³ דָּגֵל (with suffix דָּגִיל) is evidently the same as the Assyrian *diglu*. The verb דָּגַל, in Ps. xx. 6, may be a denominative from דָּגֵל; but Delitzsch even here holds to the meaning of the Assyrian *dagûlu*, and renders: "We will rejoice in thy salvation, and keep our eyes directed upon the name of our God." "The chiefest among ten thousand" (דָּגִיל מֵעֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים, Cant. v. 10) is not the standard-bearer among ten thousand, but the one who attracts the eyes more than any other among ten thousand.

The word דָּבַל, "deluge," is considered as a derivative from דָּבַל, for which the meanings "to go" and "to flow" are assumed. Delitzsch objects (p. 67) that the form would be without analogy, and that דָּבַל never has in Hebrew the meaning "to flow," but only the meaning "to lead, to bring," like the Assyrian *abûlu*. דָּבַל is from a stem דָּבַל, and is such a form as דָּבַיֵץ, "spring," from נָבַץ. In Hebrew the intransitive דָּבַל is used of the withering of the leaves, and the dead body is דָּבָלָה, Assyrian *nabultu*.⁴ In Assyrian the verb *nabûlu*, "to destroy," is of frequent occurrence.⁵ The kings name themselves *nablu*, "the destroyer."⁶ The idea of raining down destruction is a familiar one. In a passage of great poetic vigor,

¹ See many references in Lotz's *Die Inschriften Tiglathpilesers I.* p. 131. In W. A. I., iii. 15, col. i. l. 10 ff., the forms *adgul*, "I looked, saw," and *amur* occur in two parallel clauses.

² *Mtux ênika ana âshi dugulanni*, W. A. I., iv. 68, 28. 29

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 19, No. 2, l. 54-57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 31, 38.

⁵ For instance, in the standing phrase, such and such a city. *ina ishâti aslurup aliml akkur*, "I burned with fire, I destroyed, I devastated." *Ibid.*, i. 10, 1.

⁶ W. A. I., i. 9, 42.

describing Assurbanipal's campaign against the Arabians, it is said of the goddess Istar of Arbela, who is represented as clothed with fire: *ēlā Arabi izannun nabli*, "Over Arabia she rained down destruction."¹ The deluge is called *ḫubīl*, as the "destroyer" or "destruction."

ḫurru, "price" (p. 49), for which Hebrew has no corresponding verb, has an exact equivalent in the Assyrian *maḫāru*, "price," from the verb *maḫāru*, "to receive." The price is simply that which is received. In Assyrian the verb is in constant use. For instance Shalmaneser says: "I received (*amḫur*) tribute from Jehu the son of Omri."² The booty taken by Assurbanipal in his Arabian campaign was, after the return to Assyria, disposed of by sale. The narrative says of the buyers, *imdanaxaru gammadê u amêlût*: "they purchased camels and men."³

The word *ḫin*, generally rendered "species" or "kind," has no Hebrew etymology, and none that is satisfactory from the Arabic. Delitzsch proposes to identify it with the Babylonian *mīnu*, "number" (p. 70). This gives, he thinks, good sense in all passages where the word occurs, and corresponds well with the Assyrian usage. Compare such expressions as *ana lā mīna*, "without number."⁴

It is usual to regard *ḫin*, "seaman," as connected with *ḫal*, "salt." Delitzsch, on the contrary, considers the word as of non-Semitic origin (p. 63). In the (non-Semitic) Sumero-Akkadian the idea "seaman" is composed of the two signs *ma*, "ship," and *laḫ*, "to go." Thus in the cuneiform account of the deluge, after mentioning the closing of the ship's door, the narrator states that the control of the ship is delivered to the *ma-laḫ*.⁵ There is evidence that this non-Semitic *malax* was adopted by the Assyrians in the form *malāxu*,⁶ and through them, or directly, it may have passed to other Semitic peoples. This view is strengthened by the circumstance that the word *ḫin* occurs only in Jonah (once) and in Ezekiel (three times).

ḫin, "to cultivate a field," is supposed by the lexicons to be related to *ḫin*, "to give light," cultivating a field being considered as giving it light. But the Arabic *nīru*, "a yoke," ought to have led to a more likely etymology. The Assyrian *nīru*, "yoke," and the Assyrian verb *nīru*, "to subjugate," scarcely leave a doubt that the Hebrew

¹ W. A. I., v. 9, 81; cf. *ibid.*, i. 22, 106.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 5, 65.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 9, 52. For *maḫāru*, "price," cf. also W. A. I., ii. 13, 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 9, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 50, 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 21, 5.

נָר is the same word, and has nothing to do with נָרַר and נִרְרַר, "to shine." To subject a king or a nation *ana nîrî'a*, "unto my yoke," occurs in large numbers of the Assyrian royal annals. See also the verb *ninâra*, "we will subdue" (thine enemies), said to have been spoken by the gods to Esarhaddon, apparently at the time when he was contending with his brothers for the throne of Assyria.¹ Delitzsch even mentions a use of the word for the cultivation of a field, as in Hebrew (p. 53).

In some cases the Assyrian makes known the radical nature of consonants which have been supposed to be only formative in Hebrew words. Thus, in נָרַר, "much, many," Assyrian *ma'du*, the stem is not נָר, and נ is not formative, but the three letters are radical, which is abundantly proved by such verb forms as *u-ma'-du*.² Similarly נ is radical in נָרַר, Assyrian *ti'âmtu, tâmtu*, "the sea" (p. 66).

In other cases cuneiform study shows the non-Semitic origin of words, and thus stops further efforts at etymology. נָרַר as a probable case has been already mentioned. נָרַר, "palace," Assyrian *ékallu*, is a noted illustration. As was long since pointed out, this is only the non-Semitic *ê*, "house," and *gal*, "large," *ê-gal* passing over into Assyrian as *ékallu*, "the large house, the palace." The numeral נָרַר, always used in connection with the numeral ten, and making with this the number eleven, can only be the Assyrian *ishten*, which in turn comes from the non-Semitic *ash*, "one," and *tan*, "number."³

Various titles and proper names in the Old Testament are made clear by Assyrian study. נָרַר מַרְדּוּךְ represents a Babylonian original *Arêl-Marduk*, "man or servant of Merodach" (p. 12).⁴ The Adrammelech and Anammelech of 2 Kings xvii. 31 would be read in Assyrian *Adar-malik*, "Adar is prince," and *Anu-malik*, "Anu is prince."⁵ Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1) is the Babylonian *Bêl-shar-usur*, "Bel, protect the king."⁶ A remarkable prayer is preserved, in which Nabonidus (Babylonian *Nabûna'id*, "Nebo is exalted"), the royal father of Belshazzar, prays that the son may be kept from sin.⁷

¹ W. A. I., iii. 15, col. i. 9.

² Piel impf. *ibid.*, i. 43, 30.

³ See Friedrich Delitzsch in George Smith's *Chaldäische Genesis*, p. 277 ff.

⁴ For quotations from contract tablets dated in the reign of this king, cf. p. 79 of Strassmaier's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter*, etc. Leipzig, 1882.

⁵ See p. 284 of Schrader's excellent work, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. Giessen, 1883.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 433.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 434; W. A. I., i. 68, col. ii.

Esarhaddon is the great Assyrian king *Ashûr-âḫ-iddin*, "Asur has given a brother" (p. 12). בַּבְּלִי is *Bâb-îlu*, "Gate of god." לַחֲשִׁמֶּלֶךְ, the deity whose image was made by the people of Cuth (2 Kings xvii. 30), is the great lion deity guarding the entrance to the royal palaces, whose non-Semitic name (*Nê-uru-gal*) represents him as the deity of the under-world (p. 12). The origin of the name רַב־חַיִּים is obscure. That, however, the goddess of this name is one with the Assyrian *Ishtar* is clear, and the two languages present parallel usages of the word (p. 12). רַב־צָבָא (Isa. xxxvi. 2), commander of the Assyrian army sent against Jerusalem, is not a proper name, but "the chief of the officers," Assyrian *rab-shâkê* (p. 13). רַב־צָבָא (Isa. xx. 1) is the commander-in-chief, Assyrian *turtânu*, a derivative of *tûrtu* (*têrtu*), "law, commandment" (p. 12). רַב־פָּאָחָא, title of the Chaldean prefects, is the Babylonian *paḫātu* or *piḫātu*, "a district or province," afterwards the governor of a province, whose fuller title was *bêl paḫâti*, "lord of the province" (p. 13).

Delitzsch offers for the two Hebrew words מֶלֶךְ, "ruler," and נָשִׂיא, "prince," Assyrian *sharru*, ingenious etymologies, according to which these titles are taken from the brilliant appearance of these two officials (p. 54 ff). The Assyrian stem *sharâru*, "to shine," occurs in the form *sharuru*, "brilliance, splendor," synonyme of *namrîrru* and *mêlammu*, which are well known in the sense of "splendor."¹ The kings often speak of the splendor of their dominion. Sennacherib, for instance, says of Luli, king of Sidon, "the fear of the splendor of my dominion overwhelmed him" (Assyr. *pul-ḫi mê-lam-mê bê-lu-ti-ia is-ḫu-pu-shu*²). The connection of *sharru*, "king," with *sharâru*, "to shine," seems, therefore, not improbable. For the verb שָׁרַר Delitzsch assumes two different stems, one meaning "to resemble,"³ the other "to shine." From the second he derives שָׁרַר, "the shining one, the governor." One wishes that he had here given some references to the original."⁴

In the department of natural history Assyrian offers material for comparison with the Hebrew. To explain אֶבֶן, "stone," however, as the pointed object, because the Assyrian *abnu* means "stone"

¹ W. A. I., ii. 35, 4-9; cf. Lotz, Tiglathpileser, p. 83.

² Ibid., i. 38, 35.

³ Cf. the frequent *tamshil*, "resemblance," e.g. Keilschrifttexte Sargons, 15, 41; 16, 67.

⁴ We meet the word *ma-shal* in the expression *ilâni ma-shal* (*sal, rag*) *mâtishu*, "the gods, the *ma-shal* of his country," W. A. I., i. 39, 55; 40, 23; 43, 8.

and *ubānu* means "tip of the finger, peak" (p. 57), can scarcely be called fortunate. On the other hand, the ܪܝܬܐ of Isa. xiii. 21, which the authorized version renders "doleful creatures," seems to have an equivalent in the Assyrian ܪܝܬܐ (p. 34), "the evil one," probably the jackal. The Assyrian *ḫabašillatu* is evidently the same word as the Hebrew רֹבֹעַ . But *ḫabašillatu* is represented as a species of reed.¹ Delitzsch would therefore translate Cant. ii. 1; Isa. xxxv. 1: "I am the *reed* of Sharon and the lily of the valley"; "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and sprout like the *reed*" (p. 35). But the Assyrian word cannot do more than suggest that the Hebrew word means a reed. The same word may have different uses in different languages, and this is specially true of the names of trees.² The ܪܝܬܐ or ܪܝܬܐ is the well-known Assyrian *rimū*, a powerful mountain bull (p. 6).³ The rendering of *rem* by "unicorn" is, of course, impossible, because this animal is represented in Ps. xxii. 21 as having two horns. The Hebrew רֹבֹעַ is the Assyrian *šēnu*, "flock" of sheep and of goats. This word Delitzsch derives from an Assyrian stem ܫܢܐ , "to be good," which he says is a synonyme of *tābu* (ܬܒܐ). Sheep and goats would then be called *šēnu* because of their gentleness and tameness (p. 46). One wishes that he had given other illustrations besides those to which he refers.⁴ Are goats really better than cows?

The comparison of Hebrew and Assyrian words expressing family relationship is interesting. For ܪܝܬܐ , "brother," the Assyrians have ܪܝܬܐ , meaning both brother and side (p. 59).⁵ ܪܝܬܐ , "mother," is explained in the lexicon by the aid of the Arabic *'amma*, "to precede," as the one who precedes the child; and ܪܝܬܐ , "cubit," is supposed to have meant originally "forearm," the forearm thus being the mother of the arm; while ܪܝܬܐ , "nation," is said to be the body of people following an *'imām* or leader. Delitzsch, on the other hand, considers that all these words come from a stem ܪܝܬܐ , meaning "to be wide" or "spacious" (p. 60). ܪܝܬܐ , Assyrian *ummu*,⁶ "mother," would originally have meant the womb, as the spacious receptacle of the child; and he states that the word is often so used in As-

¹ W. A. I., v. 32, 62.

² See Max Müller's *Science of Language* (2d series), p. 238 ff.

³ Cf. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 130.

⁴ In Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 87.

⁵ Cf. W. A. I., v. 1, 69. *a-ḫi tam-tim*, "the side of the sea," and Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 53, 279.

⁶ W. A. I., v. 25, 41.

syrian. אַמְטָא, Assyrian *ammatu*,¹ "cubit," would be "width, length," and then the definite measure "cubit." אַמְמָא, "nation," Assyrian *ummu*,² "nation, army," would be so called as a numerous body of men. Compare such expressions as *nishê rapshûê*,³ "the vast nations." This explanation seems quite probable, at least in the case of the words for "cubit" and "nation."

From the stem הָרָן the Hebrew has the forms הָרָן, "father-in-law"; הָרָנָה, "mother-in-law"; הָרָן, "bridegroom, son-in-law, one related by marriage"; הָרָנָה, "nuptials," and the evidently denominative Hithpael, meaning to contract affinity by marriage. The lexicon compares the Arabic *ḫatana*, "to circumcise," and explains הָרָן as meaning "to cut, to cut into," applied to "entrance into another family." But the Assyrian has preserved the stem *ḫatānu* in another sense, viz. "to help, to surround, to protect" (p. 45). This *ḫatānu* is a synonyme of *narāru*, "to help."⁴ The sun-god is addressed as *ḫa-tin ên-shi*,⁵ "protector of the weak," and Sargon applies similar words to himself.⁶ Delitzsch regards הָרָן and הָרָנָה as the protectors of the young family, and compares הָרָם, הָרָמָה, "father-in-law, mother-in-law," from a stem הָרָם, "to surround."

That the names of the months adopted by the Jews in the Babylonian Captivity cannot be explained except by the aid of Babylonian study scarcely needs to be stated. Delitzsch's effort (p. 14 ff.) is in the right direction. He explains נִסָּן, Babylonian *Nisānu*, the first month of the year, as meaning "start, beginning," from the verb *nisû*, Heb. נָסַע. אֲדָר, Babylonian *Addaru*, February-March, is the dull, gloomy month. The stem אָרַר occurs in a list of words where *ûmu na'-du-ru*, "a cloudy day," is contrasted with *ûmu nam-ru*, "a bright day."⁷ טֵבֵט, Babylonian *Têbêtu*, December-January, is the month of showers, the name coming from *tîbû*, "to sink," Hebrew טָבַע, possibly a reference to sinking in water. If the name be really derived from a stem טָבַע "to sink," might not the reference be to the sinking of the sun in the short days of December-January? שָׁבָט, Babylonian *Shabātu*, January-February, is the destroying month, so called from its devastating floods, from the verb *shabātu*, "to strike, to kill." The signs by which the Akka-

¹ W. A. L., i. 57, col. viii. 45.

² Ibid., i. 41, 23, *pu-uḫ-ḫîr um-man-ka*, "collect thine armies."

³ Ibid., iv. 19, 57.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 39, 2 and 3.

⁵ Ibid., iv. 19, 41.

⁶ *ḫâtin ênshûê*, "protector of the weak," *ibid.*, i. 36, 4.

⁷ W. A. L., v. 30, 23. 24.

dians wrote this word mean "the month of the curse of rain,"¹ and it is, accordingly, in the eleventh canto of the great Chaldean epic, corresponding to the eleventh month, that the episode of the deluge is related.²

In large numbers of words the Assyrian has preserved the original meanings of stems, or shows that two stems written alike are etymologically different. In Hebrew מָלַךְ means "to rule," in the Niphal, "to take counsel." This latter is in Assyrian the regular meaning of the verb *malāku*.³ *Malku*,⁴ *māliku* is "the adviser," and then "the prince, ruler." מָדַד, "to measure," and מָשַׁח, "to anoint," have been supposed to be the same word. But the Assyrian shows that we have here two different stems, and that the Arabic word which has been used in comparison is perhaps only a borrowed word (p. 63).

It might be interesting to notice other comparisons of Hebrew and Assyrian in Delitzsch's work. But this article is already long enough. Yet pages 61-63 deserve special mention. This chapter concerns those Hebrew words which have a ר. By a large induction it appears that when ר in Hebrew corresponds to the strong ר in Arabic (خ) it has been preserved in Assyrian, but when it corresponds to the weak ר in Arabic (ه) it has been lost in Assyrian. Thus שָׁרַר, Assyrian *xi'ru*, "sin," has an Arabic equivalent with خ, whereas שָׁרַף, Assyrian *saxāpu*, "to overwhelm," has a ه in the Arabic word which has been supposed to be an equivalent (*sahafa*). By this method it is shown that יָרַח, "an arrow," Assyrian *ussu*, has a weak ר, and is not to be derived from יָרַח, "to cut off, to pierce." Assyrian *xašāsu*, which has a strong ר. Similarly פָּתַח, "to open," Assyrian *pitū*, has a weak ר, while פָּחַח, "to engrave," Assyrian *palāxu*, has a strong ר.

In closing this article, I wish to say again that Professor Delitzsch's little volume cannot fail to do a great service for Semitic study, that it deals with facts and principles which no Semitic scholar can ignore, and that with all this it is written in a style so simple and pleasing as to be fully intelligible and enjoyable to a mere beginner in the Hebrew language.

¹ W. A. I., v. 29, 11.

² Cf. George Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (2d ed.), New York, 1880.

³ W. A. I., v. 1, 121, *mi-lik . . . im-li-ku*, "they took counsel."

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 36, 8.

ARTICLE XI.

EXEGETICAL NOTES.

TRANSLATION OF THE AORIST TENSE IN THE INDICATIVE MOOD.

THE translation of this Greek tense is not always easy. In a true translation the aim is to express in one language as exactly as possible thought which has already been expressed in another language, and to give that thought as nearly as possible the same dress that it originally had. One can commonly carry out this purpose when translating the Greek Present, Future, Perfect, and Pluperfect. It is somewhat more difficult when translating the Imperfect. Often this tense may be rendered by the English progressive Imperfect. Yet in some verbs it is doubtful whether the form of the Imperfect had any different meaning from the Aorist. Again, in some contexts the English progressive form would lumber up the discourse, rather than give the nice descriptive touch that the Greek tense does, therefore the more vivacious narrative Preterite is to be employed. All this, however, is comparatively slight labor to the student; but he is often sorely perplexed about the rendering of the Greek Aorist. Must it always be by the English Preterite? It was not so translated by the Revisers of 1611, nor has it been by the Revisers of 1881. Yet no one seems to have given any principle which shall defend the occasional use of the English Perfect as the proper translation of the Aorist. There seems no defence but the "ear," which in some contexts revolts against translating the Aorist by the English Preterite. Thus as far as the argument goes, the literalists, such as the author of the *Emphatic Diaglott* and Robert Young (whose suggestions about the Revised Version have been sent over from Scotland), all have their own way.

A careful study of the tenses in each language would show on what principles we might proceed. Some suggestions have been made by Rev. J. A. Beet in the *Expositor* (First Series, Vol. xi. pp. 191 f., 296 f., 372 f.). The discussion is capable of further development, which may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. In general, the English Preterite corresponds to the Greek Aorist, and the English Perfect to the Greek Perfect.
2. In English the Preterite commonly needs some definite temporal or contextual limitation to specify the date of the act in past time. In Greek the Aorist has no such need.
3. If the Preterite is used without such a modifier it emphasizes the fact of occurrence, yet has no reference to the completion of the act. The

Aorist has no necessary reference to the completion, nor does it by itself emphasize the fact of occurrence. The context may give such emphasis.

4. The English Perfect denotes the completion of an act, and holds that fact in some sort of relation to the present. This relation may arise from the act that (a) the act is just completed; (b) the result of the act still endures; (c) the time of performing it is not wholly past; (d) the actor still lives; or (e) the circumstances under which the act was performed are still the same.

An examination of English idiom shows that the Perfect tense may express an action which has occurred at an indefinite time in the past, provided that the context gives some relations to present time, and stress is not laid upon the exact relations of time, or provided that frequent reference is made to the past and the mind remains in the present. The Greek uses the Aorist in such sentences.

The use of the Greek Perfect is much narrower. Its relation to present time is closer than in English. It is used (a) of actions just completed, and (b) of acts whose results still endure. In classic Greek the Perfect might be used with as much latitude as the English Perfect; but this is true only of poetry or impassioned oratory. The Greek Perfect has neither in classic Greek nor in the New Testament such latitude as the English Perfect. From these facts, ascertained by observation, the following principles may be laid down:

1. When the fact of occurrence is prominent, and there is no adverbial limitation to give the date of the action, the Greek Aorist is best translated by the English Preterite; e.g. Luke xix. 21, Ἐφοβούμην γάρ σε, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος αὐστηρὸς εἶ. αἴρεις ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκες, καὶ θερίζεις ὃ οὐκ ἔσπευρας. Rightly the Revisions of 1611 and 1881 alike render the Aorists in the subordinate clause by the Preterites. "Thou takest up that thou *layedst* not down, and reapest that thou *didst* not sow." If the pronoun σύ had been placed in the subordinate clauses where the Aorists occur, the emphasis would have been changed, and English idiom would have required the Perfect tense as the proper rendering. The translation quoted may be open to other criticism; but it is not open in respect to the use of tenses.

2. When mere occurrence is indicated, and there are contextual indications of a past date, or a temporal limitation giving such date, the Aorist should be translated by the English Preterite. Illustrations of this can be found on every page of narrative in the New Testament; e.g. John xvii. 1, Ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. The whole context sufficiently indicates the date: "These things *spoke* Jesus." Also Acts i. 15, Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶπεν, "And in these days Peter stood up in the midst of the brethren, and said,"

3. When the contextual reference is to present time, and there are no adverbial limitations specifically dating the action in the past, the Greek Aorist is commonly best translated by the English Perfect. Acts xii. 11.

Νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς, ὅτι ἐξαπέστειλε Κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
 "Now I know of a truth that the Lord *hath sent forth* his angel, and *delivered* me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the Jews."

In Acts i. 11 is an instance where, as it seems to the writer, the tense by which the Revision of 1611 rendered was changed not for the better in the Revision of 1881: οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, "This Jesus shall so come in like manner as ye *beheld* him going into heaven." In 1611 read *have seen* for *beheld*. It can be said in behalf of the Revision of 1881 that *to behold* ought to be used, rather than *to see*, and that the Perfect tense *have beheld* might to some minds suggest past continuance. To the writer, however, there seems to be no emphasis on the verb ἐθεάσασθε, and that the rendering by the Preterite throws the action decidedly into the past so as to call for an adverbial limitation of time. The change, in verse 4, of *ye have heard* (1611) to *ye heard* (1881) as the rendering of ἤκούσατε, seems another instance of change for the worse.

In Rom. v. 12 is an opportunity to apply the same principles. There are three Aorists in this verse: εἰσῆλθε διῆλθεν ἡμαρτον; in 1611 the rendering is, *entered passed have sinned*; in 1881 the rendering is, *entered passed sinned*. It will not do to say that because the first two Aorists are translated by a Preterite the last should be translated in the same way. The last verb is not co-ordinate with the preceding one. The translation depends upon the interpretation. If it be held that the act ἡμαρτον occurred at some indefinite time antecedent to the preceding verbs, the Pluperfect is the better translation (Buttmann's New Test. Grammar, p. 199; Winer's New Test. Grammar, p. 275). If ἡμαρτον, though grammatically subordinate, be held to be coincident with the principal clause, then it should be translated by the Preterite. Again, if there is special stress, as seems to be the case, upon the ἡμαρτον, the Preterite is the proper rendering. If the principal clause had Present tenses, or even Perfect, or if there were bound up in the near context reference to actual present time, a Perfect as the translation of ἡμαρτον might be defended by English usage, but not otherwise.

Rom. v. 11 gives a good illustration of the necessity sometimes of translating an Aorist by the Perfect. δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν, "Through whom we *have now received* the reconciliation." This reference to the present time is not close enough to the ἡμαρτον, and the Present tense of verse 13 can do as little, for there ἐλλογείται is used to express a general truth for which the gnomic Aorist could as well have been used.

From these notes it will appear that the translation of the Aorist often involves fine and even subtle discrimination in the sense of the original

and of the uses of our own language. Any extended criticism of the work of the latest Revisers demands a long and patient study of the nature and capacity of the tenses in both languages.

DR. LADD ON ALLEGED DISCREPANCIES AND ERRORS OF THE BIBLE.

Justice to the subject and to our readers demands that we should devote a few pages to an examination of the critical methods so constantly pursued, and so superabundantly illustrated, in the volumes of Dr. Ladd noticed in our January number (pp. 197-202).

Dr. Ladd endeavors by induction to ascertain the character of the Bible for truthfulness in minor details. The ordinary and correct method of such an investigation is as follows: Having determined the general credibility of the writers and become satisfied of the general correctness of their writings, and having duly measured the import of Christ's promises to his disciples of special guidance and illumination, and having given due weight to the fact that the writers of the New Testament believed that they were so illumined and guided, and to the fact of the reception of these writings by the primitive church as of equal authority with the Old Testament, the Christian believer then considers the alleged discrepancies, to see whether they are positively proven or if they are not all susceptible of a reasonable explanation. As the result of prolonged investigation we affirm with perfect confidence, that upon close and candid examination nearly every alleged discrepancy in the Bible disappears, and that the few troublesome cases which remain can be explained by hypotheses which do no violence to the doctrine of plenary inspiration.

On the contrary, Dr. Ladd's principle of procedure seems to be, to affirm a positive and unexplainable discrepancy whenever one might by any possibility be supposed to exist; treating the Bible as if it had no positive claims upon our general confidence. The length to which Dr. Ladd goes, not only in suggesting, but in positively affirming, irreconcilable discrepancies in the Bible, has rarely, if ever, been surpassed. We open the first volume at random (pp. 400-403), and find what Dr. Ladd describes as a "brief classified statement" of the discrepancies in the Gospels, which contain "the complete refutation of the post-Reformation dogma of infallibility as applied to the historical contents of the Bible" (p. 400).

According to the text which is now received, Matt. xix. 17 makes Christ say in reply to the rich young man; "Why asketh thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good"; while in Mark x. 18 and Luke xviii. 19 Christ's reply reads: "Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, *even* God." Professor Ladd asserts that "both forms of the reply cannot be correct; and that in which Mark and Luke agree is doubtless the original one" (Vol. I. p. 401). On the con-

trary, we affirm that there is scarcely any difficulty at all in believing that both forms are correct. In order to warrant Professor Ladd's unqualified assertion, he must assume, without evidence and against all probability, that the evangelists give a complete account of all the conversation that took place between Christ and the rich young man; whereas, no one with any reasonable amount of historic imagination would ever think of assuming that the evangelists purport to give an exhaustive account of the transactions and conversations of their Lord. Any one at all familiar with the dialectical processes naturally pursued in such a private conversation as this between Christ and the rich young man, can easily see that in an interview of half an hour, or ten minutes even, there would be superabundant opportunity for the points of attack and defence to shift not only once, as they seem to have done on comparing Matthew and Mark, but a score of times, in ways that are not recorded.

On the same page Dr. Ladd finds a discrepancy between Matt. xix. 7 and Mark x. 3, because in the discussion between Christ and the Pharisees respecting divorce, Christ himself, according to one evangelist, appeals to Moses, and asks the Pharisees: "What did Moses command you?" while according to the other the Pharisees say unto him "Why, then, did Moses command to give a bill of divorcement?" It is possible to find a discrepancy here only on the assumption that all the conversation upon that occasion consists of the ninety-six words which Matthew has reported, with the addition of the few variations of Mark. This would reduce the interview to a period of about two minutes; whereas, if they had been ten minutes together, or even five minutes, there would have been ample time for variations which lead Professor Ladd to assert an irreconcilable discrepancy between Matthew and Mark. We submit that it is altogether probable that the interview continued for hours, and that the dialogue between Christ and the Pharisees, like a meandering stream, was shifting positions of attack and defence through the whole time.

The four forms of the inscription over the cross are adduced (p. 400) as another typical illustration of the irreconcilable discrepancies of the evangelists. Now the facts concerning this are simply these: According to John xix. 20, the inscription on the cross was written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek,—that is, there were three inscriptions, and this is just what we have given by the different evangelists,—this, and nothing more. John records the inscription as "Jesus, the Nazarene, king of the Jews" (perhaps the Hebrew form); Matthew (xxvii. 37) gives it as "This is Jesus, the king of the Jews" (perhaps the Greek form); Mark (xv. 26) gives it as simply "The king of the Jews" (perhaps, or we may say probably, the translation of the Latin inscription); Luke (xxiii. 38) agrees word for word with Mark except that he adds the demonstrative pronoun "this," (οὗτος) which makes it read: "This is the king of the Jews,"—a freedom which is perfectly allowable. In translating the two words of Latin, *rex Judaeorum*, which would suffice in that terse tongue.

Perhaps the most difficult of all the apparent discrepancies in quoting the Saviour's language, occurs in the instructions given to the twelve when first sent out on their apostolic mission, which we give in parallel columns :

MATT. X.

⁹ Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; ¹⁰ no wallet for *your* journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff; for the laborer is worthy of his food. ¹¹ And into whatsoever city or village ye shall enter, search out who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go forth.

MARK VI.

⁸ And he charged them that they should take nothing for *their* journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money in their purse; ⁹ but *to go* shod with sandals; and, *said he*, put not on two coats. ¹⁰ And he said unto them, Whosoever ye enter into a house, there abide till ye depart thence.

LUKE IX.

³ And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staff, nor wallet, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats.

⁴ And into whatsoever house ye enter, there abide, and thence depart.

Here we have a report of certain words spoken by Jesus to his disciples upon one of the most important and solemn occasions of their lives. All told, Matthew gives to his entire summary of the discourse only thirty-six verses, while Mark and Luke content themselves with scarcely more than one sixth of that number. But are we warranted in supposing, much less in confidently affirming (as we must do to find a positive discrepancy), that the admonitions of Christ on that occasion were no more extended and particular and personal than they appear to be from these reports? As far as possible from it. On the contrary, we have every reason to believe that at such a crisis in their history there would be a prolonged conversation between Christ and his disciples. How dangerous it is to draw inferences from negative testimony in such a case, is illustrated in the reports given by the evangelists of the last interview between Christ and his disciples before his arrest. Had the accounts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke alone been left us, we should have known even less of what occurred at that memorable interview than we now do of the conversation which took place when the apostles first received their commission, and were sent out on their trial journey. But John has also left an account of the scenes preceding the arrest, and four whole chapters are occupied with reporting the most precious discourse of Jesus upon that occasion.

From this we can see how little warrant any one can have for narrowing down the discourse of Christ at the induction of the apostles into their office to the limits of the reports recorded by Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Now it cannot be denied that the impression made upon the mind by these three accounts is essentially the same; and a little attention will show that the apparent discrepancies can easily be accounted for, even

on the highest theory of verbal inspiration. To bring about this harmony we need only suppose that Christ's whole discourse occupied a half hour's time, and consisted of a few hundred words. The common impression made by each one of the accounts is, that the disciples were to be lightly attired, free from care, and wholly devoted to their work. No one familiar with the bold and powerful antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount should be troubled with finding in one part of the Saviour's discourse, on such an occasion as we are considering, the command to "take no staff," and in another part, "to take only a staff." Every word can come in easily and harmoniously enough on the supposition that a natural and insignificant occurrence took place during the discourse. Suppose, as the Saviour was proceeding, his eye fell on a poor disciple whose entire outfit consisted of a staff, a wallet, sandals, and a single tunic; that would naturally give a turn to the portion of the discourse, related by Mark; and with his eye fixed on him, he would say, "Take [αἶψα] nothing for your journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money in your purse; but go shod with sandals, and do not put on two coats." His eye falling on another who has not even a staff, he would naturally say, as reported by Matthew and Luke; Go forth just as you are: get (κτῆσησθε) you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff. It is utterly immaterial whether you take a staff or not, only go forth devoted entirely to your spiritual mission. This is the true inference of the passage, rather than the conclusion of Dr. Ladd, that "the detail as to *two* tunics was impressed indelibly, while the command as to the staff was indefinite in their minds" (pp. 400, 401).

It is even easier to dispose of what Professor Ladd and the class of writers in whose company he is found say of the impossibility of harmonizing the two reports of the Sermon on the Mount. Dr. Ladd declares that they "are so essentially two different, and in some respects discrepant, accounts that no harmony is possible" (p. 402). These reports are found in Matt. v., vi., vii., and Luke vi. 17-49. That they are reports of two different discourses is possible; in which case there will be no occasion to consider the alleged discrepancies. But that they are reports of one discourse is probable from the extended and striking resemblance of the two. "The beginning and ending of both are the same; there is a general similarity in the order and often identity in the expressions" (Andrews' *Life of Our Lord*, p. 252). But, in considering the possibility of harmonizing the two reports, we should consider how brief they both are, even though long in comparison with the ordinary reports of the Saviour's addresses. Matthew's report of the sermon is comprised in one hundred and seven verses, while Luke's contains only thirty. Probably, however, even Matthew's account is not one quarter part of the whole sermon of our Lord as it was adapted in *extemporaneous discourse* to the varied wants of the vast multitude.

The apparent difference in *time* may arise from the fact that Matthew does not connect his facts in chronological order — a thing which as a historian he was under no obligation to do unless that were essential to the true understanding of the discourse. As to the apparent discrepancy in the *place* in which the sermon is said to have been preached, it is sufficient to remark that where the descriptions of the movements of a great multitude at such an exciting time is compressed by one evangelist into a single verse, and is expanded by another into only four verses, there is little reason to expect minuteness of topographical description. A mountain is a large place; and when Matthew (v. 1) simply says that "Jesus went up into a mountain, and when he was set his disciples came unto him. And he opened his mouth and taught them," he has in no way or manner contradicted the more minute accounts of Luke, who casually mentions (vi. 17) a level place (τόπου πεδινού). There may be plenty of level places on the sides of a mountain.

We open at another place in Dr. Ladd's first volume, which happens to be where the author is illustrating what he regards as evidence of Christ's "uncritical use of the Old Testament" (pp. 68-71). Matthew xxiv. 37 sq. and Luke xvii. 27 report Christ as saying that in the "days which were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark." Professor Ladd sees here indications that Christ was "following a tradition of the flood which differed in some particulars from that of the Hebrew Scriptures" (p. 69), and calls upon the reader to "notice the features added to the narrative of Genesis; especially the word *πίνοντες* [drinking] in apparent contradiction of the narrative of Gen. ix. 20" (p. 69, note). How needless it is to find a discrepancy here will appear when the passage in Genesis is quoted: "And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and was drunken." How any one should infer from this that there was no drinking before the flood it is difficult to imagine; for the phrase "began to be a husbandman" cannot mean that this was the first time he had practised husbandry, but the beginning of it after the flood" (Tayler Lewis).

Dr. Ladd also thinks that in Christ's reference (Luke iv. 25-27) to the famine in the time of Elijah (1 Kings xvii. 9 ff.) "he seems to incorporate that divergent Jewish tradition which extended the duration of the drought to three years and a half, and which James also accepts, and employs the popular hyperbole which spoke of the drought as extending over the whole earth" (p. 69). On examination it appears that all this reference to "divergent Jewish tradition" and "popular hyperbole" in this case is purely imaginary and gratuitous. If the author had consulted his Greek Testament, or for that matter the Revised Version of 1881, or even that of 1611, he would have seen that Christ did not say over the whole earth, but over the whole land, this being a perfectly allowable

translation for the Greek word γῆ, and in James the presence of hyperbole is even less manifest since in the Greek, the word "whole" is absent. As to extending the drought to three years and a half, we see nothing in Kings that should prevent such an extension, since there it is simply said: "There shall not be dew nor rain these years" (1 Kings xvii. 1); and at the command of the Lord Elijah went up to the brook Cherith, and there remained until the brook dried up, which is said to have been "after a while"; whereupon the Lord commanded the prophet to go to Zarephath: "and it came to pass, after many days, that the word of the Lord came to Elijah in the third year, saying, Go, shew thyself unto Ahab; and I will send rain upon the earth" (1 Kings xviii. 1). It is not said that it is the third year of the famine, but the more natural inference is that it is the third year of his stay at Zarephath, which with the "after a while" would make the whole time neither very much more nor very much less than three years and six months. Instead of drawing from this instance, as Dr. Ladd does, the inference that Christ "thus manifests his entirely uncritical attitude towards the details of the narrative" (p. 69), the extreme advocates of verbal inspiration might infer that Christ's attitude was intended to be very critical, and that he intended to give the weight of his authority to a minutely accurate interpretation of the Old Testament account.

Another case introduced by Dr. Ladd will lead the way to some remarks concerning the correct view of the relation of words to things, and enable us to clear away some misconceptions as to the doctrine of plenary inspiration. Isaiah xxix. 13 contains a somewhat obscure sentence translated in our version, "And their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men" (literally, from the Hebrew, And their fear toward me has become a precept of men, taught). Christ in quoting this (Matt. xv. 9) follows very closely the translation of the Septuagint: "But in vain do they worship me, teaching as their doctrine the precepts of men." Upon this, Professor Ladd has to remark (p. 71) that Christ follows the Septuagint "in introducing the important word μάτην [in vain], which has no correlative in the Hebrew text. This is done apparently to justify his application of the prophecy as *περὶ ὑμῶν* [concerning you]." Now it is indeed true, as Professor Ladd says, that there is no single word here in the Hebrew corresponding to "in vain"; but he ought to know that in transferring thought from one language to another, the translator could make little progress if he were compelled to use only such words as were exactly correlative. The thought of a writer cannot be obtained by pulverizing his sentences and subjecting the product to chemical analysis. The thought of a sentence is largely conveyed by the collocation of the words, and by various unexplainable usages of speech peculiar to particular languages. Thought is often held in a sentence in solution, as sugar is in water, and only crystallizes into a word upon evaporation.

In the case under consideration, the "in vain" of the Septuagint is *implicitly* in the Hebrew sentence, and it falls within the proper province of a translation to bring it out *explicitly* in Greek. To serve God merely in obedience to human authority is to entirely miss the end of worship, and is utterly in vain.

On opening Dr. Ladd's volumes once more we fell upon a discussion of the genuineness of the Book of Daniel (Vol. i. p. 646). We had just been reading in the October number of the *Journal of Christian Philosophy* an Article by Dr. William Hayes Ward, entitled *The Historical Chapters of Daniel attested by Contemporary Records*, and could not well avoid being impressed by the contrast between the two writers, both in their style of procedure and in the conclusions at which they arrived. Dr. Ladd writes like a man vaguely recalling the impressions left by the perusal of some destructive criticism, but really unable to recollect just what the arguments were which convinced him that the Book of Daniel is a grain of historic wheat in a heap of chaff. Dr. Ward writes with that command of the subject which can belong only to one who is intimately familiar with the whole literature of exploration in the far East and who is himself an original investigator.

Dr. Ladd finds, in the first place, two slight chronological difficulties in the Book of Daniel. But he adds candidly: "We have already learned, however, that chronological difficulties do not of themselves discredit the historical character of the narrative in which they occur. Nor need we dwell," he continues, "upon the inherent improbabilities which are alleged against statements like those of ii. 48; iii. 1-30, against the royal edict of vi. 26 f., and against the conception of lions dwelling in a dark stone cavern (vi. 18 f.)." The change of person in Nebuchadnezzar's letter "is not strictly historical," and the Jewish and theocratic flavor "of the alleged language of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius" suggests the author's imagination as its source. But then we must remember that the universal practice of both Testaments, and of all the writers of antiquity, admit of giving the speeches, and even the letters, of their historic personages in free and somewhat imaginative form. It seems strange enough that Bel-hazzar is represented as ignorant of Daniel, while the latter is represented as doing the business of this king, even in the third year of his reign, to say nothing of his famous services under Nebuchadnezzar. "But this discrepancy is scarcely so serious as that which occurs with reference to the first introduction of David to Saul" and "if the latter case does not warrant us in abandoning the entire first book of Samuel as unhistorical, the former case of itself will not utterly discredit the Book of Daniel."

So far, then, Dr. Ladd recognizes that the force of his objection may be parried. But three more serious difficulties remain in the face of which it is useless to think of maintaining the genuineness of the book. These are: (1) The silence of Berosus regarding the lycomania of Nebuchadnezzar;

(2) the fact that the Darius of Daniel "is unknown to history: his person seems rather quite excluded from history"; (3) the fact that four of the names of musical instruments of iii. 5 f. "are so purely Greek terms."

"We must conclude," says Dr. Ladd, "from the foregoing and other similiar considerations, that the historical character of Dan. i.-vi. does not admit of by any means complete vindication. But, on the other hand, there is much in this book which even as competent Orientalists as Oppert and Lenormant consider as showing marked knowledge of ancient Babylonian customs; and many indirect proofs of historical accuracy are brought forward by writers like Keil and Rawlinson. It is possible, then, to hold, on historical grounds, with Delitzsch, that the earlier chapters of the Book of Daniel grew out of trustworthy traditions of Daniel himself." "Although, then, the present form of these chapters came from a writer in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and although the historical element cannot always with confidence be separated from the accretions of tradition, legend, and designed symbolism, we nevertheless seem warranted in recognizing the historical character of the book in that limited sense which belongs to others of the class we have been examining."

Dr. Ward, in his excellent article, propounds his thesis as follows: "Be this understood, that if the data of Daniel should be generally corroborated by the data of the monuments, it is proof positive that these chapters were, in substance, not written at the late date of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the second century B.C., but were written at or near the time of the event described. That must follow. Remember that the date of the fall of Babylon was 539 B.C., while the date of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes was 164 B.C., leaving a period of 375 years between the two dates. How would a writer in those days have succeeded in trying to play the archæologist, and reproduce in a story of Daniel events that might have taken place nearly four hundred years before? A story with any verisimilitude could not have been written when the knowledge of customs and events had been lost, not to be recovered till in these last days when so many archaic records have been disinterred."

What are the facts? (1) Peculiar to the Book of Daniel is the mention of Belshazzar. He is unknown to all other writers Greek and Latin. But an inscription dug up within twenty-five years fully explains and confirms all that is said of him in the book.

(2) "There has within six years been found a tablet written by order of Cyrus himself, in which he says that he captured Babylon 'without fighting' (a notable statement!) on the fourteenth day of the month Thammuz." This was the very day when the orgies of the festival of the union of Ishtar and Thammuz culminated — the time for just such a feast as the Book of Daniel describes.

(3) The names of men and titles of their offices are wholly free from anachronisms. Not even does the common Greek word for general,

strategos, appear, "which at the time of Epiphanes had for a long while been naturalized into all the earlier tongues."

(4) The devotion of the Babylonians to dreams is correctly described. "How could a writer three centuries later have learned that this was so marked a peculiarity of just the century in which the story is laid?"

(5) The third chapter of Daniel tell the story of the colossal image of gold set up in the plain of Dura. "The entire story is full of Babylonian color. No antiquarian of the age of Epiphanes existed that could have written it. The plain of Dura still bears the name. Colossal images of gold were familiar at Babylon."

(6) "The punishment threatened by the king to those who refused to bow down and worship the golden image deserves a word of attention. The Assyrians were given to just such inhuman punishments. In this connection we may mention the other punishment by casting into a den of lions. Just such a cage, or den of lions, is pictured on the monuments. There is a local precision about the story which seems to indicate clearly a writer of that very period, who only could know that such was the custom of Oriental royalty, and that Assurbanipal had his cages of lions to provide the royal sport. The record mentions, it will be noticed, that the den was sealed with the king's signet. Quite a number of the signets of the Babylonian kings have been found, and are now in our museums. The Greeks did not use such signets as were used by the Babylonian and Persian kings."

(7) "One of the noticeable subordinate points in the story of the golden image of Dura, which gives it remarkable local color, is the astonishing development of the musical instruments mentioned, the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of music. But an author must have been a veritable antiquary to know that at this very seventh century B.C. music had become a chief element in the worship of the gods."

Dr. Ward makes several other strong points upon which it is unnecessary to dwell. He has his own way of explaining the difficulties of the book. In his opinion the Aramaic portion is a late translation of a part, which was originally, like the rest, in Hebrew. He thinks that the names of the instruments in the original were not Greek. For "at the time of Daniel Greek had not at all invaded the East; it was still an Ionian language." We wholly fail to see the greatness of the difficulty presented by these four Greek names of musical instruments — a difficulty which in Dr. Ladd's eyes is insuperable, and which forces so careful a thinker as Dr. Ward into the untenable hypothesis that the Aramaic portion is only a targum. We are told in 1 Kings x. 22 that Solomon imported apes (𐤀𐤓𐤔𐤍) and peacocks (𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍). These words belong to East India. But the fact that at the time of Solomon the languages of the Malabar coast "had not at all invaded Palestine" does not preclude belief in the state-

ment that apes and peacocks were so imported and continued to be called by their East Indian names. We are not told, indeed, by the Book of Daniel that the musical instruments had been imported from Ionia; we are told only that they existed in Babylon under Greek names. But there is no violence in supposing that they had been imported. Indeed, it is altogether "likely that Babylon the city of merchants (Ezek. xvii. 4), had intercourse with the Greeks even before the fifth century B.C., and according to Strabo (xiii. 3, 2) a brother of the Greek poet Alcaeus served in the armies of Nebuchadnezzar" (D. G. Schaff).

Of Dr. Ladd's three decisive objections to the Book of Daniel, then, but one seems to us serious,—the present impossibility of finding a satisfactory place in history for Darius the Mede. The silence of Berosus regarding the lycomania of Nebuchadnezzar is important only under the principle that every statement of a biblical writer is to be assumed to be false unless expressly confirmed by some profane writer. The four Greek instruments and their names might have reached Babylon in several natural ways. And as to this difficulty about Darius the Mede, it may be said that twenty-five years ago we were in precisely the same difficulty about Belshazzar. He was "unknown to history; his person seemed, rather, quite excluded from history." But one stroke of the pick, turning up a buried inscription, silenced for ever all objections based upon the mention of Belshazzar, and converted that mention into a tower of strength.

Dr. Ladd's theory, that these chapters of Daniel contain a trustworthy tradition redressed and amplified in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, is the very last theory that would be suggested by what we see upon the monuments. For it is precisely the *dress* of the book that most clearly belongs to Babylon and to the sixth century B.C. This "goodly Babylonish garment" was not woven four hundred years later in Palestine.

ARTICLE XII.

CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

I. AMERICAN.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW for January contains a comprehensive paper by President Warren of Boston University, bearing the title, *The Earliest Creed of Mankind*. It is a review of various theories regarding the origin of religion, the origin of marriage, and of other historical institutions. Beginning with a reference to Hume's work on the *Natural History of Religion*, which is the first noteworthy treatise to express dissent from the Old Testament doctrine, the article traces the theories of De Brosses, of Max Müller, of Sir John Lubbock, of Tyler, of Otto Caspari and of other investigators of the primitive condition of mankind. The author touches briefly upon the difficult problem whether marriage originated in polygamy or monogamy. Accepting the view of the Bible, that monogamy was the primitive form, he quotes in its support the remark of Spencer that "monogamy dates back as far as any other marital relation," and adduces the well-known theories of Darwin regarding sexual jealousy and sexual promiscuity as tending toward infecundity as evidence against the opinion that the original condition of the race was one of sexual communism. The results of his investigations President Warren thus summarizes: "In rejecting the historical conception of the primeval religious belief of mankind, Hume took up a position which none of his own successors consider as at all tenable. The further these successors have carried their revolt against history, the more have they become involved in contradiction with each other. The more consistently and radically the dogma of primitive savagery has been carried out, the more inevitably has it landed its advocates in the doctrine of primitive bestiality. In their eagerness to destroy the possibility or credibility of primeval monotheism, their more consistent and radical theorists have inadvertently gone so far as to render a self-consistent evolutionary biology or sociology impossible. In consequence hereof the more clear-sighted of the representatives of Darwinism are just now deftly reapproaching the long-scouted historic conception — by representing the first men as superior to the modern savage in intellectual endowment, by calling their powers high, by considering their judgments of natural objects substantially correct, by admitting their knowledge of the true and normal form of the family, by conceding to them a truly human appreciation of ethical excellences and obligations, by allowing to them a capacity to conceive of an

Almighty Supreme Spirit, the Author and rightful Governor of the world, and by recognizing that nearly all religions present clear traces of corruption. So far as principles are concerned, these representations surrender their whole case. With these data Adamic revelation becomes quite as possible, and quite as credible, as Abrahamic or Mosaic or Christian revelation."

The same number of the Review also contains an article on Probation after Death, by Rev. Dr. D. A. Whedon, of Bristol, R.I. It outlines the three classes of dissent from the common eschatological faith as, first, "the ultimate recovery to holiness of all wicked men and fallen angels, and the cessation of evil throughout the universe, involving the continuance of probation until it is accomplished; Second, the continuance of probation to the impenitent during the period between death and the judgment-day, at which time the final award will be made; Third, a second probation after death for those who in this life have had no knowledge of Christ and his gospel, such as the heathen and children dying in infancy." Against each of these theories the article offers strong arguments. The belief current in the time of Christ and of the apostles was that future punishment is endless. This belief neither Christ nor the apostles attempted to discredit. Were it not a true faith, they would by express utterance have indicated its falseness.

The teaching of Scripture, further, allows no expectation of probation after death. Upon that controverted passage 1 Pet. iii. 18-20 the author offers, among other wise comments, the following: "But, granting that our Lord did so preach [unto the spirits in prison], we are absolutely limited to the simple fact that he offered salvation to a particular class of antediluvians. Nothing is proved, except that by a well-known law the specification of those to whom he preached excludes all other sinners in Hades at the time. There is no evidence that any who heard him accepted his offers. . . . For aught that appears, they scoffed at him as they did of old at Noah. It is absolutely certain that none of them crossed the great, impassable gulf and entered Paradise among the blest. It may be that the obduracy acquired on earth, in spite of Noah's preaching, had become so intense that repentance was beyond their power or desire. If, then, there be a future probation, this test case furnishes naught but hopelessness. The only lesson is, that another chance in the future world would have no different result from the chance in this world." It is, further, made evident that the Scriptures "most unequivocally and positively connect certain results in the future world with the course pursued and the character attained in the present life, thus excluding the idea of probation beyond it." Moreover, the decisions of the judgment-day are based upon the deeds and character of the present life.

The comprehensive conclusion is well worth quoting: "We find the Scriptures, from 'God' in the first verse to 'the grace of our Lord Jesus'

in the last, to be an urgent message of salvation sent by Infinite Love to a sinful, guilty, ruined race. In its letter and in its spirit, in its single words and its broad outlines, in its separate expressions and its whole drift, it demands acceptance to-day, and makes no provision or suggestion for to-morrow. Our Lord's preaching, both in the plainest words and in the most significant of parables, and the preaching and the writing of his apostles as well, always treat the subject as if this life were the only time in which men can prepare for the next. They warn, they exhort, they plead, they urge to immediate action while the power of acting remains, as if the final issue were to turn upon the next step; and they never intimate even a suspicion of an opportunity in the future world to recover from the present neglect, while they do most strongly base condition there upon character here. These facts are strangely mysterious and absolutely unaccountable, if human probation extends into the future life; they are perfectly plain, and precisely what we might expect in a revelation of a way of salvation, if the day of grace is limited to the present world."

THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for January contains an article on the Degeneration of Romanism since the Reformation, By Professor Thomas Crokery. Historical in its character, it traces this degeneration in both doctrine, polity, and ethics. In respect to theology, the influence of the Jesuits has been deleterious. This influence has eliminated the Augustinian elements and brought into prominence the Pelagian. In the proclamation of the dogma of the immaculate conception—a dogma proclaimed by Pius IX. on his own authority—the Jesuits won a triumph. In this doctrine, as well as in the dogma of papal infallibility, the work of Christ and Christ himself are thrown into the background. The whole theological tendency of the church of Rome in the three hundred years since the Reformation has been to "shift the basis of man's hope more and more from the true foundation, and to make the worshipper more and more dependent upon the priest and his offering."

In morals the decline is perhaps even more marked than in theology. Despite the ethical advance of most Protestant nations, the Catholic nations have not only failed to hold to their former standards, but have even retrograded from them. In practice, as well as in doctrine, the influence of the Jesuit party has been strong and evil. It has "made penance easier than vice." It has "popularized a religion which has every indulgence for vices and defects, so long as its own authority is not questioned." "How can we escape the conclusion that the morality which once absolved men from oaths, forged charters and decretals, interpolated the fathers, changed the decisions of councils, and filled Europe with falsehood, is still the morality which guides the papacy in a very different age?"

In the department of religious worship, also, is the degeneration of Romanism made manifest. "We see it in the marvellous expansion of

Mariolatry, in the enlargement of the Saints' Calendar, in the creation of new cults like that of the Sacred Heart, and the revival of pilgrimages to sacred shrines. The Virgin Mary has become, mainly through Pius IX., the goddess of modern Romanism, and is rewarded by an extreme idolatry, the bare imagination of which St. Bernard rebuked, centuries ago, with a terrible invective." In respect to practical piety, also, has occurred a decline. The modern Catholic seems rather to be painfully seeking after the fruits of the gospel than joyously finding them. His piety "is a severe, self-mortifying thing, a striving hard after the sacrifices of a broken heart, while the joy of God's salvation seems but little known or realized." Over him the Bible as a book of devotion has small influence; he contemplates the crucifix, instead of the cross, and so knows little of the finished work of a blessed Saviour; he has no certain assurance of his personal salvation. The saints have displaced Christ in his affections and piety.

But this degeneration in theology, morals, worship, and piety is accompanied by a loss of influence in the various instrumentalities or organizations of Romanism. In the monastic orders, in the ability to foster the prosperity of Catholic nations, in the departments of learning, has this loss occurred. But the declining efficiency of the papal missions deserves special attention. In the sixteenth century and the seventeenth the Jesuits were the great missionaries. The Spanish conquests enabled them to lay Central and South America at the feet of the church. "Their success was greatest in the Buddhist nations — China, Japan, Corea, India — but Buddhism and Romanism had many features in common, and it is now incontestably proved that the system the Jesuits introduced to these Eastern nations was essentially polytheistic. What has become of all these missions in the East and in the West? The Jesuit missions in Paraguay, Japan, Egypt, Persia, Abyssinia, the Crimea, the Levant, the Grecian islands, among the wild races of North America, have all but disappeared, or have left nothing but the name. The fact is, however, that the Roman Catholic missionaries, whether Jesuits or not, made no effort for the intellectual advancement of their converts. They have done nothing for the South Americans. In the Indian missions, which the church of Rome has possessed for nearly three hundred years, a translation of the New Testament has never been introduced. This is likewise the case with the missions elsewhere. The consequence has been that there has been no permanence or stability, because the work has not been grounded upon Bible literature. The progress and condition of Protestant missions tell a very different story."

Is this process of degeneration to be arrested? It will not be arrested by forces within the papal church, we may feel assured; for, in the first place, "the Roman church has never listened to reformers within her own bosom"; for, secondly, secessions from the church have, since the great Reformation, been failures.

The important Jansenist movement is now represented only by the decaying church of Utrecht. The Rouge movement of fifty years ago, in Germany, achieved no permanent results. The Old Catholic movement, with Dollinger and others at its head, detached a hundred thousand members, but these members are now, evidence shows, rapidly returning to Rome. If this process of decay is to be arrested, therefore, it must be arrested from without. It therefore becomes the peculiar duty of the Protestant church in its several branches to address itself "to the task of bringing the truth home to the members of all Roman Catholic communities."

II. ENGLISH.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW in its January issue contains two brief papers in answer to the question "Ought women to preach?" Dr. E. H. Plumptree, the Dean of Wells, replies Yes; Professor Francis Godet, with great assurance, replies No. Dr. Plumptree simply asks that "the barrier of conventional usage which keeps them from any exercise of their gifts should be removed, and that deaconesses and Bible-women should be placed on the same footing as deacons once were, and as lay readers are." To neglect the public religious influence of women in this respect, Dr. Plumptree ventures to think is, "from one point, an economical blunder, as a waste of material and of force; and from another, as little less than the sin of wrapping up the talent which God has given in the napkin of a conventional routine, instead of occupying with it, till the Judge shall come, in the market of the souls of men. Are we to recognize the stage or the concert-room as a fit sphere for the display of a woman's gifts of genius and culture, and then severely exclude her from the mission-room and the platform, because that would be at variance with the natural modesty of her sex?" Paul's remarks relative to the public ministry of women must be rightly interpreted. If women are commanded to be silent in the congregation of the whole church, are they thereby debarred from speaking in gatherings less solemn and formal? Does not St. Peter indicate that as a part of the Pentecostal gift, the power of prophecy should rest upon the daughters as well as upon the sons? Even if the prohibition be absolute for a time, and for certain circumstances, what reason have we to believe it is to be binding for all time and under all conditions?

Professor Godet founds his negative answer upon the apparent meaning of the prohibitions of St. Paul. The apostle forbids women to address a public assembly. The apostle goes farther, and commands them, if they desire any explanation, to inquire of their husbands in the privacy of home. "It never occurred to St. Paul to imagine such scenes in the church as we witness to-day." That the prohibitions were designed to be permanent is evidenced from the reasons which are adduced in their support. The "later creation and easier seduction of women applies as much to the women of our own day as it possibly could to those of early Chris-

tian times." The physical nature, also, of women to which Paul appeals in 1 Cor. xi. 13-15 remains the same to-day as at the time the Epistle was written. Her psychical character too, unfits her for public ministration. "She is formed for motherhood, and to be the rallying point of the family. . . . There is thus a perfect harmony between the physical conditions which relegate the woman to the retired life of the domestic hearth, and the moral characteristics which render her unfit to play a public part."

The NINETEENTH CENTURY for February opens with a paper by Cardinal Newman, having the title "On the Inspiration of Scripture." Its occasion appears to be the conception of M. Renan, as explained by an expositor of the Frenchman, "That the Roman Catholic church admits no compromise on questions of biblical criticism and history. . . . Hence the undoubted fact that the Roman Catholic church . . . insists on its members believing . . . a great deal more in pure criticism and pure history than the strictest Protestants exact from their pupils or flocks." The first question in the discussion is whether the Catholic church does insist on the acceptance of certain statements of the Scriptures "on matters of fact in defiance of criticism and history." In answer, his eminence maintains that the church "obliges us to an internal assent to that which she proposes to us," and that she obliges this on the penalty "of forfeiting communion with her, if we refuse an internal assent to her word. We cannot be real Catholics, if we do not from our heart accept the matters which she puts forward as divine and true." The second question is, "To what does the church oblige us? and what is her warrant for doing so? I answer, the matters which she can oblige us to accept with an internal assent are the matters contained in that revelation of truth, written or unwritten, which came to the world from our Lord and his apostles; and this claim on our faith in her decisions as to the matter of that revelation rests on her being the divinely appointed representative of the apostles and the expounder of their words; so that whatever she categorically delivers about their formal acts or their writings or their teaching is an apostolic deliverance." "We are not bound to believe what St. Jerome said or inferred about Scripture; nor what St. Augustine, or St. Thomas, or Cardinal Cajetan, or Fr. Perrone has said; but what the church has enunciated, what the councils, what the pope, has determined."

In answer to the important question "In what respect are the canonical books inspired," Cardinal Newman says "it cannot be in every respect, unless we are bound *de fide* to believe that '*terra in aeternum stat*,' and that heaven is above us, and that there are no antipodes. Now it seems unworthy of divine greatness that the Almighty should in his revelation of himself to us undertake mere secular duties, and assume the office of a narrator, as such, or an historian, or geographer, except so far as the secular matters bear directly upon the revealed truth." In reliance,

then, upon the deliverances of the councils his eminence affirms that the canonical books are inspired in reference to "faith and moral conduct." In reference to inspiration in matters of fact the councils say nothing. "Are we therefore to conclude that the record of facts in Scripture does not come under the guarantee of its inspiration? We are not so to consider, and for this plain reason — the sacred narrative, carried on through so many ages, what is it but the very matter for our faith and rule of our obedience? What but that narrative itself is the supernatural teaching, in order to which inspiration is given? What is the whole history, traced out in Scripture from Genesis to Esdras, and thence on to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, but a manifestation of divine providence, on the one hand interpretative, on a large scale and with analogical applications, of universal history, and on the other, preparatory, typical, and predictive of the evangelical dispensation? Its pages breathe of providence and grace, of our Lord, and of his work and teaching, from beginning to end. . . . In this point of view Scripture is inspired, not only in faith and morals, but in all its parts which bear on faith, including matters of fact."

Of this inspired word the church by the authority of councils is the "infallible interpreter." The student who writes upon it is "bound to submit himself internally, and to profess to submit himself, in all that relates to faith and morals, to the definite teaching of the holy church."

Cardinal Newman also considers certain particular questions now under debate. He holds that both the books and the writers of the Bible are inspired. "The books are inspired, because the writers were inspired to write them. They are not inspired books unless they come from inspired men." In the text of Scripture there may often be "a double sense," and, with obvious exceptions, we can never be certain there is not this sense. In reference to the use of merely historic documents in the books of the Bible, it is said that they may have the value of inspired records, since they have passed under the judgment of immediate editors who were inspired. "A book may be, and may be accepted as, inspired, though not a word of it is an original document." "The Chaldee and Greek portions of the Book of Daniel, even though not written by Daniel, may be, and we believe were, written by penmen inspired in matters of faith and morals; and so much, and nothing beyond, does the church 'oblige' us to believe." "Nor do the councils forbid our holding that there are interpolations or additions in the sacred text, say the last chapter of the Pentateuch, provided that they are held to come from an inspired penman, such as Esdras, and are thereby authoritative in faith and morals."

III. FRENCH.

Under the title of *La Gloire de Dieu et le Ciel Incréé* (The Glory of God and the Uncreated Heaven), the *REVUE DE THEOLOGIE ET DE*

PHILOSOPHIE (Lausanne) gives a fragment of a study of the late Dr. H. Martensen upon Jacob Boehme. In its pages we are borne into the regions of pure theism, and led to contemplate the essence of Deity. The two propositions laid down are these: God possesses double glory, an external and an internal glory; and God inhabits two heavens, the created and the uncreated.

"When we speak of glory," says our writer, "be it the glory of God or the glory of man, we understand the exterior, dazzling beauty by which the invisible being manifests itself. . . . The glory of God is the manifestation of all the perfections of a perfectly holy God, but it is more. God has an objective, as well as a subjective glory. Man has a personal glory. It flows from his inward life, his intellectual faculties, his moral grandeur; but he also has an impersonal glory, which consists in the greatness of his possessions, in his power, in his rank among men. Christ enjoyed a personal glory upon earth, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth. He also prays that his disciples may see his objective glory, the glory which he had with God before the foundation of the world."

"But to the personal, subjective glory of God," Martensen goes on to say, "we must add an impersonal glory, which Boehme calls the 'house and home of the holy Trinity.' Scripture tells us that God inhabits inaccessible light, and that no man has seen him, neither can see him. This should not be understood as teaching that God is incomprehensible. Should we not rather believe that this passage reveals to us that God inhabits light, that he has a dwelling of light, as the Psalmist says, 'He wraps himself in light as with a garment'?" This must, moreover, in the view of the writer, be uncreated light. "Has God a heaven of his own," he asks, "another home from that which he shares with angels, saints, and glorified human beings? Is it not more consonant with the majesty of God that he should prepare his own abode before that of his angels? This abode, this uncreated heaven which existed before creation, is the impersonal and objective glory of God — a world of eternal light, distinct from God, yet nevertheless inseparable from him."

In this objective glory, this uncreated glory, our author finds the source of the beauty of God. Beauty cannot be conceived of apart from material substance. So long as we attribute to God only qualities, we cannot attribute beauty to him. Nor can we give form to God. His beauty must dwell in that which reveals his personal and interior life. It must be found in his glory. Scripture does not speak of the beauty, but of the glory of God, as the larger idea, embracing not only the beautiful, but the sublime and the elevated as well. In this view of the glory of God the writer finds new proof of the love of God. He thus sums up the evidence: "This uncreated heaven of God is not only a real life, but also a living reality. This is the exterior, bodily side of God, the garment of light which God

makes for himself, and with which he clothes himself eternally. In this heaven God is absolute perfection, having no need of a created and temporal world; and his creation of such a world is a free act of his love and of his grace."

The practical side of the question is found in this beautiful closing thought: "This heaven of heaven is not separated from us in any material manner, since it is not subject to material laws. According to its nature it penetrates all places; it is everywhere, although in a manner differing according to the different creatures and spheres of creation. This heaven of God can be near us, can surround us. Only in the ordinary course of daily life there is a veil which hides it from us. This veil is the material world with its visible heaven and earth, with its flowers and its stars, with its pictures, its enigmatic signs and symbols,—a veil that is considered by many persons the end, as the real thing beyond which we cannot go. Such persons do not recognize that the true reality is not found save beyond the veil, behind that which we call the force and laws of nature. We can also say that the veil is formed of our own flesh—of this gross body, which, like the whole material world, shares in the darkness, corruptibility and death, on account of which we walk in the bosom of this glory like people whose eyes are bound and whose ears are stopped."

IV. GERMAN.

The German journals are still devoting much attention to Luther and his work. The theological treatises published in the recent months are mainly historical. The most important book lately issued in any department of literature, however, is Weiss' *Das Leben Jesu*. The *THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN* publishes a review of it of eighty pages in length. The article is written by Frick Haupt. The work is praised; but the praise is qualified by notable exceptions to its positions and method. The general judgment may be thus summarized: "To put one's self right with this treatise," says the critic, "one would have to write a whole book. I hope that the opinion which I have shown to be reasonable has not displaced that high respect which the author's work demands. My disagreement with it may be summed up as consisting of two points: First, the method. I do not believe it is possible to spin into one thread of history the single words and discourses of Jesus. The periods of the work of the Lord it is possible to fix, especially since the references of the synoptic Gospels and of John go hand in hand. It is also possible, in the case of a respectable number of the words and deeds of Jesus Christ, to fix the period into which they must fall; but an exact determination of their order cannot be carried out; and, therefore, one must in general cease arranging the words and deeds into an orderly biography. The eminently ingenious attempt of Weiss shows that we are continually confined to merely possible combinations. Such combinations are by no means obligatory, and

therefore possess no philosophic or scientific value. The second respect in which I differ from the author relates to the contents of his work. I differ from him in regard to the contents of the Messianic consciousness of Christ. I also differ from him concerning the origin of this consciousness, which I place at the time of the baptism, as well as concerning the manner in which this consciousness is asserted. Both these points appear to me differently than to Weiss.

"If I am finally to state the import which the Life of Jesus by Weiss seems to me to have for the theological science of to-day, I should say, as the principal remark, that the attempt has once been made and carried out into minute details to prove on the grounds of the conservative criticism of the Gospels a real historical development in the life of Christ, and also that the proof has been furnished that such historical development need not be *carried into* the Gospels; but that in the Gospels this development is patent, and that there is no need of our distorting them for the purpose, but we can thus use them as they are. Further, I hope that by this work the eyes of many interested in theology will be opened to a larger circle of thought, and also to this fact, namely, that however one may judge of the results of the historical, critical method, that he need not, and that he must not, be allowed to set aside the results of this method. The expositions in detail of the author will create some vexation; but I should regard it even a great gain if the confession to which a positive theologian sees himself forced would contribute to the recognition that here we have to deal with real difficulties which can neither be silenced nor destroyed by mere words; difficulties the solution of which, on the contrary, must be sought by honest labor. Such a piece of honest labor we have here before us; and, therefore, one must not haughtily despise it on account of what one misses in it; but one must rejoice in that which it gives, whether it be results which are correct or whether it be a stimulus to improvement."

V. LITERARY NOTE.

In the Leipzig THEOLOGISCHE LITERATURZEITUNG of Jan. 26th, the editor-in-chief, Professor Adolf Harnack, of Giessen, surprised his readers with the announcement that he had received from the Orient a copy of an edition of the Teachings of the Apostles, and had found in it a first class source for the history of the church of the second century. The number for Feb. 9th brings from his pen a long discussion of the work, covering nearly seven columns, and from this we learn the great importance of the newly discovered literary treasure. It turns out to be a work well known to the writers of the ancient church, a book of great value to determine the cultus, form of worship, and organization of the earliest church. Harnack, who though yet a young man can be fairly considered *facile princeps* among patristic scholars, places the work somewhere between 100 and

160 A.D. His discussion of the importance of this work, which will doubtless make a revision of some views on the primitive organization, government, and worship of the church necessary, is reproduced in the Independent of February 22, along with an English version of the German translation of c. 7 to c. 16 made by Harnack. The discoverer and editor of this valuable work is the metropolitan, Bryennios of Nicomedia, and this is not the first time that patristic science has become his debtor. Seven years ago, just after Harnack, Gebhardt, and Zahn had brought out their carefully prepared and thorough edition of the *Patres Apostolici*, the first complete Greek text of the Epistles of Clement from a Constantinople ms. was published by Bryennios; and this necessitated the withdrawal of the new Leipzig edition and the preparation of a second new one. The work done by Bryennios at that time was so careful and conscientious that more was expected from him; nor has he disappointed these expectations. From the same ms. from which he published the letters of Clement he has now issued the Teachings of the Apostles. His work is accompanied with a long introduction and thorough notes, and he has succeeded in proving the authenticity and importance of the work which he here gives to students of church history. The book contains 149 and 75 pages, 8vo. The full title of the work is,

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῆς συνοψέως τῆς Π. Δ. τῆς ἀπὸ Ἰωάνν. τοῦ Χρυσυστόμου, σύγκρισις καὶ μέρος ἀνέκδοτον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειρογράφου ὑπὸ Φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τύποις Σ. Ι. Βούτυρα, 1883, Εὐρίσκεται παρὰ τῷ ἐκδότῃ. Τιμᾶται φράγκων 5.

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ARTICLE XIII.

GERMAN UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE, AND RECENT
GERMAN WORKS.

I. UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

The University Announcements of Lectures for the summer semester do not all reach us in time for quotation in our April issue. That issue would be the proper one, since those lectures begin in April. We publish such as we can, hoping they may be serviceable to students.

In Leipzig: Semester begins April 16th. Matriculations, etc., occupy about a week at all the universities; and lectures begin, in almost all cases, a week after the semester opens.

In the Theological Faculty there will lecture Prof. Kahnis, on Church History Part II., Dogmatics, Recent Church History; Prof. Luthardt, on Hebrews, Theological Ethics; Prof. Lechler, on Church History Part I., Comparative Symbolics; Prof. Franz Delitzsch, on Isaiah, Old Testament Introduction, The Jewish Siddur (Daily Prayer-book), Biblical-Critical Problems (in the English Exegetical Society); Prof. Fricke, on Romans, Schleiermacher's Life and Doctrines; Prof. Baur, on Genesis, Practical Theology Part I.; Prof. R. H. Hofmann, on Matthew, Encyclopedia of Theology; Prof. Wold. Schmidt, on New Testament Biblical Theology, New Testament Introduction; Prof. Hölemann, on Jonah and Micah, The Halle Bible Revision's Changes of Luther's Translation (Messianic Prophecies) in the Latin language; Privatdoc. Guthe, on Psalms, Modern Palestine, its Peoples, Religions, and Civilization; Privatdoc. Ryssel, on Hebrew Grammar, The Song of Songs; Privatdoc. König, on Old Testament Theology; Privatdoc. Loofs, on History of Doctrine; Privatdoc. Ewald, on the Doctrine of Jesus according to the Synoptists, with the Sermon on the Mount as basis.

In the Philosophical Faculty there lecture, among others, Prof. Drobisch, on Introduction to Philosophy and Logic; Prof. Fleischer, on the Koran according to Beidhawi, Arabic Syntax, The Gulistan of Saadi, Turkish Conversations; Prof. Overbeck, Historical Examination of the Academical Museum of Plaster Casts, Selected Works of Ancient Art; Prof. Curtius, on Elements of Comparative Philology; Prof. Lange, on Greek Political Antiquities; Prof. Springer, on History of Mediaeval Civilization, History of Wood Engraving and Copperplate; Prof. Krehl, on Ethiopic Grammar and Easy Translations, Roediger's Syriac Chrestomathy, Buchari (Arabic Traditions); Prof. Ebers, on Semitic Gram-

mar and Texts; Prof. Heinze, on History of Ancient Philosophy, Psychology; Prof. Wundt, on History of Recent Philosophy, with Introductory Sketch of the Older Philosophy (a Seminar, i.e. Discussion Class for Experimental Psychology. This, we need hardly observe, is Professor Wundt's special field of research); Prof. Lipsius, on History of Greek Prose Literature; Prof. Ribbeck, on History of Roman Poetry; Prof. Windisch, on Elementary Sanscrit Grammar, Böstlingk's Sanscrit Chrestomathy, History and Doctrine of Buddhism; Prof. Seydel, on Logic; The Doctrine of God in German Philosophy since Kant, Principles of Philosophical Esthetics; Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, on Easy Assyrian Texts, The Babylonian Nimrod-Epos, especially Slabs vi. and xi. (The Flood), Sumeric Grammar.

In Tübingen: Semester opens April 15th. In the Protestant Theological Faculty will lecture Prof. von Weizsäcker, on Church History Part II., and on New Testament Introduction; Prof. Weiss, on New Testament Chrestomathy, German Protestant Ecclesiastical Law; Prof. Buder, on The Doctrines of Christian Belief, The Synoptical Words of Jesus, The Augustana, with comparison of the other Lutheran Symbols; Prof. Kübel, on Christian Ethics Part I., Hebrews, Old Testament Messianic Prophecies; Prof. Kautsch, on Isaiah i.-xxxix.; Encyclopaedia of Theology, Pirke-Aboth; Repetent P. Völter, History of New Testament Times; Rep. Wiedersheim, History of Church Song; Rep. Reischle, on The Value of Philosophical Study for Theology.

In the Roman Catholic Faculty will lecture Prof. von Himpel, on Shorter Prophets, Introduction to Deutero-canonical Scriptures, Armenian Language; Prof. von Kober, on Catholic Ecclesiastical Law Part II., Pedagogics and Didactics; Prof. von Linsenmann, on Moral Theology Part II., Pastoral Theology Part II. (Liturgics); Prof. Funk, on Church History, Part II., Christian Art, Archaeology; Prof. Schanz, on Apologetics, Dogmatics Part II.; Prof. Keppler, on New Testament Introduction, The Pastoral Epistles.

In the Philosophical Faculty will lecture, among others, Prof. von Sigwart, on History of Recent Philosophy; Prof. Socin, on Elements of Arabic, Arabic Authors, The Old Testament Aramaic Passages, Semitic Epigraphics; Prof. von Gutschmid, on Greek Historiography, Velleius; Prof. Pfeiderer, The Fundamental Questions of the General Philosophical Theory, Philosophical Anthropology.

In Bonn: Semester opens April 16th. In the Protestant Theological Faculty will lecture Prof. Budde on Genesis; Prof. Lange, on Biblical Hermeneutics; Prof. Kamphausen, on Job, History of Israel, New Testament Introduction; Prof. Mangold, on James, Romans, Symbolics; Prof. Bender, on the Religion of Uncivilized Peoples, General Comparative History of Religion, Ethics; Prof. Krafft, on Church History Part I., Recent Church History; Prof. Benrath, on Mediaeval Church History, Luther's Address

to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation; Prof. Christlieb, on Practical Theology Part I. (Doctrine of Principles and of Cultus, Catechetics); Privatdoc. Spitta, on The Apocalypse, Homiletics.

In the Roman Catholic Faculty will lecture Prof. A. Menzel, on Dogmatic subjects; Prof. Kaulen, on Biblical Introduction, Old Testament; Prof. Reusch, on Genesis; Prof. Langen, on New Testament and Church History; Prof. Kellner, on Church History; Prof. Simar, on Dogmatic Theology.

In the Philosophical Faculty will lecture, among others, Profs. Meyer, Knoodt, Neuhäuser, Witt, and Schaarschmidt, on Philosophical Subjects; Prof. Gildemeister, on Arabic advanced, Arabic Historians, Baidhavi, Ethiopic.

Prof. Theol Tschuckert of Halle has accepted a call to Königsberg. Prof. Dr. Nippold of Bern has been called to Jena as Professor of Church History to succeed Prof. Dr. Karl Hase. Prof. Dr. Lüdemann of Kiel has been called to Bern as Professor of Church History.

The following distinguished teachers have recently died.

Prof. and Dr. Phil. Hermann Ulrici of Halle, died there on Jan. 11th, aged 78 years.

Prof. and Dr. Theol. H. W. Erbkam of Königsberg, died there on Jan. 9th, aged 73 years.

Prof. and Dr. Phil. Siegfried Goldschmidt, Professor of Sanscrit in Strassburg, died there on Jan. 31st, aged 39 years.

Bishop Dr. Martensen of Copenhagen, died there on Feb. 3, aged 75 years.

II. RECENT GERMAN WORKS.

Commentary on Luke (Commentar üb. d. Evangelium d. heil. Lucas). By P. Schanz Dr. and Prof. of Theology (Roman Catholic). 8vo. pp. 572. Tübingen: Fues. 1883. 7.60 Mark.

Martin of Bracara's Treatise de Correctione Rusticorum. Published in full, corrected text, with Notes and an Essay on the Treatise and Martin's Life, and other Writings. By C. P. Caspari. 8vo. pp. cxxv and 44. Christiania: Mallings. 1883.

Roman Chronology (Römische Chronologie). By H. Matzat. Vol. I. Preliminary Investigations. 8vo. pp. xii and 354. Berlin: Weidmann. 1883. 8 Mark.

Bernard of Clairvaux, and the Origin of the Second Crusade (B.v.C.u.d. Anfänge d. 2^{ten} Kreuzzuges). By Dr. C. Neumann. 8vo. pp. 48. Heidelberg: Winter. 1882. 1.20 Mark.

Correspondence between August Boeckh and Karl Otfried Müller (Briefwechsel zwischen A. B. u. K. O. M.). 8vo. pp. x and 442. Leipzig: Teubner. 1883. 9 Mark.

Studies in the History of Religion, circa, A.D. 100 (Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zum Anfänge d. 2^{ten} christl. Jahrhunderts). Part II. — The Conflict of Heathenism with Christianity in its Effects on Judaism. By Dr. M. Joel, Rabbi. 8vo. pp. x and 190. Breslau: Schottländer. 1883. 4 Mark.

The Times of the League in France and Switzerland. 1585–1594. (Die Zeit d. Ligue in F. u. d. Schw.). By Dr. A. P. von Segesser. Part I. and II. 8vo. pp. 496 and 374. Bern: Wys. 1882. 13 Mark. — Also entitled, Ludwig Pflyffer and his Times. Vols. III. and IV.

The Study of Languages, especially the Classical, as related to Intellectual Culture. (Das Studium d. Sprachen, u. d. intellectuelle Bildung). On basis of Philosophy of Language. By Dr. A. Lichtenheld. 8vo. pp. xvi and 259. Vienna: Hölder. 1882. 5.40 Mark.

General History of Priesthood (allgem. Geschichte d. Priesterthums). By Jul. Lippert. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. xvi and 551. Berlin: Th. Hoffmann. 1883. 6 Mark.

Translation of Dr. Hatch's Constitution of the Early Christian Churches. Directed and Enlarged by Excursus. By Dr. A. Harnack. 8vo. pp. viii and 259. Giessen: Ricker. 1883. 4 Mark.

Critical and Exegetical Introduction to the Works of Thomas à Kempis (krit.-exeget. Einleitung i. d. Werke d. T. v. Kempen). With large Selections and fifteen Photolith. facsim. of mss. 8vo. pp. lxxxii and 544. Berlin: Habel. 1883. 16 Mark.

The Platonic Doctrine of Ideas (Die Platonische Ideenlehre). By Dr. A. Auffarth. 8vo. pp. vii and 123. Berlin: Dümmler. 1883. 2.40 Mark.

The Pseudo-Aristotelian Treatise "On the Absolute Good," known as "Liber de Causis" (Die pseudo-Aristotelische Schrift *Ueber das reine Gute*). By Dr. Phil. and Theol. Otto Bardenhewer. 8vo. pp. xviii and 330. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder. 1882. 13½ Mark.

Martin Luther as German Classic Writer, in a Selection of his lesser writings (M. Luther als deutscher Classiker). Vol. III. With a chronological table of Luther's Life and Writings. 8vo. pp. xxix and 440. Homburg v. d. Höhe: Heyder und Zimmer. 1883. 4 Mark.

Saadia's Philosophy of Religion described and explained (die Religionsphilosophie des Saadia). By Dr. J. Guttmann, Rabbi. 8vo. pp. vii and 295. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1882. 6 Mark.

Q. Horatius Flaccus. The Epistles Explained by Prof. Herm. Schütz. 8vo. pp. xii and 368. Berlin: Weidmann. 1883. 3 Mark.

The Flood (Die Sündfluth). A Geological Study. By Ed. Suess. With two illustrations. 4to. pp. 74. Prague: Tempsky. 1883. 4 Mk.

Dr. Luther's Life, for the German Home (Dr. Luther's Leben. Fürs deutsche Haus). By Albr. Thoma. Illustrated. 8vo. pp. iv and 252. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1883. 2.40 Mark.

Martin Luther's Works. A Selection (*Schriften in Auswahl*). By Dr. J. Delius. 8vo. pp. vii and 336. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1883. 2.40 Mk.

Fragments of a Leathern Mss. (Shapira), containing Moses's last words to Israel. Description and Examination. Complete Proof of Forgery (*Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift geprüft*). By Hermann Guthe, Lic. Theol. With a Plate. 8vo. pp. iv and 94. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härbel. 1883. 2 Mark.

ARTICLE XIV.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

BIBLICAL STUDY: its Principles, Methods, and History; together with a Catalogue of Books of Reference. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 6 x 3½ pp. xv, 506. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This is a glowing work, hot from the anvil of an indefatigable and strong-armed workman. A great revival of biblical study is now in progress in Great Britain and America. It is the aim of the author to call attention to the principles of the Reformation and of Puritanism, and to the methods of biblical study based upon them, and to explain the doctrine of the Bible in the chief Puritan symbol — the Westminster Confession — by citations from its authors and their forerunners. "At the same time a sketch of the entire history of each department of biblical study has been given, the stages of its development traced, the normal is discriminated from the abnormal, and the whole is rooted in the methods of Christ and his apostles."

Dr. Briggs has mastered the literature of the Westminster Assembly, and is well prepared to defend the constitutional right of all Presbyterians to the fearless application of scientific methods in the study of the Scriptures. What is of more interest to the church at large, the right and duty of such scientific criticism is ably defended on scriptural and rational grounds. Condensed learning, fearless honesty, infectious enthusiasm, and reverent piety characterize the book. With great earnestness for his own convictions, Dr. Briggs maintains a kindly and catholic tone which wins upon the reader, and his courteous treatment of all other Christian scholars will aid in bringing about that toleration within the church which he regards as "the greatest requisite of our times."

We would not, however, be understood to accept all of the author's propositions. In a work so progressive much must be tentative. In attempting to restate so many fundamental truths Dr. Briggs does not

appear to us always to have carried all his lines of thought through to a common centre of harmony.

Nothing could be more admirable than the following: "Thus far biblical criticism has derived from other branches of criticism the principles and methods of its work. Has it not, however, some peculiar features of its own, as it has to do with the sacred canon of the Christian church? Does the fact that the canon of sacred Scripture is holy, inspired, and of divine authority lift it above criticism, or does it give additional features of criticism that enable us to test the genuineness of these claims respecting it? We hold that the latter is the true and only safe position, and that it should be our effort to determine these principles and methods" (pp. 94, 95). But after assenting to this we are hardly prepared for the statement that "the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures may be concerned with the results of the higher criticism; but they are questions with which the higher criticism itself has nothing to do" (p. 171).

Dr. Briggs follows Dr. Dörner in making "faith" the test of the word of God. This is a vague and metaphorical and German way of speaking where scientific precision is important. Faith is the act of the soul appropriating Christ. That *act* cannot judge of the historical facts of a particular book. By "faith" must be meant the believer. But how can the believer ascertain which statement of the gospel is the original inspired writing? Only by the ordinary methods of scientific criticism. The following passages present confused and really contradictory views.

"The merit of the Lutheran Reformation was, that it so distinctly set forth the means by which man appropriates the grace of God — by faith alone. Faith is the sole appropriating instrument, and it becomes a test of the word of God itself; for faith having appropriated the gospel of the grace of God is enabled to determine therefrom what is the word of God and what is not the word of God" (p. 408). "The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the particular writing, or part of writing, in the heart of the believer, removing every doubt, and assuring the soul of its possession of the truth of God, the rule and guide of life" (p. 136). "The word of God as a means of grace, as a principle of the Reformation, has, however, its technical meaning. It is not the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in their entirety, but rather the gospel contained in the Scriptures" (p. 407). "These [reason, conscience, and the religious feeling] cannot be satisfied with the external authority of scholars or schools, of church or state, of tradition or human testimony, however extensive, but only by a divine authority on which they can rest with certainty. Men will recognize the canonical writings as their Bible only so far as they may be able to rise through them, as external media, to the presence of their Divine Master, who reigns in and by the word, which is holy and divine, in so far and to that extent that it evidently sets him forth" (p. 138).

We should say that the Spirit of God bears witness within the souls both of believers and of unbelievers to the truths of the gospel, however presented. The historical questions whether God has given us certain books as permanent and authentic records of his revelation, which books these are, whether we have the autographs, exact copies, or often edited and corrupted texts, and whether these books contain, in addition to the truths to which the Spirit bears witness in our souls, other truths not verifiable in our present experience, are purely scientific questions, to be decided according to the ordinary methods of inductive logic.

Dr. Briggs is concerned in this volume not with the results, but with the methods of biblical study. As to those methods we substantially agree with him. From such hints as the following, however, we fear that we should not always agree as to the conclusions. "Do they [who claim that the testimony of Christ establishes the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch] not see that they throw up a wall that will prevent any critic who is an unbeliever from ever becoming a believer in Christ and the Bible? They would force evangelical critics to choose between truth and scholarly research on the one side, and Christ and tradition on the other" (p. 196). "There is certainly a resemblance to the myth of other nations in the close and familiar association of the one God with the ancestors of our race and the patriarchs of Israel, however we may explain it" (p. 232).

Ewald is probably more responsible than any one else for the fashion among biblical critics of brilliant but baseless assertions, such as the following: "The Hebrew language is, as we have seen, the language of religion, and moulded entirely by religious and moral ideas and emotions. The Greek and the Aramaic are of an entirely different character. . . . They were moulded outside of the realm of divine revelation, and only subsequently adapted for the declaration of sacred truth" (p. 59). When we recall that Abraham found the Hebrew language in use among the heathen in Palestine, that the Moabite stone exhibits a language almost identical with biblical Hebrew, and that the Phenicians spoke a closely related dialect, we think our author more nearly correct in saying: "The fact has been too often overlooked that it did not seem best to God to create a holy language for the exclusive vehicle of his word" (p. 76).

All theological students, old and young, will welcome the Catalogue of Books of Reference for Biblical Study, which alone is worth many times the price of the volume. Few men in the country are so well qualified to prepare such a catalogue as Dr. Briggs. A few omissions and additions have occurred to us as desirable, in glancing through the titles. For instance, in the section for the Greek language we should have marked Buttmann's *New Testament Grammar*, rather than Winer's, as especially recommend to theological students, and we should have found room for K. W. Krüger's *Griechische Sprachlehre*. Young's *Concordance* (recom-

mended) is a disappointing book, far less useful than the convenient Englishman's Greek Concordance (omitted), which Hudson's has not rendered superfluous.

Dr. Briggs's extensive reading of German occasionally betrays him into an idiom that is not English, particularly in the use of the word "already." Both author and reader are somewhat distracted by the effort to get every remark into its appropriate subdivision of Theological Encyclopædia, and also by the copiousness of technical nomenclature.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF THEISM. An Examination of the Personality of Man to ascertain his Capacity to know and serve God, and the Validity of the Principles underlying the Defence of Theism. By Samuel Harris, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological Department of Yale College. 8vo. pp. 564. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This book has grown up, as the preface states, out of the work of the class-room through the long series of years in which the author has been Professor of Theology in Bangor and New Haven. It is a ripe book. It is the work of a thinker and a scholar. There is nothing weak in it anywhere. There is nothing doubtful or hesitating in it. The author always knows exactly what he means, and says it in such a way as to convey his meaning precisely. He not only sustains his opinions by the force of strong argument, but illustrates them by a profusion of quotations from Greek, Latin, German, French, and English authors, which, though never ostentatious, shows at once the breadth of his reading and the fulness of his mind. He displays an intimate acquaintance with every one of the great German philosophers from Leibnitz down to Hartmann, in their own tongue. He is master of his subject, and speaks as only a master can.

The style of the book throughout is grand, majestic, solemn, fit for one writing upon such themes; here and there rising into scorn of some transparent folly, but distinguished throughout for its candor and fairness to opposing views. Its highest characteristic is its loyalty to the truth. It will never concede anything which imperils the truth; but it is never afraid of any view or theory which seems to have truth upon its side, as though truth could be overthrown by other truth. This is seen most clearly in its treatment of evolution. One Professor of Theology has replied to the question, What is Darwinianism? by the single word — Atheism. Professor Harris says (p. 457): "I anticipate that the science of the physical universe is to be established in the line of thought which the theory of evolution opens, and in accordance with its general idea. No interest of theology prejudices me against it; for I see no conflict between such a theory within the legitimate limits of empirical science and theology; on the contrary, at various points I find it helpful in re-

moving difficulties and elucidating and vindicating theological truth. *The objections against theism which it has occasioned are not from evolution as a scientific law of nature, but from the materialism of which it has been made the vehicle.*" Yet he criticises every one of the subordinate theories essential to evolution (pp. 458-462), and declares that he cannot think it either apprehended in its full significance or scientifically established. More precisely he states his view as to the consistency of theology and evolution in the following sentences (p. 466): "Scientific evolution is not inconsistent with the personality of man. There is no ground for person, or spirit, in any physical process. Such a being cannot be an effect of a physical evolution. Personality is above nature. Its existence cannot be incompatible with evolution which goes on below it in a different and inferior sphere." It is consistent with theism, because (p. 468) it "gives no new reasons for affirming that matter is eternal, and that in it alone are the origin and ground of all things. That affirmation transcends evolution and all physical science as really as theism does."

With so much of general remark let us sketch the progress of the argument. The subject is "the Philosophical Basis of Theism," and this is defined by the author as ultimately consisting in the theory of knowledge. "The ultimate question of the atheist pertains to the reality of knowledge." The first division of the subject is therefore "Knowledge and Agnosticism." Partial agnosticism is shown to involve complete. There is such a thing as knowledge, and the agnosticism which opposes it is neither defensible by argument nor consistent with itself. The author then passes to the Criteria of Knowledge, and thence to the three faculties of the mind. There is given at this point a profound and exceedingly valuable discussion of the connection of the feelings with knowledge. "Any theory of knowledge which overlooks either of the Three Faculties of the Mind is false and necessarily prolific of error." Here the just claim made in former and more recent times for the value of the human feelings in determining theological truth is acknowledged, and a right place given to them in the system of theology. The next general topic is "The Acts and Processes of Knowing." Then comes "What is known through Presentative Intuition," in which particularly the deliverance of self-consciousness, and Kant's doctrine of the "thing-in-itself" are examined. Next is "What is known through Rational Intuition," in which the validity of the primary beliefs of man is principally discussed. The next two hundred pages are occupied with the Ultimate Realities of human knowledge, — Being, the True, the Right, the Perfect, the Good, the Absolute. Then come The three grades of scientific knowledge, — the Sensibilities, the Will (in which its freedom, in the sense that it is a self-determining first-cause, or, as the author puts it, agent-cause, is established), and finally, Personality, which with exhaustive consideration of the various materialistic objections, and a view of the "two systems, Nature and Personality," closes the work.

The range of philosophical inquiry which the author endeavors to compass is so wide that it is too much to expect that every problem introduced will be brought to a satisfactory solution. One of these problems is the relation of the truths of the reason, or rational intuitions, to the divine reason. He says (p. 199): "The existence of truth independent of any mind is without meaning, and impossible to thought. It is as meaningless, as impossible, as the existence of motion without a body moving, and without force moving it. The rational cannot exist without a reason or mind any more than the corporeal can exist without a body." Again (p. 193): "Nor are we obliged to say, truth is true because it is true; it is true because it is eternal in the absolute reason." "The absolute reason is God" (p. 358). "There is, then, a real significance in Dr. Clarke's *a priori* argument for the existence of God from time and space, but in a way different from that in which he presented it. Space and time have no reality except as forms or constituent elements, eternal and archetypal, in the absolute reason, and thus are forms of the existence of finite things" (p. 203). Again (p. 202): "If there were no being there would be no reason, no difference between the true and the absurd, or the right and the wrong; and the mathematically impossible, and all that reason sees to be absurd, would be just as possible as its contrary." If all this is true, then some truths would be certain if there were no being, viz. the truth that the rational and the absurd would be alike possible. But, seriously, this attempt to show that necessary truths owe their existence in our reason to the fact that they pre-exist in the divine reason, and that this is the origin of their authority to us, is assertion, and not philosophy. It is taking us out of the realm of consciousness into that of mysticism. We know what is in the eternal reason, because we know what is eternally true, and there is no other possible way of knowing.

This deification of reason the author carries into the realm of ethics, and finds here the origin and foundation of law or of obligation. "The formal principle of the law declares the idea and significance of law. It is the rational intuition in which the idea of law arises, namely: *A rational being ought to obey reason, or, what is truth to reason is law to the will*" (p. 203). Man "has intuitive knowledge of the law that a rational being ought to obey reason. In knowing himself rational, man knows himself under the law of reason. He knows this law as universal, unchangeable, imperative, and of supreme authority, as the law of reason, supreme, absolute, and eternal" (p. 208). The author identifies reason with God, and the authority of reason with the authority of God. The facts in consciousness seem to be that we have no intuition giving the authority of reason. The authority of reason is a derived idea, inferred from the quality and character of the truths it apprehends. The authority is in the facts and truths obtained through reason, and, apart from these, we know no more of the authority of reason than we do of the authority of sense or feeling. Reason

is purely a human faculty, pre-eminent in our constitution by virtue of the truths it presents. The truths claim our attention in virtue of what they are in themselves, and not because they are the data of the particular faculty called reason.

The author assuming the duty of obeying reason as a primary intuition, makes obligation begin with this duty, and in responding to this, moral character is formed. Deciding to obey reason the man decides to obey and serve God, and thus meets fundamental duty. Then arises the question, "What service can I render? which involves the question, What is the true good? The question, What is the good? is not the primary and fundamental question of ethics" (p. 270). The duty of obeying reason is already determined, and the absolute reason is God, and what remains is a question of ways and means,—*how* to serve God and our fellow men. Thus the inquiry in respect to the good falls into the line of practical or executive activity, and does not lie at the foundation of the idea of obligation.

In this view Dr. Harris departs from the prevalent tendency of ethical thinking. It is common with almost all writers on ethics, to make the conception of the good the starting-point of the idea of obligation. While differing widely as to the nature of the good, they agree as to its place in the theory of obligation.

In his admirable chapter on the Will (pp. 349–407) the author, while maintaining that it is reason that secures freedom to man, and that the will cannot act without motive, still reduces all motives to affections of the sensibility (p. 395). But in explaining how reason secures freedom from the control of the sensibility (p. 393), he says: "As endowed with reason he is the subject of rational sensibilities inciting to action in spheres entirely closed to the brute; and he is able to compare all motives and their objects in the light of rational truths, or of moral law, and of ideals of perfection, and of good estimated by reason as of true worth, and of his relations to God. Thus he is able to rise above his nature, and determine his end and his actions." Is it not clear that we have here motives presented by the reason, the intelligence, to determine the choice of the will among these conflicting impulses of the sensibility? Our author has made his contribution to the accumulating stores of philosophic thought; but there is work remaining for those who shall come after.

There is one incidental service which this book will render our colleges. It will show them what they ought to do, but generally fail of doing, for their students who are candidates for the ministry. This careful treatise forms no part of the proper work of a Professor of Theology, and yet it is work thrust upon him by the ignorance of his pupils,—that is, by the failure of the colleges to fit their men for professional studies. A smaller number of things should be studied in college, and the work done should be better done.

ZUM GESETZ UND ZEUGNISS. Eine Abwehr wider die Neu-Kritische Schriftforschung im Alten Testament. Von Edward Böhl. 8vo. pp. 231. Wien. 1883.

The author of this work is professor in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Vienna, Austria. His name has already become familiar in connection with a number of works on biblical or theological subjects, which within a few years have been given to the public. A former pupil of Professor Franz Delitzsch, he has caught his master's enthusiasm for Old Testament study, and shows also much of his conservative and evangelical spirit.

With the earnest tone of the present work, and with the author's attitude toward modern destructive criticism in general, we must confess ourselves in full sympathy. The book testifies throughout to an unwavering faith in the Bible as a direct revelation from God, and glows with a zeal for its defence against what appear as unjust and unworthy assaults upon it, that it is delightful to see. Nor is this zeal without knowledge. Dr. Böhl shows himself well versed in his subject, and has no difficulty in finding the weak points in his opponents' defences. Still, his book shows not a few marks of haste in composition. He attempts to handle too many topics, and their arrangement is neither forcible or logical. They might, with equal propriety, have been treated in a reverse order, and some that are made to stand as headings of chapters would better have been assigned to quite subordinate positions. They now appear as follows: The Law, the Covenant, Parallels from Church History, the Prophets (Samuel and Elijah), Modern Views of the Old Testament in general, Pious Fraud in Modern Criticism, the Literary Analysis. Under the last head different biblical books are examined in detail, and the whole closes with a brief section on the tabernacle. The wonder is that with such a faulty plan so good and useful a book has been made. The reasoning, as it appears to us, is weakest in the first two chapters. The author is inclined to admit far more with respect to the alleged absence of allusion to the Mosaic law and covenant in the post-Mosaic times than the facts will fairly justify. And he meets the difficulty, thus unduly magnified, by depreciating too much the relative importance of this law and covenant in the history of Israel. It is a mistake from which a little more reflection and a careful weighing of the arguments of Bredenkampf in his *Gesetz und Propheten*, to whom he refers on his last page, might have saved him. The author's style is attractive, and the book so abounds in bright and fervid passages that the tedium usually attending such discussions quite disappears. Speaking, for example, of his opponents as presumably believers in a personal God, he remarks that it ought not to be regarded as too wild an assumption, since the most of them are professors and doctors of theology (p. 8).

Of the attempt to explain the career of the Hebrew prophets without reference to the Mosaic law, he says that it is as impossible as it would be

for a man to lift himself out of a quagmire by his foretop (p. 76). In the same connection he compares this class of critics to modern spiritists, who, assuming to call up a Socrates or a Plato, manage to make him speak only in the necromancer's own dialect. Of Wellhausen's readiness to find interpolations and what not in his way through the biblical books, he remarks that this critic's knife is a tolerably long one, and that he uses it like the cook of a well-to-do family, who is confident that in any case there will be enough left over (p. 131). The more contradictions there are discovered, he says, the better our critics like it; for "it is good fishing in a lowery day" (p. 132). Reverence for what is sacred he does not think is likely to be a great hinderance to the modern investigator. De Wette, he says, hops about with the great lawgiver of the Pentateuch as one would scarcely think of doing with a schoolboy (p. 174).

DIE ENTWICKELUNG DES ISRAELITISCHEN PROPHETENTHUMS. Von Dr. Siegmund Maybaum. 8vo. pp. 162. Berlin, 1883.

This book is written from the point of view of a disbeliever in a supernatural revelation. Its aim is to show that Hebrew prophecy had its root in the heathen mantik, and was developed out of it by purely natural processes. It adopts, in their main features, the sweeping conclusions of Wellhausen and his school, and does not scruple to employ the same methods to adapt a predetermined theory to the records of the sacred books. How much importance Dr. Maybaum attaches to his theme may be judged from the position he assigns it in the higher criticism. He says (p. 2): "On the answer to the question concerning the development of prophecy, however, depends also the question concerning the origin of the Mosaic religion. For modern biblical study has led with ever-growing definiteness to the conclusion that monotheism, in its purity and its rigid consistency, was a creation of the prophets; that from small, scarcely perceptible beginnings it came to bloom in that wonderful and quite singular spiritual power that confronts us in an Isaiah. Now if it can be proved that prophecy developed itself from heathenism, then of the Mosaic institutions also it is proved that they sprang from polytheism."

The author pursues his inquiries concerning the development of Hebrew prophecy by dividing his historical material into the following periods: (1) the time before Samuel; (2) Samuel and the prophetic schools; (3) the heroic period of prophecy; (4) the time of the true and the false prophets; (5) the time of the dissolution of prophecy. Respecting the first period he makes the candid confession (p. 5) that what he has to offer can have only the worth of an hypothesis; and further (p. 3), that his hypothesis is in direct conflict with the assertions of biblical writers. And yet it is here in this first period, if anywhere, that the grand development which culminated, it is said, not only in the galaxy of Hebrew prophets, but in Mosaism and the masterly legislation of the Pentateuch

had its beginning. And not only does our author confess himself out of harmony with the records which are the only sources of his information, but his theory compels him, as we have said, to make Hebrew prophecy spring out of what was, from its very nature, antagonistic to it. In its earliest form, it is claimed, it was simple thaumaturgy. The first prophets even bore the names which in Deuteronomy (xviii. 9-14) and the other codes are given as titles of wizards, necromancers, and the like, whose presence is represented in that book as pollution, and their seductions deadly. If it be asked how such a spirit of hostility as appears in the legislation and history against every species of magic could have arisen under such circumstances, the answer is: It was the natural repulsion one feels towards that to which he has been closely related (*das Verwandte*), after he has consciously separated himself from it. It was, so to speak, like the struggle of the chicken to free itself from the encumbering shell. It must be confessed that this is an ingenious way of accounting for an acknowledged fact, which were otherwise fatal to the proposed theory; but it is far from satisfactory. As well reason that Christianity had its origin in the very heresies with which it has been from the first in open conflict. It seems to us better, in every way, to accept the biblical account of the origin and development of prophecy. It makes no such strain on our credulity as does the theory proposed. In the meantime, it is sincerely to be regretted that Jewish scholars, like Dr. Maybaum, who characterize the honors we pay to Jesus Christ as a "*Trübung des Monotheismus*" should but be following the lead of nominally Christian scholars in assailing the historical and ethical foundations on which Christianity ultimately rests. The book has two appendices, the first treating of the Nazarites, and the second, of the phases of the supposed development of prophecy in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch.

DIE GESCHICHTLICHKEIT DES PENTATEUCHS INS BESONDERE SEINER GESETZGEBUNG. Eine Prüfung der Wellhausen'schen Hypothese. Von Fr. Roos. 8vo. pp. 166. Stuttgart. 1883.

The author of this book is a Lutheran pastor. It follows closely upon another little work of his, *Ueber die richtigen Grundsätze für die biblische Kritik*, published in 1882 on the same general theme. Attracted at first by the title, we have been well repaid for a somewhat careful reading. Lucid in style, compact and direct in its reasoning, it is also characterized throughout by a candor and by an equability of temper that are as pleasing as they are rare in discussions of this sort. Stating at such length as he does the main positions of the work he reviews before proceeding to examine them, would have been a needless task had our reviewer been writing for critics only. Doubtless, however, he had in mind a wider circle of intelligent laymen to whom Wellhausen's History of Israel might be known

only by name. For such his summaries will be of great use. As might be expected from the size of his book and its method, Pastor Roos's arguments have a limited range. Still, it cannot be said that he fails to meet fairly and with reasonable success the chief points at issue between Wellhausen and himself, as representative of what may be termed the traditional theory of Israelitish history. But it is by no means to be expected that this little book, with its simple equipment and quiet tone, will silence the heavy columbiad against which it is directed. Satisfying it will only be to such as hold the writer's point of view,—and we must believe that they are still a vast majority of the Christian scholars of the world,—and look upon the Bible as a peculiar revelation from God, attested, among other things, by miracle and prophecy. By those, on the other hand, who are wedded to a Darwinian theory of development in the Old Testament, and are determined to press it to its results, whatever they may prove to be, this book will be left unnoticed, or be answered only by a witticism or a sneer. More and more, happily, it is coming to be acknowledged by both parties to this old contest that it is largely the point of view that is the *principal point* and that really determines results. Let it be emphasized as our author does it in his closing paragraph: "So again and again we are brought to the conclusion that the critic reaches a decision on the question of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and particularly on that of the historical character of its legislation, only as, in connection with his scrutiny of the individual facts, he allows full force to his general view of history and his fundamental and governing religious opinions" (p. 165).

A HANDBOOK OF THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, with Copious Examples illustrating the Ancestry and Relationship of the Several Versions, and Comparative Tables. By J. I. Mombert, D.D. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\times$ 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. xxi, 509. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company.

Much as we may regret the necessity of revising the Authorized Version, no one can fail to see that this painful necessity brings with it many compensating benefits. One of these is a renewal of public interest in the history of English translations of the Bible. The history of the English Bible involves the history of the English language and the history of English biblical learning, not to mention such a history of individual piety and devotion, even to the point of martyrdom, as must deeply affect every reader of sensibility.

In this beautifully printed and conveniently arranged volume, Dr Mombert has furnished us with an admirable introduction to this wide and interesting field. By the introduction of copious examples, printed often in parallel columns, the reader is put into a position to form an independent judgment of the merits of the several versions and their mutual relations.

In regard to the Revision of 1881, Dr. Mombert says: "This translation

on the sole grounds of its great fidelity to the original, its purity, its noble and classical language, and its wonderful skill (with the exceptions stated), in presenting very frequently the finer shades of the Greek thought in idiomatic English, is sure to win its way into the hearts and minds of those for whose benefit it has been made (p. 494). But we are glad also to know that "there cannot be a doubt that the present revision of the New Testament is not final, and that the changes introduced will be subjected to renewed examination" (p. 480). It is to be regretted that the proof of a book otherwise so accurate should not have been read by some one with a view to the correction of those grammatical inaccuracies and verbal infelicities into which rapid writers are liable to fall. Thus we read: "Dr. Eadie, where more illustrations may be seen, mentions," etc. (p. 69); "Although all writers of [on] the English Versions," etc. (p. 90); "I nevertheless believe to be able [that I can]," etc. (p. 113). Such slips are frequent. Few readers will understand, without consulting a dictionary, the statement that Sir Thomas Elyot tried his utmost to *trepan* Tyndale" (p. 126).

KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE SARGONS, Königs von Assyrien (722-705) nach den originalen neu herausgegeben, umschrieben, übersetzt, und erklärt von Dr. D. G. Lyon, Professor an der Harvard Universität, Cambridge, U. S. A. (The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Sargon, King of Assyria, after the Originals, newly edited, transliterated, translated, and explained, by Dr. D. G. Lyon, Professor in Harvard University.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1883.

This valuable work, which, as we understand, is a development of the author's thesis for the doctor's degree at the University of Leipzig, constitutes the fifth volume of the Assyrian Library now being edited by Professors Delitzsch (Friedrich) and Haupt. It contains in autograph six inscriptions of the usurper Sargon, the founder of the last and greatest of the Assyrian dynasties, together with transliteration, translation, a brief technical commentary, and a glossary. Of these six texts only one, the bronze inscription, had not been published before. Dr. Lyon gives as his reason for reproducing the originals, although already published one or more times, the lack of accuracy in existing editions. It may seem to a person without experience in copying Assyrian inscriptions an easy matter to reproduce them just as they stand. This is far from being the case. Considerable mechanical skill, derived from experience in copying, as well as a thorough knowledge of the language, is necessary. It is particularly the improvement in the latter regard which has made more correct editions of these texts possible. This advance in the knowledge of the language is even more apparent in the transliteration than in the original. It is now understood, for example, that the doubling of a consonant is often a mere mechanical device to indicate a long vowel, so that in *Dr.*

Lyon's transliteration the same word does not appear in one place with a double consonant and in another without, or with a long vowel in one place and a short vowel in another. As Dr. Lyon himself points out, his transcription of the text is a contribution to Assyrian palaeography. Earlier transcribers were not sufficiently careful to reproduce the cuneiform characters exactly, and sometimes substituted other characters supposed to be of the same value. Dr. Lyon shows that the transcription of the cylinder inscription in Vol. I. of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* errs in the direction of reducing variety to uniformity, while, curiously enough, Oppert, in *Dour-Sarkayan*, errs in the opposite direction. As Professor Schrader has shown in his *Sargonstels* (an obelisk from Cyprus in the Berlin Museum), after the conquest of Babylon Sargon developed such a Babylonian mania that he caused his inscriptions to be written in Babylonian instead of Assyrian characters; which was, in its way, like the effects of the Roman conquest of Greece. As the work was done, moreover, by Assyrian artificers his inscriptions have a peculiar interest palaeographically. As part of the seventh volume of the *Assyrian Library* we are promised another contribution to palaeography from the same accurate school to which Dr. Lyon belongs (*Altbabylonische Urkunden*, by Dr. H. Hilprecht), in the shape of a table showing the historic development of the old Babylonian cuneiform characters.

The texts which Dr. Lyon has handled bring him into contact with M. Oppert, whom, on the whole, he treats very considerately. We gather that Dr. Lyon's feeling regarding the French Assyriological triad, Oppert, Ménant, and the late Lenormant, like that of most Assyrian scholars, is that they deserve great credit for their pioneer work and their brilliant intuitions, and that their general results are valuable, but that for critical purposes they are practically useless. We commend Dr. Lyon's book to Assyrian students most heartily. It is of great value for purposes of comparison to have six different inscriptions on the same theme brought side by side in this manner. Dr. Lyon is also a reliable guide to their interpretation. He gives the student every opportunity to test and control his results, is frank in stating the limits of his knowledge, and not too much inclined to dogmatize hypotheses. We find in the commentary and glossary, which was prepared a considerable time after the preceding parts, a few changes in transliteration and translation, which are also noted separately. As the subject of their inscriptions is the building of Dur-Sarrukin, to which the two longer prefix a general sketch of Sargon's deeds, we are not brought into very direct contact with the Bible narrative. It is interesting, however, to note the resemblance in construction as to the porch between Sargon's palace and Solomon's temple. Now this porch Sargon describes as an architectural peculiarity borrowed from the Hittites, who called it *Bit-Hilāni*, whatever that may be. It is also instructive, as a study of the modes of Oriental thought and expression, to

compare the curse at the close of some of these inscriptions with that at the close of the Apocalypse. The only unfavorable criticism we have to pass is a regret that this book could not have appeared in English instead of in German.

THE SOURCES OF TINDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT. A Dissertation to obtain the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, submitted to the University of Leipzig. By James Loring Cheney. pp. 40. Halle, 1883.

This is another of those valuable monographs which German Universities demand and secure of their candidates for degrees. A reviewer (Professor Lechler of Leipzig) in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* speaks of "his laborious and exact collation," and closes with the remark: "The dissertation is a worthy product of American enthusiasm hand in hand with German science." Dr. Cheney is the son of a prominent Baptist clergyman, and graduated at both Rochester University and Morgan Park Theological Seminary with the first honors. His special study in Germany was the exegesis of the New Testament.

It has been variously stated that Tindale made his translation from Wiclif, from the Vulgate, from Luther's German New Testament, and from Erasmus's Greek. It is Dr. Cheney's object to determine which of these views has the evidence in its favor, and for that purpose he has subjected thirty-five chapters of the two hundred and sixty in the New Testament to a careful comparison. The printed dissertation before us contains only about one fourth of the comparisons actually made, but they occupy thirty-one pages. In each case we have given the readings of Tindale; Erasmus, Greek and Latin; Vulgate; Wiclif; and Luther; and when any difference occurs in the different editions, this is also noted. Four pages of summary follow, and the conclusion is as follows: "First, that Tindale's Testament shows traces of the influence of the four versions, Wyclif's, Vulgate, Luther's, Erasmus's. Second, that these traces of agreement, quite inconsiderable as regards Wyclif and the Vulgate, show the influence of Erasmus far more than of Luther. Third, that of the versions by Erasmus, the Latin, as well as the Greek, was followed, and the Latin at times preferred." We congratulate our Baptist brethren on having so thorough and well-furnished a scholar among them as Dr. Cheney has shown himself to be by this Dissertation.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. By George Rawlinson, M.A. Author of "The Origin of Nations," "The Five Great Monarchies," etc. 12mo. pp. 249. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Canon Rawlinson is so well known on both sides of the Atlantic, through his contributions to the study of ancient history, as to need no special introduction. The work before us "originated in a series of papers written for the Sunday at Home in the years 1879 and 1881,

based upon Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford." He begins by stating the close relation between the religions of nations and their history, and insists that the latter cannot be understood without careful study of the former. He points out the necessity of gathering facts before generalizations can safely be indulged, and justifies himself in not attempting as yet to construct a science of religion, if, indeed, any such science is possible. In this work, as he says in the preface, he has "done no more than touched the fringe of a great subject," and he partially promises an ample discussion of the theme in the future. In his treatment of the materials here presented he has followed a uniform method, presenting first a sketch of the deities of each nation, and then the leading features of their worship. In this way he has given a compact summary of the facts pertaining to the religions of eight principal nations of the ancient world; namely, Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, Persia, India, Phœnicia, Etruria, Greece, and Rome. In the concluding chapter he draws certain negative inferences from the facts thus presented. The work is an interesting study of a great theme, and will kindle interest in the further discussion promised by the author.

OLD TESTAMENT ETHICS VINDICATED; being an Exposition of Old Testament Morals: a Comparison of Old Testament Morals with the Morals of Heathen, so-called, "Sacred Books," Religious, Philosophical, and Infidel Writers; and a Vindication of Old Testament Morals against Infidelity. By Rev. W. A. Jarrel, Author of "Election," "Liberty of Conscience," etc. Second edition. 12mo. pp. 285. Published by the Author. 1883.

This volume shows careful and thorough study, and extensive and judicious reading. It is written by a Baptist minister, an intelligent and reverent and fervent believer in the divine origin and character of the Scriptures; its style is vigorous and impassioned, yet the author seems, in general, to maintain a well balanced judgment, and to present views which are well considered and weighty, resorting now and then, perhaps, to a strained interpretation of a passage to avoid a difficulty. It would be difficult to find in so compact a form such a body of sensible and wholesome fact and argument pertaining to the ethical character of the Old Testament Scriptures. The author resides at present in Oakland, Cal.

A GREEK GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. By James Hadley, Professor in Yale College. Revised, and in part rewritten, by Frederic De Forest Allen, Professor in Harvard College. Parts First, Second, and Third. pp. 200. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1884.

These advance sheets of Professor Allen's Revision cover etymology only; the syntax is in course of preparation. The leading characteristics of Hadley's Greek etymology, completeness, naturalness of outline, and

the effective grouping of details, are excellences which no lapse of time can impair. They stand essentially unchanged in this new edition. But the revision is thorough, and the competency of the scholarship which has conducted it is evident upon every page. Skilful condensation has made room for fuller treatment of practical topics. The approved results of modern researches in philology are introduced; and the whole presentation is a noteworthy advance toward the perfection of form and statement for which Professor Goodwin and other grammarians have been preparing the way.

Some idea of the quality of the work may be gained by examining the rules for the contraction of simple vowels (§ 37): "a. An open vowel before a close forms a diphthong with it. b. Two like vowels unite in the common long. c. An *o*-sound absorbs an *a*- or an *e*-sound and becomes *o*. d. If an *a*- and an *e*-sound come together, the first in order absorbs the second and becomes long. e. But *ε-ε* gives *αι*; *ε-ο*, *ο-ε*, *ο-ο* give *ου*." Teachers will appreciate the patient thought which the elaboration of such a statement costs; it is a model of ingenuity of outline and directness of expression. But its most admirable quality is, that it connects each fact with a principle, thus assisting the memory and giving dignity and value to the study of sound changes.

Other portions of the book will bear an equally close inspection; e.g. the rules for the vocative singular of Decl. III., the description of the "seven" classes of verbs, etc. The classification of "connecting vowels" with tense-suffixes (§ 372), is probably the most radical change of all. But Curtius led the way to it more than twenty years ago; and a similar treatment of noun-stems has become universal. We are disappointed not to find the scheme of sounds arranged by Professor Whitney (*Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, Second Series, p. 272). This would give a comprehensive view of the principles of phonology, and render statements like § 31 and § 44. a, more intelligible.

The rules for the final vowel in the singular of Decl. I., are not of prime importance; but § 138 is obscure, and the true solution seems to us to lie in the direction of three classes, as follows:

THREE CLASSES OF FEMININES. — First Class: A, generally long, is retained throughout the singular, after *ε*, *ι*, or *ρ*. Exceptions: § 139. b, c, d, nom. acc. and voc. sing.

Second Class: Short *a* is found in the *nominative*, *accusative*, and *vocative*, singular, and *η* in the *genitive* and *dative*, after *σ* (*ξ*, *ψ*, *σσ*, or *ττ*), *ζ*, *λλ*, *αι*.

Third Class: All other feminines have *η* in the singular, throughout. Exceptions: § 139. e.

Under the familiar rule for accenting dis-syllabic genitives of nouns of Decl. III., upon the ultima, the old edition stated (§ 160) four exceptions; a. All participles; b. The adjective *πᾶς*; c. and d. Certain nouns. The

reviser has transferred *a* and *b* to remarks under adjectives and participles. In our judgment, the old arrangement is not less logical; the subject of the section is not nouns, but accent; and it is preferable, for the exceptions are more impressive to the learner when placed together. The same objection, if valid, would forbid breaking the continuity of § 334 ff., and §§ 400, 401, old edition. May not both the old statement and the new be inserted, and the principle of the stereoscope applied to these important forms?

Professor Allen has made a valuable contribution to the apparatus of the Greek class-room. His work will create a lively expectation among scholars that he will achieve success in the more difficult task of revising Greek syntax—a field in which American scholarship has already won highest honors.

RESPONSIVE READINGS FOR PUBLIC AND SOCIAL WORSHIP. Selected and arranged by Mrs. Hiram Mead. 12mo and 16mo. pp. 200. Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich. 1883.

The responsive reading of the Psalms is so natural, so beautiful, and so profitable a part of public worship that it is surprising it was so long left for the exclusive enjoyment of the Episcopal church. Lately, however, the desire to break up the impassive silence of congregations, and give all an audible part in the service, has led to a wide introduction of responsive services among non-Episcopalians. At the same time it has appeared desirable to extend the range of selections beyond the limits of the Psalter, and to include other equally suitable portions of the prophets and of the New Testament.

The little book before us has been prepared by a lady of exceptional fitness for the task. It includes, in addition to nearly the entire Psalter, a large variety of appropriate selections from all parts of Scripture. The editor has given to the selections the topical arrangement of the hymns in the Manual of Praise, of which her late lamented husband, the Rev. Dr. Hiram Mead, was the literary editor. This topical arrangement will be found highly convenient by leaders of divine service. The Old Testament selections are arranged, so far as possible, according to the Hebrew parallelisms. The Beatitudes, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, a variety of forms for the Sunday-school, and a Scripture Index complete the volume. To all who wish a book of responsive readings at once compact and comprehensive, judiciously selected, and luminously arranged, this little book may be confidently recommended.

WALKS IN LONDON; WALKS IN ROME; CITIES OF SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY; THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FRANCES BARONESS BUNSEN; MEMORIALS OF A QUIET LIFE. By Augustus J. C. Hare. 12mo. pp. 991, 767, 535, 984, 981. New York: George Routledge and Sons.

These books have been too long before the public to require any special

description of their aim or analysis of their contents. This issue is partly a reprint of English editions, and partly a revision and enlargement of the volumes as they first appeared in England. In view of the charms of style, the delicacy of thought, the purity of sentiment, the appreciative delineation of character, and the sympathetic interpretation of famous cities and historic scenes with which these volumes abound, it is a very grateful service to bring them freshly to public attention, and to commend them to the perusal of every one who especially relishes the more quiet and graceful and refined qualities in literary productions. They are meant for the home rather than the study, and must always prove welcome and wholesome there.

CICERO DE OFFICIIS. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes. By Andrew P. Peabody. 12mo. pp. 254. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1883.

Six pages of this volume are devoted to a synopsis of Cicero's treatise; sixteen pages to the introduction, which gives a faithful narrative of Cicero's life and a candid estimate of his character. Six pages are devoted to the index, which is valuable, but might well have been more extended. Professor Peabody's notes are brief, but very pertinent. In reference to his translation, Dr. Peabody says: "I have attempted to give not a word-for-word version of the Latin text, but a literal transcript in English of what I suppose that Cicero meant to write in his own tongue." This principle is well adapted to the purposes for which the translation was made. By means of it the style of the volume becomes natural and easy. The treatise of Cicero exhibits many approximations to the Christian standard; but its failures to reach that standard are obvious. It deserves to be carefully studied by the Christian minister. Every student of it will thank Professor Peabody for his judicious treatment of it.

PAULINE CHARITY. By Rev. Joseph Cross, D.D., LL.D. 12mo. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

This is a volume of expository sermons on the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, preached by an elderly clergyman of the Episcopal church "to his parishioners on twenty consecutive Sunday evenings after Trinity," and has considerable value. The author has given careful attention to definitions, from which his readers will greatly profit. After perusing his discourses they cannot fail to understand the precise nature and characteristics of that charity which is the subject of exposition. His treatment of the Scripture is clear, discriminating, and thorough. The spiritual tone which pervades the sermons is excellent. One could not ask for discourses more devout in spirit, evangelical in sentiment, and faithful in their practical application to conduct and life. These qualities make the volume, which the author calls the "last product of my brain and heart," the ripe product of a mellow Christian old age.



ISMS, OLD AND NEW. By Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D. 12mo. Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company.

This is a volume of sermons originally preached as a series of Sunday evening discourses, during the winter of 1880-81, in the First Baptist church in Chicago. They are sixteen in number, and treat of the various "isms," religious, philosophic, and social, that have excited general attention in the literary and religious discussions of the times. From the nature of the case their tone is mainly controversial. In them the author attacks and seeks to confute some of the prevailing errors and abuses by which Christianity is opposed. But, though assuming the attitude of a foe, rather than of a friend, in the discussion of these errors, he is always an honorable foe. His bearing toward and treatment of the errors opposed is uniformly one of courtesy and fairness. There is no effort to misrepresent them.

It may be questioned whether controversial discussions of this kind effect any good in winning the faith of men to the gospel. In her conflict with infidelity Christianity is more likely to succeed by the clear exhibition of her truth than by any attempts to expose the fallacies employed to discredit it. Yet there are times when the preacher may break this reserve, and make reply, when the truth he holds dear is hindered and imperilled. The circumstances of the author were such, in his opinion, as to justify his doing so. "Working for Christ in a community distinguished almost as much by its mental restlessness as by its business activity, the author became convinced, if he would promote in the highest sense the religious life of the unconverted, he must diminish their confidence in certain prevailing errors, and disengage them from their fetters." In the preparation of such discourses it were vain to attempt a full discussion of the themes considered. Vigorous touches in place of thorough handling, flashes in place of a flood of light, are what he must aim at. This was the author's view. "While not attempting an exhaustive treatment of these 'isms,' he has tried to point out their comfortless tendencies, and to help his readers to grasp more deeply and to feel more intensely those essential doctrines of religion that meet the necessities of our spiritual life."

The author proves his right to speak upon the subjects discussed by the evidence he gives of ample learning. His quotations are numerous, apposite, and valuable. At first, in the opening discourse, the author's style is redundant. The fault scarcely appears, however, further on in the volume, suggesting that when he warmed up in his work he became rid of it, and expressed himself with terseness. The volume has solid merit. The discourses which compose it are interesting, instructive, and valuable. At times they rise to a manly and impressive eloquence. The volume, therefore, promises to be a useful one; and the author's prayer in the preface, "that it may not 'die into an echo,' but prove a word of hope to many a troubled heart, a living seed, which, however lowly and insignificant, may not prove either flowerless or leafless," is likely to be fulfilled.

THE
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

Attention is called to the Prospectus of the **BIBLIOTHECA SACRA**, and the Notice in relation to Sets and back Numbers, on the first and sixth pages of this Number.

A few extra copies of the January Number have been sent out without charge, particularly to subscribers in former years who may have felt unable to continue subscriptions. The reduction of price, it is hoped, will enable many to resume subscriptions.

Remittance for the **present year** should be made by Postal Notes, or Bank Checks payable to **E. J. GOODRICH**, Oberlin, Ohio. Payments of **past dues**, and for back Numbers, to **W. F. DRAPER**, Andover, Mass.

All payments heretofore made on the volume for 1884, at the old rate, will be credited according to the new terms.

NOTICE.

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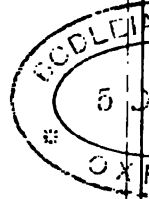
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THE
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THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA will hereafter be published at Oberlin, Ohio, and Andover, Mass. The January number will appear under the editorial management of G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, JUDSON SMITH, and W. G. BALLANTINE, Professors at Oberlin, Ohio. Associate Editors : Professors EDWARDS A. PARK, of Andover ; W. M. BARBOUR, of New Haven ; E. C. BISSELL, of Hartford ; F. B. DENIO, of Bangor ; D. W. SIMON, and A. DUFF, of England, and Rev. C. F. THWING, of Cambridge.

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THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

. CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND LIFE.¹

BY REV. D. W. SIMON, D.D., PRINCIPAL OF THE THEOLOGICAL HALL,
EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.

LESS than half a century ago it was usual in the pulpits of Congregational churches to treat Christian life as dependent on Christian doctrine. Most sermons began accordingly with an exposition of doctrine, and ended with a practical application. It was deemed necessary first to set forth principles, reasonings; then to appeal to the will and the emotions.

Some twenty-five or more years ago a decided reaction set in, and at the present moment it is almost the fashion to treat Christian doctrine as having very little to do with the Christian life. Hence an ever louder demand for "practical" preaching; hence the denunciation of all "doctrinal" preaching, whether orthodox or heterodox; hence too, in part, the desire, or at all events, readiness, either to shorten or altogether omit the sermon, and to substitute what is called "worship" in its stead — a worship which threatens to become, to a large extent, little more than aestheticism tinged with religiosity. Perhaps the majority of the most widely read sermons now published, if we except those of Spurgeon, are markedly non-doctrinal in character. I do not mean that they lack disciplined thought, but that they eschew or even make light of the incursions into the domain of systematic

¹ An Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of Spring Hill Congregational College, Birmingham, England.

theology which were formerly characteristic of published sermons. In many active and devoted Christian circles the notion prevails that the study of theology is rather a luxury than a necessity for the Christian believer and worker, especially if he be a layman. Sunday-school teachers and lay-preachers allow that a study of the *Scriptures* is necessary, but not of doctrine. Others see no need for systematic study of even the *Scriptures*; and as to the theology which it used to be the delight of their fathers to spell out in great folios, — they shrug their shoulders in amazement, if some enthusiast suggest to them to pursue a similar course. A cultured ministry is wanted, not a learned, especially not one learned in theology, unless it keep its learning out of its preaching, save perhaps on great occasions. Gentlemen who can read well, conduct the services with propriety, make no blunders, secure good singing, and preach with a freshness and thoughtfulness that require little effort in the hearer — that is too frequently what people demand. “We toilers in the world come to church to hear the simple gospel, to be comforted and stimulated, not to have our minds put on rack of logical, doctrinal discourses,” I hear even deacons of churches saying; as though there were some incompatibility between cheering the heart and enlightening the intellect; as though the simplest things, not excluding the simple gospel, did not need to their due assimilation the profoundest thought. Indeed, it is not difficult to find ministers who say half boastfully, and therefore half sneeringly, “We are no theologians; we have not studied theology; we read little theology.” Natural science, history, literature, they will read, especially newspapers and periodicals; sometimes they will even dabble a little in philosophy, but utterly neglect theology.

If asked to explain this reaction, I should say that its chief cause was the unconscious substitution by the pulpit of the doctrine of Christianity for Christianity itself; and that it signified a demand for the restoration of Christianity, of the great redemptive facts, that is, of Christ, to his true position in the witness and teaching of the church.

The reaction may be regarded as one part of a general movement in the world of human thought that showed itself early in the present century — a movement away from the formal, the abstract, the artificial, to the actual, the real, the natural. In science, in art, in religion alike is it to be traced. The immensely increased importance attached to observation and experiment in natural science, the realistic and naturalistic tendencies of poetry, painting, sculpture, music, indicated stirrings in the life of our nation that could scarcely leave the pulpit untouched, seconded as their influence was by the revival of religion inaugurated by Methodism; for Methodism, too, was in its way a bringing of men face to face with the eternal realities which had been hidden away behind the forms and reasonings that were originally designed to make them more clear and intelligible. Accordingly, the inarticulate admonition sounded through the land, and is sounding still, in even louder tones: “Do n’t repeat to us the traditions of the elders; do n’t come before us with the musty discussions of the theologians about God and Christ and the Spirit; but tell us what you yourself have tasted and felt and handled, what you have found to be true.”

Some of those who cry out against doctrine misunderstand themselves. What they dislike is not doctrine as such, but a form of doctrine which is not the preacher’s own doctrine — doctrine out of rapport with the general thinking of the age, that is, doctrine which for this very reason is unfit to discharge the function of doctrine. They would, perhaps, be the very first to welcome teaching which would put the old truth in a new light, which, although they may not always know it, is in reality to give it a new doctrinal garb or setting. In some cases, however, I fear the objection to a doctrinal treatment of Christianity is rooted in the fear lest the things which have been the source of so much hope and consolation and strength should fade away into nothing under the searching gaze of the scientific intellect; and they prefer blessed delusion to dreary truth. This is a dishonest policy, and in the long run as useless as it is dishonest. The heart



of man can no more be really comforted nor his will invigorated by vanities than the body can be nourished on wind. Besides, a deeper search, such as theology involves, would lead to the conviction that there can be no higher test of the reality of the objects of the faith of the Christian church than the power they show of filling, expanding, and ennobling the hearts of men. It is as illogical to deny this as it would be illogical to question the reality of the food by which our bodies are enabled to live, grow, and work. The outcry against doctrine proceeds in part, also, from such as have broken with historical Christianity as held by the church. But with this aspect of the reaction I do not now propose to deal.

It is not my intention to inquire into the relation of particular so-called doctrines to the Christian life; as, for example, that of the atonement or incarnation or the future destiny of man. It would be a comparatively easy thing to secure your interest for that subject. Questions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy are apt to be only too welcome, especially if there be the least uncertainty which side a man will take. What I now wish rather to do is to point out the relation in which a doctrinal mode of treating Christianity stands to the development and manifestation of the Christian life. Distinguishing between the great facts or verities of Christianity and the doctrine or theory or system which the intellect forms regarding them in its endeavor scientifically to correlate them to the rest of the cosmos, I aim at showing that such doctrine contributes materially, even if it be not absolutely essential, to the full and healthy development of the Christian life. Christian doctrine is an outcome of the effort to give a reason for the hope that is in us. I say that such doctrine is of cardinal importance both to Christian individuals and to Christian churches.

One weighty concession I must make at the outset; namely, that the Christian life is neither generated nor, properly speaking, nourished by doctrine. You cannot reason a man into being a Christian. Theology may help to remove intel

lectual hinderances out of the way ; it may prepare the mind ; but it cannot regenerate. We speak, it is true, of " saving doctrines " ; but this really is an inaccuracy. That which begets the Christian life or saves, is the Christian facts, not our explanation of them ; in other words, our doctrine — the facts, I mean, recorded in the New Testament and preached by the church. The fact that the eternal Son of God took flesh and dwelt among us in the form of a servant, yet full of grace and truth ; the fact that through him God commended his love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world ; the fact that Jesus Christ is the ever living, ever present Saviour, and that the Holy Spirit dwells and works for enlightenment, sanctification, invigoration, and consolation in the hearts of sinful men — these are the forces which initiate and sustain the Christian life.

Doctrines or doctrine may be the vehicle in which we receive these facts, or through which they are brought nigh to us ; but it is the facts, and not the vehicles, that save. For the most part, the inaccuracy of speaking of saving doctrines, instead of saving facts, is perhaps harmless. Sometimes, however, it is not so ; as, for example, when a particular way of explaining, say, the fact of the atonement or of the incarnation, is identified with the fact itself — which is not an uncommon occurrence.

Instead of the doctrine conditioning the existence of Christian life, Christian life is really the condition of the existence of Christian doctrine. No man can produce a true Christian theology who has not true Christian experience. It is possible, of course, even for an unbeliever to collect, classify, and philosophize upon the teachings of the Bible, and thus to construct a system of theology of a kind. The feat has been attempted and accomplished ; but the result has been most unsatisfactory. Scientists tell us that no man is thoroughly competent to teach, still less to pronounce judgment on, science whose acquaintance with the subject is derived solely from books, who has not been a practical,

scientific worker; that is, who has no direct personal experience. The same thing holds good of the theologian; his subject matter, too, can be properly handled only by one who has a practical acquaintance with it; in other words, by one who has experienced the saving power of Christ. In point of fact, any other man lacks the material; for the material which is worked up into Christian theology is the result of the marriage of the Christian facts with the human soul by means of faith.

But if these things be true, some may be ready to exclaim: "What, then, is the use of our troubling ourselves about doctrine? If Christian life is possible without it, do not worry us with it. It may be very well for men of great natural power, educational training, and leisure; but we workers in the world, who have only just strength, courage, and cheerfulness enough to fight the battles of every-day life, what have we to do with such lofty and profound matters?" Perhaps it may occur to some of you to adduce the analogy of the body, and to say, "Just as we are able to earn, eat, and digest our physical food, and perform our physical functions without having the least idea of the scientific why and how, so spiritually." Up to a certain point, the analogy is unquestionably valid. There is a point, however, beyond which it fails,—yea, must fail,—owing to the difference between the relation of the body to the intellect and that between the intellect and the heart. Let us first consider the relation of Christian doctrine to the Christian life in the case of individuals. Why ought a Christian liver to be a Christian thinker?

I. As a simple matter of fact, the great Christian verities as received by most of us are so mixed up with philosophy, are so theological in their form, that we cannot get away from doctrine. It is a very rare thing for the redemptive work of God to be set forth either in a purely historical way or simply in the light of personal experience of its power; it is almost as difficult as it is rare. What is sometimes listened to and lauded as the "simple gospel" is anything but a simple objec

tive setting forth of the way of salvation. In reality it is an amalgam of bits of Christian theology and descriptions of Christian experience learned by the preacher from his early or present teachers, and of his own crude thinkings and vaguely interpreted experiences. This being the case, the questions arise: Is the doctrinal form correct or adequate? Does it clarify or obscure the life-giving kernel? If inadequate, still more if erroneous, it is sure to retard, instead of furthering, our assimilation of the nourishment which Christianity provides. But even if the doctrine considered in itself should be fitted to commend itself to our judgment as both correct and adequate, until we have convinced ourselves that this is its character by personal examination it will hang like a mist between us and the realities to which it refers; and to that extent will interfere with their full action on our life. If, then, you wish to come face to face with the original truths you must learn to discriminate between them and the theoretical form in which they are presented. This you can only do either by independent efforts of your own or by co-operation with some other mind — that is, by hearing doctrinal discourses and reading theological books. Pursuing this course with earnestness you will find old truths standing forth in a new light, and your heart will be correspondingly rejoiced.

2. *Doctrine*, as I defined it, *meets a natural craving of the intellect*. It is the fashion, indeed, in certain circles to speak slightly of the needs of the intellect in relation to religion. Ultra pious and ultra sceptical people agree sometimes in this when they agree in nothing else. It sounds very humble to speak of being content with the "simple gospel." It seems unanswerable to quote passages about the wisdom of the wise and the philosophy of the world. One gets the credit at once of devout resignation and profound insight when one enlarges on the futility and possible impiety of attempting to fathom the unfathomable mysteries of God. But what right have we either to ignore the requirements of the intellect or to prescribe limits beforehand to its

activity? Especially what right have we to starve the intellect? It is quite true that its first and foremost duty is to serve the rest of the human constitution as a light and guide; but it owes also something to itself—and that something is the investigation of truth for its own sake; the inquiry into the how and why of all things earthly and heavenly, human and divine, that come within the range of its experience or observation. As a matter of fact, too, few properly constituted minds can help trying to give themselves some reasonable account or other of the events of their life and the matters of their experience. Some sort of a system of the cosmos is forming itself in the cobwebbed, gloomy intellect of even the most ignorant and inarticulate of our race. I say “is forming itself.” Alas! it forms itself haphazard, and is therefore as lacking in harmony, self-consistency, unity, as some of the old houses one meets with in country places, which may be very picturesque, but are very uncomfortable and troublesome, dwellings. We *must* make doctrine. The only question is, Shall we do our best to make it well, or by letting itself make itself run the risk of inaccuracies, and even errors, which though harmless to-day may prove sources of great peril to-morrow?

3. *Doctrine is a means of heightening our Christian certitude*—our Christian assurance; and it is no exaggeration, I think, to say that certitude, assurance, is one of the highest blessings that a Christian believer can realize. Nothing is so worrying as uncertainty—whatever be its object. Faith, of course, brings a certainty of its own; it must do so, for it is a laying hold of Christ. At the outset—sometimes, indeed, permanently—this certitude is wondrously strong; it is as unbroken, as completely of one piece, as the certainty of a little child that its mother can never deceive it or its father never fail to protect it. Faith, too, is the abiding foundation of certitude, nor can doctrinal certitude ever become its substitute. But if times of questioning come—as they do come in the lives of most Christians—whether due to only practical causes, as cooling of affection or yielding to

temptation, or to theoretical causes, as historical or scientific scepticism, or again to the difficulties felt by other men; then faith needs to lean on something stronger than itself; it has to look around for a justification. Its support must be either authority or reason — the authority of an individual man or of a community, or the insight into the causes and connections of things, supplied by doctrine. It may occur to some of you, indeed, to say, “But should we not fall back on the Bible?” True; only the question then arises, Why may we fall back on the Bible? By what right? And to give an answer to this question is one of the duties of Christian theology or doctrine. We do not set aside faith when we form a theory of its objects — we rather transfigure it; we convert it in a measure into sight by exhibiting the relations which those objects hold to the rest of the cosmos of God.

Protestants justly attach great importance to the right of private judgment, and Congregationalists inscribe on their banner “The Protestantism of the Protestant Religion”; but if we fight shy of doctrine and theology we still to all intents and purposes hold the position of the Roman Catholic; for doctrine is the direct aim and outgrowth of the use of private judgment or of your own intellect to decide whether what you have been taught harmonizes with, or at any rate does not contradict, principles which you otherwise know to be true.

4. *Immediately involved in the formation of a doctrine is a more complete and thorough possession of the objects of faith;* that is, of course, other things being equal. This effect is indeed little more than another side of the certitude to which I just now referred. Between the human intellect and the great truths of Christianity there is an essential affinity. Those facts are the embodiments of principles which are woven into the very texture of our minds and regulate their action. When God created us in his own image he intended us to think things as he thinks them; and true science and philosophy — whether of nature, mind, or redemption — is a



thinking out the thoughts of God after him. But in thinking out the divine thoughts we are really thinking ourselves into things; we are finding ourselves in them; finding ourselves by means of them; getting ourselves revealed to ourselves in and through them. The result clearly must be the incorporation of the things as to their very essence with our minds and of our minds with the things. Until this is accomplished with the objects of faith they remain to some extent outside us. We have laid hold of them, it is true, but we have not assimilated them; or rather, the heart is engaged in assimilating, but as it by itself works in the dark, the full assimilation proper to a free intelligent agent does not take place till the intellect also has performed its task. Theology is a kind of philosophy of divine history; and as philosophy is the effort to be intellectually at home, theology, so far as it is what it aims to be, enables us to think and feel and act like sons in the great house of our Heavenly Father.

5. A further consideration, growing out of the last, is that *doctrine makes a man more self-reliant, more steadfast, more vigorous, especially more free.* That a man whose intellect has justified his faith must be more self-reliant than he otherwise would be scarcely needs urging. Men of this stamp are marked by self-reliance in every domain of life — not merely in religion. They know what they are about; they know why they act, they lead themselves, and are not merely led by a part of themselves; in other words, they are self-contained — they stand, as we familiarly say, “on their own legs.”

It contributes also to their steadfastness. Faith being of the nature of feeling or emotion, a thing of the heart, is liable, as we all know, to change. It is affected by a variety of causes — by bodily conditions, by the conduct of men, by intellectual influences; even of itself it would seem to be liable to ebbs and flows. Persistency, fixity, require conviction, and conviction is another term for the insight afforded by true doctrine.

That it should make a man more vigorous must surely be

self-evident. So important a factor as the intellect cannot but contribute to the power which we wield. Mere faith, especially in its first glow and intensity, may work wonders ; but full manly vigor belongs alone to him whose intellect also has confessed the truth of the gospel. The enthusiasm of conviction is by itself to the full as mighty as the enthusiasm of emotion. But there is no power so irresistible as that of the man whose intellect is married to his heart — each adding strength to the other ; each being more than it was when alone.

And, lastly, doctrine helps to make us free — free in relation to God, to man, and even to nature. I suppose it scarcely needs saying that, other things being equal, that man moves and acts most freely under any circumstances who is most at home in them, who is most familiar with them, who understands them best. Whence arises the difference between the relation to nature of educated men in Christendom and the heathen ? From the acquaintance with its laws supplied by science. Why do we in manhood watch with calmness and even interest the thunder-storm which paralyzed us when we were children ? Surely because in the one case we understand its reason, and in the other it was a fearful mystery. So in its measure is it with Christianity. Until we gain some measure of intellectual familiarity with it by means of doctrine, we cannot feel the freedom in it that ought to be ours. We are apt to handle it as the superstitious handle their charms ; we are fearful of this and fearful of that. This ignorance is one explanation of the attitude of many of the members of the Greek and Romish churches towards the objects of faith — they are bound by them, in dread of them, not emancipated and rejoiced by them.

What is true of our personal relation to Christianity is true also of our presentation thereof to others. Till we get, as it were, inside it and grasp its principles, we use it as the ignorant use certain medicines. Or I might compare a believer who knows nothing of doctrine to a workman who has

learned the practice, but is ignorant of the theory of his art. As every one is aware, he lacks the skill and freedom of movement which characterize one who has acquired both. In one word, the truth does not make us truly free — free for ourselves, and free for others — until it is the truth not merely to our hearts, but also to our intellects ; to make it which is the aim and work of Christian theology.

6. There is still another reason for the study of doctrine to which I must briefly refer. *Indirectly it aids in securing consistency of character.* We all know how easy it is to get great principles recognized in the abstract, and how difficult to get them carried out in detail. This is as true in the Christian life as elsewhere. To take a simple example ; there is surely no Christian who does not accept the principle that every one of us is a steward of God relatively alike to time talents, and possessions ; yet how rare are the men who thoroughly carry out the principle ? It is not that there is positive unwillingness to do so, but that the intellectual activity and skill necessary to bridge over the gulf between the abstract and the concrete, between the general and the particular, are too little developed. Or, to put the matter perhaps more accurately, the general principle is not fully, properly apprehended as such ; it is taken up rather as an individual injunction, or in connection with some one or other special duty, than as a general principle ; and consequently finds only restricted application. In fact, we are all of us exposed, for obvious personal reasons, to two opposite temptations ; on the one hand, to rid ourselves of the burden of a particular obligation by treating it as general ; and on the other hand, to escape from the yoke of the general obligation by giving it the character of a particular duty ; and unless our minds are trained to discrimination and inquiry we yield too easily, and well nigh unconsciously. Now the habit, fostered by the study of doctrine, of searching for and discovering the principles and laws underlying individual facts, fits us for performing in the moral domain the reverse operation of passing from principles or laws to the facts, or

rather acts, which they require. It would be a gross mistake to maintain that the doctrinal Christian must needs be the most consistent Christian ; but I do say that it is he who, other things being equal, will judge most correctly what consistency demands. And surely, if this be so, I am justified in adducing it as an additional reason for attention to Christian doctrine.

II. Having considered the relation of doctrine to the individual, let us now go on to examine its *relation to the community or church*. The reasons advanced to show the utility and necessity of theology to the individual apply, with modifications, in the case of churches or communities of churches.

1. The church as a whole needs to have what I may call **a good conscience with regard to its claims as a church ; and what is true of the church universal is equally true, some might say even more true, of a mere section of a church, like Congregationalism.** The church is not a thing that has **grown up of itself by a sort of necessity of nature, like most forms of human society.** It professes to exist in consequence of special divine acts, to be possessed of special gifts, and to be entrusted with a distinctive mission. It aims to absorb all other societies into itself, or, at all events, to imbue them with its own spirit and impose on them its own laws. The early church was so possessed and carried away by the personal impression it had received from its Founder that it needed on its own account no other warrant ; at all events, not until it encountered open indifference, scepticism, and hostility. But ere long questions were put from without and debates arose in its own midst, and then it had to examine into the causes of its existence and the basis of its claims ; thence sprang theology. Nor, save in periods of degeneracy, has the church ever since been without its doctrinal systems, defending it against heresies from within and errors from without.

Of a similar character has been the experience of the new movements that have arisen from time to time, and which have resulted in the formation of what the dominant parties termed sects ; at all events, of such as grew out of the practi-

cal needs of the heart. At the outset they found their justification partly in the new life of which they were the expression, and partly in what the church universal had done for its own defence, and which they more or less consciously took for granted. But as soon as the first naïve confidence had exhausted itself—as exhaust itself it must—the need for a rational justification made itself felt, and theology sprang into existence. Such sects have had to face not only the questions affecting the church as a whole, but also those touching their own separate existence and specific characteristics; and unless they were able to give adequate reasons to themselves for their separation and peculiarities, church disintegration, and even scepticism as to Christianity, generally were apt to set in.

2. The unity of a church is furthered and deepened by doctrine. It is not an uncommon opinion, indeed, nowadays, that dogma, doctrine, theology are the one great source of divisions among Christians. I am quite ready also to admit that differences in doctrine do, in some cases, divide men who cling to the same Christ and seek to live and promote the same life. It may, however, also be true that these very differences in doctrine are traceable ultimately to subtle, vital differences. But whatever the truth on this particular point, it is surely not open to doubt that doctrine may be a strong bond of union. If you want a truly united community, see to it that on vigor of common life is engrafted definiteness of common conviction. Such a church will be like a man whose heart and head pull the same way. I grant that a union of sentiment by itself may be intenser than a union of doctrine by itself; but a union of both is strong to resist alike changes from within and assaults from without. Men are more easily brought together by a common sentiment of fear or hope or trust or love to a man; but nothing keeps them together like principles which they have reasoned out together or under common guidance. To establish such unity is no doubt difficult, especially in these days; but it is worth all the effort that a church can devote to a task.

3. Doctrine helps to secure continuity in the life of a church. Where feeling or sentiment is the sole bond of connection it is very hard to preserve continuity. There must be something besides. The continuity characteristic of the life of great historical families or civil and political communities is conditioned by various circumstances, such as identity of locality, property, vocation, blood-relationship, and so forth. In the state churches continuity has been favored both by causes similar to those just mentioned and by the identity of liturgical and other usage, even where it has not been more directly aided by that cultivation and teaching of doctrine which it is my aim to urge. As for ourselves and other similarly constituted free churches, I do not see how, in the absence of the sort of conditions to which I have just referred, the continuity of our life is to be preserved without doctrine. If it is not worth preserving, then indifference to this matter is natural and explicable. But at any rate, we ought to make it clear to ourselves whether this be so or not, and if it be not so prepare ourselves either for absorption in other churches which are more careful to hand down the treasure they have received from the fathers, or for being broken up into separate units which may or may not retain any vital hold on Christianity. It is not necessary that we should bind our teachers down by elaborate confessions of faith or systems of theology. What we need is, that our churches, through their thinkers and teachers, shall be constantly engaged in the effort to understand that which they have first tasted, handled, and felt of the word of life; in other words, that a living process of scientific examination should be going on alongside of the living process of faith. There will then be a living, but real continuity in the life of the church — each succeeding generation stimulated and enriched, not hampered, and therefore not impoverished, by the doctrinal work of its predecessors.

4. The power of a church to perform its specific work is increased by doctrine. It follows, of course, from what I said previously, that the church's power to diffuse Christian

life lies in its testimony, by word and deed, to the gospel from which its own life is derived. Its first business, therefore, is to evangelize; that is, to proclaim, in as simple and objective a manner as possible, what God has done, and is doing now, and is ready still to do, for the salvation of men from sin and misery. This duty may, under certain circumstances be discharged with great success by a church which for itself has paid next to no attention to theology,—as has been the case with the Methodist bodies,—but the same message will have greater power if it be backed up by the rational convictions rooted in a sound theology. The most theological of the apostles was the mightiest evangelist. This is especially true at the present day, when there are so many doubts in the air. The most successful evangelization will be that which is shaped so as implicitly to meet objections and convey reasons—a thing impossible to a church that is careless about theology.

Besides, evangelization is not the only work that the church has to do: Heresies, doubts, exaggerations, eccentricities, intellectual, moral, and spiritual whims arising within its own borders, need to be met; and the superstition, false religion, false moral principles, falsities of science, of criticism, and of philosophy without have to be overthrown and refuted. But to do all this implies earnest and systematic care for the thorough cultivation of every branch of theology.

Altogether, a church with a living faith and doctrinally well drilled from the top to the bottom is as much stronger than a church that has life of its own, but no theology of its own, as a man whose activity is characterized both by enthusiasm and by conviction is stronger than one who is solely under the sway of emotion.

Did space permit, I should be glad to append a practical application to this, as some may think it an impractical line of thought. First and foremost, I would urge the grounding of children and young people in doctrine, by means of catechisms or something of the kind; secondly, the reading of good theological essays and works by the adult members

of our churches ; thirdly, the giving of more systematic doctrinal instruction from the pulpit ; and finally, the making of more satisfactory, more adequate arrangements for the philosophical and theological training of the ministers in our colleges.¹

I am certain that the religious and moral life of our churches and their Christian activity are seriously suffering from the neglect of the things just urged during the last twenty-five years ; and I am equally certain that if the present neglect is prolonged, another twenty-five years will find us undergoing a spiritual and doctrinal disintegration which will be a manifest token that we have completed our great historical mission, and must make room for other and more faithful workers.

¹ [The American reader will understand this as having reference to the dissenting theological training schools in England, where the collegiate and professional training are not separated as in the United States. — Eds.].

ARTICLE II.

THE STUDY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AMONG JEWS
AND CHRISTIANS.

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NEARLY four hundred years ago — it was in the year 1488 — the first complete Hebrew Bible was published at Soncino. Shortly before that time the famous John Capnio, better known as Reuchlin, had commenced the study of the Hebrew language which he then privately taught at Heidelberg in 1498. In him the study of Hebrew found its champion, and ever since “Japheth dwelleth in the tents of Shem.” It is a remarkable fact that since the days of Gesenius very little has been done among the Jews themselves to promote Hebrew grammar, and the best European teachers of Hebrew are members of the Church. It would be unjust, however, to overlook the fact that we owe a great debt of gratitude to those Jewish scholars who cultivated the Hebrew before Reuchlin, and whose works are still of the greatest importance to Hebrew learning.

In these pages the history of the study of Hebrew, comprising almost a period of one thousand years, is given. It is the first effort, in the English language, to bring down the history of Hebrew grammar to our own days, that is, to the year 1881, in which König published his *Lehrgebäude*. To aid the student in his researches we have not only added the literature on the different Jewish writers, but we have also appended a rich bibliographical material, which, though rough, and not aiming at completeness, brings before the student almost everything which has of late been published either in book form or in essays contained in English and German periodicals.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *The Hebrew Language.*

The Hebrew language is only a single branch of a great parent stock called Shemitic, so called because spoken chiefly by nations

enumerated in Scripture amongst the descendants of Shem,¹ of which Prof. M. Müller² exhibits the following

GENEALOGICAL TABLE [of the Semitic Family of Languages].

Living Languages.	Dead Languages.	Classes.	SEMITIC FAMILY.
Dialects of Arabic, Amharic,	Ethiopic, Himyaritic Inscriptions,	Arabic or Southern.	
Dialects of the Jews,	Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan Pentateuch (third century A.D.), Carthaginian, Phenician Inscrp- tions,	Hebraic or Middle.	
Neo-Syriac,	Chaldee (Masora, Talmud, Tar- gum, Biblical Chaldee), Syriac (Peshito, second century A.D.), Cuneiform Inscriptions of Baby- lon and Nineveh,	Aramaic or Northern.	

A somewhat more intuitive Table is the following, by Böttcher:³

PRIMITIVE SHEMITIC.				
A.		B.		C.
NORTHERN SHEMITIC.		MIDDLE SHEMITIC.		SOUTHERN SHEMITIC.
Aramaic.		Canaanitic.		Arabic.
1. Assyrian of the Cuneiform Writings, B.C. 1900-600.		3. Phenician. 2. Hebrew. B.C. 1200 sq. B.C. 1500 sq.		Northern. Southern.
8. Syriac, A.D. 180 sq. B.C. 420 sq.		4. Chaldee, B.C. 420 sq.		7. Sinaitic inscript. of the Naba- theans, B.C. 150-A.D. 150.
6 Samaritan, B.C. 300 sq. (?)		11. Written Arabic, A.D. 500 sq.		5. Himyaritic inscriptions, B.C. (?)
9. Mishna, A.D. 190 sq.		13. Rabbinic, A.D. 1000 sq. (Neo-Heb.)		10. Ethiopic A.D. 350 sq.
12. Sabian Gemara, A.D. (?) A.D. 300 sq.		(Neo-Arabic Dialects.)		14. Amharic, A.D. 1300 sq.

Like all other languages, the Hebrew has been subject to a series of changes. Its grammatical development was probably earlier than that of the other offshoots of the parent stem; for, as Gesenius shows,

¹ Gen. x. 21 sq.

² Science of Language (American ed.), i. p. 396.

³ Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache (ed. Mühlau), p. 4.

of many forms the origin is still visible in the Hebrew, while all traces of it have vanished from the kindred dialects.

2. Name and Origin.

The Hebrew language takes its name from Abraham's descendants, the Israelites, who are ethnographically called Hebrews,¹ and who spoke this language while they were an independent people. In the Old Testament it is poetically called the language of Canaan,² "emphatically the language of the holy land consecrated to Jehovah, as contrasted with that of the profane Egypt," as Hävernicks expresses it; and also the Jews' language,³ from the kingdom of Judah. The name "Hebrew language" nowhere occurs in the Old Testament, since in general there is rarely anything said of the language of the Israelites; it appears in the prologue to Sirach, Ἑβραϊστί; and in Josephus,⁴ as γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων (i.e. the language of the Hebrews).⁵ In the New Testament Ἑβραϊστί (John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, etc.), and Ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος (Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14) denote the Aramaic, which was spoken in the country at the time. In later Jewish writers (as in the Targumists) the Hebrew language is called "the sacred tongue" (לשון קדש), in contrast to the Aramaic or "profane language" or vernacular (לשון חול).

¹ There is a controversy as to the origin of this name. Ibn Ezra (†1168), Buxtorf (†1629), Löschner, F. E. (†1749), I. G. Buddeus (†1764), Lengerke (†1855), E. Meier (†1866), Ewald (†1875), and others, derive it from the Shemite *Eber* (Gen. x. 24; xi. 14 sq.), while most of the Rabbins, and of the Fathers (as Jerome, Theodoret, Origen, Chrysostom, Eusebius), Arias Montanus, Paulus Burgensis, Münster, Luther, Grotius, Scaliger, Walton, Clericus, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, Bleek, and others derive it from עֵבֶר, "beyond," following the Septuagint, which translates עֵבֶר (Gen. xiv. 13) by δ περάτης, "the crosser," "the man from beyond," referring to Abraham's immigration, or Aquila, who translates δ περάτης "the man from the other side."

² Isa. xix. 18: לְשׁוֹן כְּנָעַן, γλῶσσα ἡ χαναανίτις.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isa. xxxvi. 11, 13; Neh. xiii. 24: לְשׁוֹן יְהוּדִית, Ἰουδαϊστί.

⁴ Antt. 1, 1. 2.

⁵ The term "Hebrew language" seems to have originated with the Greeks or Hellenists. According to Philo (De vita Mosis, ii. § 7, ed. Lipsiae, 1828), the original of the Pentateuch was written in Chaldaic. This statement shows how much the Alexandrians of that time had lost the knowledge of the difference of the dialects, and is to be ascribed to Philo's ignorance in this department.

⁶ Talmud, Berachoth, fol. 40, col. 2; Baba mezia, fol. 104; Jerusalem Jevamoth, fol. 15, col. 3; Jerusalem Kethuvoth, 4, 8. On the use of the expression, "Hebrew language" in the Talmud, see Berliner Beiträge zur hebr. Grammatik (Berlin, 1879), p. 5.

3. *Antiquity of the Hebrew Language.*

As to the antiquity of the Hebrew language, and the question whether the Hebrew was the primitive language, there is a great diversity of opinions. "It is clear," says Hävernicks,¹ "that this question can be satisfactorily answered only by those who regard that part of the biblical narrative [viz. Gen. xi. 1 seq.] as true history. Those who, like the mass of recent interpreters, look at it from a mythical point of view, cannot possibly obtain any results." Gesenius says, that as respects the antiquity and origin of the Hebrew language, if we do not take this mythical account, we find ourselves *totally deserted by the historian*. Returning, then, to the ancient view of this passage, we find that most of the Rabbins,² the Fathers,³ and the older theologians, — John Buxtorf, the son,⁴ Walton,⁵ A. Pfeiffer,⁶ St. Morinus,⁷ Val. Loescher,⁸ Carpzov,⁹ — among the

¹ Introduction, p. 128.

² "And all the inhabitants of the earth were [of] one language, and of one speech, and of one counsel; for they spake the holy language by which the world was created at the beginning." — Targum, on Gen. xi. 1; compare also Rashi and Ibn Ezra, in loco.

³ The Fathers of the Church have never expressed any doubt on this point. St. Jerome (†420), in one of his epistles to Damascus, writes: "The whole of antiquity (universa antiquitas) affirms that Hebrew, in which the Old Testament is written, was the beginning of all human speech"; and in his Comm. in Soph., c. 3, he says: "Linguam hebraicam omnium linguarum esse matrem." "Origen [†254] in his eleventh homily on the Book of Numbers, expresses his belief that the Hebrew language originally given through Adam remained in that part of the world which was the chosen portion of God, not left like the rest to one of his angels." Chrysostom (†404) says: "God left in Eber's house the original language as a perpetual memory of his judgment" (αὐτὸς δ' Ἐβερ ἔμενε τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων διδάξεν, ἥπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐναργὲς γένηται τῆς διαίρεσως. Hom. xxx. in Gen. [p. 300, ed. Montf.]), and St. Augustine (†430), in his De Civitate Dei, xvi. cap. 11, "quæ lingua prius humano generi non immerito creditur, fuisse communis, deinceps Hebraea est nuncupata" (i.e. his family (i.e. Heber's), preserved that language which is not unreasonably believed to have been the common language of the race, it was on this account thenceforth called Hebrew). Theodoret (†452), in Quaest. in Genesin, 60, however, believes, like Delitzsch, that the Syriac was the primitive language, holding that Hebrew was first introduced by God through Moses as a holy language.

⁴ Dissertat. Phil. Theol., Basileae, 1662, diss. 1.

⁵ Prolegg., iii. 3 sq.

⁶ Decas Select. Exercitt. Bibl., in his Dubia Vexata, p. 59 sq.

⁷ De lingua primaeva, Ultrajecti, 1694.

⁸ De causis ling. Hebr., i. c. 2. 5.

⁹ Crit. Sacra, p. 174 sq.

moderns, with some limitations, Pareau, Hävernicks, Von Gerlach, Baumgarten, and others, believe that Hebrew was the primitive language of mankind;¹ while some, contend that if any of the Asiatic tongues may claim the honor of being the ancestral language of our race, the palm should be given to the Sanskrit. Between these two opinions the question now rests, and "It is astonishing what an amount of real learning and ingenuity was wasted on this question during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. . . . It might have been natural for theologians in the fourth and fifth centuries, many of whom knew neither Hebrew nor any language except their own, to take it for granted that Hebrew was the source of all languages; but there is neither in the Old nor in the New Testament a single word to necessitate this view. Of the language of Adam we know nothing; but if Hebrew, as we know it, was one of the languages that sprang from the confusion of tongues at Babel, it could not well have been the language of Adam, or of the whole earth 'when the whole earth was still of one speech.' . . . The first who really conquered the prejudice that Hebrew was the source of all language was Leibnitz, the contemporary and rival of Newton. 'There is as much reason,' he said, 'for supposing Hebrew to have been the primitive language of mankind as there is for adopting the view of Goropius, who published a work at Antwerp, in 1580, to prove that Dutch was the language spoken in Paradise.' In a letter to Tenzel Leibnitz writes: 'To call Hebrew the primitive language is like calling branches of a tree primitive branches, or like imagining that in some country hewn trunks could grow instead of trees. Such ideas may be conceived; but they do not agree with the laws of nature and with the harmony of the universe, that is to say, with the divine wisdom.'"²

4. *Character and Development of the Hebrew Language.*

In relation to the rest of the Shemitic languages, the Hebrew, whether regarded as the primitive language or not, has for the most part retained the stamp of high antiquity, originality, and greater simplicity and purity of forms. In its earliest written state it exhibits, in the writings of Moses, a perfection of structure which was never surpassed. As it had no doubt been modified between the time of

¹ The latest advocate is the Frenchman, H. d'Anselme, in his *De l'hébreu comme langue primitive, Essai de conférence*. Paris, 1880.

² Müller, *Science of Language*, i. p. 133.

Abraham and Moses by the Egyptian and Arabic, so in the period between Moses and Solomon it was influenced by the Phœnician; and, down to the time of Ezra, continued to receive an accession of exotic terms, which, though tending to enlarge its capabilities as a spoken and written tongue, materially alloyed the primitive simplicity and purity of a language, compared with which none may be said to have been so poor, and yet none so rich. But with the period of the captivity there arose an entirely new literature, strikingly different from the earlier, and which is to be traced to the influence exerted by the Aramaic tongue upon the Hebrew, which had previously been developing itself within restricted limits.¹ This was the introduction to its gradual decay, which did not become fully manifest, however, until the commencement of the Chaldean period. Not only did the intrusion of this powerful Aramaic element greatly tarnish the purity of the Hebrew words and their grammatical formation, older ones having been altered and supplanted by newer ones which are Aramaic for the most part:² it also obscured the understanding of the old language,³ and it enfeebled its instinctive operations until length it stifled them. The consequence was that the capacity of observing grammatical niceties in the old pure Hebrew was entirely lost;⁴ the distinction of prose and poetical diction was partly forgotten;⁵ and finally, as the later writers went back to the Pentateuch and other older compositions, many elements which had ready died out of the language were reproduced as archaisms.⁶

¹ Comp. Ryssel, *De Elohistæ Pentateuchi Sermone* (Leipsic, 1878).

² This is especially seen in the coining of new words for abstract ideas by means of prefixed letters or syllables added, as *תְּהִיבָה* for *תְּהִיבָה* (Ps. cxvi. 12); *תְּהִיבָה* for *תְּהִיבָה* (Ezek. xvi. 15-20); *תְּהִיבָה* (Ezra vii. 6; Esth. v. 3, 7, 8). Here belong the Chaldee names of the months in Neh. ii. 1; Esth. iii. 7; viii. 9; Kings vi. 1, 37; Neh. vi. 15, etc.

³ This is shown by the increasing use of the scriptio plena as *תְּהִיבָה* for *תְּהִיבָה*; interchange of the weak letters *ה* and *א*, for instance *תְּהִיבָה* (1 Chron. xiii. 12) for *תְּהִיבָה* (2 Sam. vi. 9), as *תְּהִיבָה* for *תְּהִיבָה* (1 Chron. xi. 31), or by inserting liquid *ל* for *ל* (1 Chron. xviii. 5, 6).

⁴ Interchange of *א* as the sign of the accusative, and as meaning "with," instance, Jer. i. 16; xix. 10; xx. 11, etc.; the use of *ל* to mark the accusative instead of the dative (1 Chron. v. 26; xvi. 37; xxix. 20, 22, etc.; the use of *א* instead of *ל*; the use of Aramaic forms of inflection, as *תְּהִיבָה* for *תְּהִיבָה* (Jer. iv. 30), *תְּהִיבָה* for *תְּהִיבָה* (Jer. ii. 33; iii. 4, 5; iv. 19, etc.).

⁵ Comp. *תְּהִיבָה* (Piel), "to be afraid" (Ezra iv. 4, elsewhere only the substantive *תְּהִיבָה* in poetry); *תְּהִיבָה*, "to reject with loathing" (1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. xi. 14; xxix. 19, earlier only in poets, and in Hos. viii. 3-5; Zech. x. 6).

⁶ Eg. *תְּהִיבָה*, "species" (Ezek. xlviii. 10 taken from the Pentateuch); *תְּהִיבָה*,

5. *Decay of the Hebrew Language.*

But the great crisis of the language occurs at the time of the captivity in Babylon. There, as a spoken tongue, it became deeply tinged with the Aramaic. The biblical Hebrew, abiding in the imperishable writings of the prophets, continued to be the study of the learned; it was heard on the lips of the priest, in the services of religion, and was the vehicle of written instruction; but as the medium of common conversation it was extensively affected, and in the case of multitudes superseded, by the idiom of the nation among whom Providence had cast their lot. So an Aramaized Hebrew, or a Hebraized Aramaean continued to be spoken by such of them as resettled in Palestine under Ezra and Nehemiah; while the yet greater number who preferred the uninterrupted establishment of their families in Babylon, fell entirely into the use of Aramaic. This decline of the popular knowledge of pure Hebrew gave occasion to the appointment of an order of interpreters — *meturgemanin* — in the synagogue for the explication of the Scriptures in this more current dialect, as can be seen from Nehemiah viii. 8, where we read, "They (the priests and Levites) read in the book, in the law of God קְרָאִים, and appended thereto the sense, and caused them to understand the reading," where the word means, "with an explanation subjoined," i.e. with an interpretation added, with an explanation in Chaldee, the vulgar tongue, as appears from the context and by a comparison of Ezra iv. 18, and verse 7. Accordingly the Talmudists correctly explained our passage וְהָיוּ חֲרָטִים, and so also Clericus, Dathe, etc.¹ But while these changes were taking place in the vernacular speech, the Hebrew language itself still maintained its existence. It is a great mistake to call Hebrew a dead language. It has never died; it will never die. In the days to which we are now referring, it was still loved and revered by the Jewish people as the "holy tongue" of their patriarchs and prophets. Not only the remaining canonical Scriptures, but the prayers and hymns of the temple and synagogue, were for the most part written in it, and even the inscriptions of the coinage retained both the language and the more antique characters, in preference to those more recently introduced by Ezra.

"a measure" (1 Chron. xxiii. 29; Ezek. iv. 11, 16, etc., from Lev. xix. 35); קָבֵל, "to act cunningly" (Mal. i. 14; Ps. cv. 25, from Gen. xxxvii. 18, or Num. xxv. 18, etc.).

¹ Gesenius, who is followed by Bleek and others, understands the term מְתוּרְגְּמָנִין to mean *word for word, faithfully, literally*.

6. *Of the Written Hebrew.*

About the time when the language underwent this internal change, it was also changed externally. That we have not the original Hebrew characters in mss. and printed texts of the Bible, is evident from a tradition we have in the Talmud, that "at first the law was given to Israel in the Hebrew writing and the holy tongue, and again it was given to them in the days of Ezra in the Assyrian writing and the Aramaean tongue. They chose for the Israelites the Assyrian writing and the holy language, and left to the *idiotae* (or ignorant persons) the Hebrew writing and the Aramaean language. And who are the *idiotae*? Rabbi Hilda says, "the Samaritans." And again, "Though the law was not given by Ezra's hand, yet the writing and language were called the Assyrian."¹ This Assyrian writing כתב עברי is also called "square writing," כתב עברי, "correct writing," כתב עברי, and by the Samaritans "Ezra's writing," כתב עברי. We must suppose that the square character, which came into use after the Exile, only gradually thrust the older character aside; for in the Maccabean coinage the ancient Hebrew character was used, and while we trace back the origin of the new characters nearly to the times of Ezra, certain it is that at a later time it was perfected in its present form, and long before the time of the Talmud,² since there we find directions given concerning the writing of the alphabet.

7. *Tradition. — Periods of the Hebrew Language.*

It is chiefly among the Jews of Palestine that we are to seek the preservation of the knowledge of the Hebrew language. Though the Hebrew ceased to be even a written language, yet for practical ends in the usages of worship the study of the old Hebrew documents became for them an indispensable duty, for which the affinity of the language they used must have offered them peculiar facilities. Hence, as early

¹ Sanhedrin, fol. 21, col. 2; Jerome in Prolog Galeatus ad libr. Regum, Opp. vol. iv. p. 7, writes: "Certum est, Esdram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolimam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias literas reperisse, quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Hebraeorum characteres fuerint" (i.e. "It is certain that Ezra the scribe and teacher of the law, after Jerusalem had been taken, and the temple renewed under Zerubbabel, found other letters, which we now use, since up to that time the characters of the Samaritans and Hebrews were the same.") See also Origen in Ex. ix. 4; Ps. ii. (iii. 539.)

² The transformation was complete before the time of Christ, for Matt. v. 18 alludes to the new form of god (jot).

as the book of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), which was probably written between 290–280 B.C., mention is made of the study of Scripture as the chief and fairest occupation of the *γραμματεὺς*, the *διανοεῖσθαι ἐν νόμῳ ὑψίστου*, and *σοφίαν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἐκζητήσει καὶ ἐν προφητείαις ἀσχοληθήσεται*.¹ The more erudite study of Hebrew Scripture was prosecuted in Palestine and Babylonia, from the days of Ezra, not only by individual scribes, but also in formal schools and academies, the *בתי דבירה*, also *בתי רבנות* and *בתי חכמה*, which were established there before the time of Christ. The chief seat of these was at first principally at Jerusalem; then after the destruction of this city by the Romans, it was transferred to Jamnia or Jabneh,² under Jochanan ben Saccai, till under Gamaliel III., son of Judah I. (A.D. 193–220), Tiberias became the seat of learning. Among the teachers of Tiberias, Rabbi Judah the Holy, or *hak-kadosh* (†193), the compiler of the Mishna,³ obtained a remarkable reputation in the latter half of the second century. After his death the seat of this scriptural erudition was once more transferred to Babylonia,⁴ where the schools at certain cities on the Euphrates, Sora,⁵ Pumbaditha,⁶

¹ Ecclus. xxxix. 1 ff.: "But he that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High, and meditateth thereon, will seek out the wisdom of all the elders and be occupied with prophecies." That the number of scribes was, even in the time of the Maccabees, not small, appears from 1 Macc. vii. 12.

² On this famous school compare A. Scheinin, *Die Hochschule zu Jamnia und ihre bedeutendsten Lehrer*. Halberstadt, 1878.

³ The language of the Mishna has been treated by Geiger, *Lehr- und Lesebuch zur Sprache der Mischna* (Breslau, 1845); L. Dukes, *Die Sprache der Mischna* (Esslingen, 1846), and *Zur rabbinischen Sprachkunde* (Vienna, 1857); J. H. Weiss, *Mishpat L'shôn ham-Mishna* (in Hebrew, Vienna, 1867).

⁴ For many illustrations of the Hebrew scholarship of the Babylonian teachers, see Bacher, *Die Agada der Babylonischen Amoräer* (Strasburg, 1879, reviewed by H. L. Strack in *Schürer's Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, No. 3, 1879).

⁵ This school was founded in A.D. 219 by Abba Areka, more commonly known by his scholastic title of *Rab*. Of famous teachers at this school, we mention Ashi ben-Simāi, surnamed Rabbana (our teacher), who immortalized his name by collecting the Babylonian Talmud (375–427), Mar Cohen Zedek I., ben-Abimāi, the author of the first collection of the Jewish order of prayers (*סידור*), Saadia ben-Joseph (of whom we shall speak further on). The last was Samuel ben-Chofni (1009–1034). A list of all teachers is given in my art. "Sora," in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia.

⁶ This school was founded towards the end of the third century, and was closed with the death of Hai ben-Sherira, its last incumbent (998–1038). The popes and anti-popes of the Church of Rome, are here also found in the *Gaon* and anti-Gaon. For a list of the teachers, see my art. "Pumbaditha" in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia.

and Nehardea,¹ attained, with reference to this, pre-eminently to high esteem. Still along with these, the Palestinian schools subsisted uninterruptedly, especially the school at Tiberias,² and to the labors of these schools are due in part the Targums,³ but principally the Talmud⁴ and the Massora.⁵

The activity of these schools took different shapes at different periods, and into four of these periods it may be divided: I. The period of the *more ancient Sopherim* (scribes סופרים ראשונים), from the close of the Canon to the ruin of the Jewish commonwealth. They settled fixedly the external and internal form of the sacred text (ספר), the correct writing and reading, the arrangement of the books and their sections, the numbering of the verses, words, and letters, etc. II. The period of the *Talmudists*, from the second to the sixth century of the Christian era. III. The period of the *Massoretes*, from the sixth to the ninth century. IV. The period of the *Grammarians* and *Expositors*, from the ninth to the sixteenth century. Following the example of the Arabians, they endeavored to lay a scientific foundation for Hebrew philology and for understanding the text of the Bible, by means of various labors in grammar and lexicography, including the comparison of the Aramaic and Arabic dialects.

PERIOD I.—THE PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AMONG THE JEWS (A.D. 900–1500).

SECT. 1.—*From Koreish to Kimchi* (A.D. 900–1250).

During the first two periods mentioned above nothing was done for the grammatical study of the Hebrew; but there was a traditional pronunciation for the synagogue and a traditional interpretation of

¹ The most famous teacher of this school was Mar Samuel, and his life is described by D. Hoffmann in *Mar Samuel, Rector der jüdischen Akademie zu Nehardea in Babylonien* (Leipzig, 1873), and by S. Fessler, *Mar Samuel, der bedeutendste Amora* (Breslau, 1879).

² Famous teachers of that school were Judah II., ben-Simon III. (A.D. 220–270), the teacher of Origen; Hillel II., ben-Judah III. (330–365), who is said by Epiphanius to have embraced Christianity. The last was Gamaliel, surnamed *בית-אורי* (i.e. the last), ben-Judah IV. (400–425).

³ On the Targums, comp. my art. "Targum," in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*; also the art. "Targum," by Volk-Pick in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia*.

⁴ See my art. "Talmud," in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*.

⁵ See the art. "Massora," by Strack-Pick in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclop.*

was also explained according to the *gematria* (גימטריא). The idea of this rule was, since every letter is a numeral, to reduce the word to the number it contains, and to explain the word by another of the same quantity. Thus from the passage "And all inhabitants of the earth were of one language" (Gen. xi. 1) is deduced that all spoke Hebrew; לשון being changed for its synonym חקש, and חקש = $5 + 100 + 4 + 300 = 409$ is substituted for its equivalent אחז = $1 + 8 + 400 = 409$.

Another mode of interpretation was according to the אל חקש, i.e. read not so, but so — a very important rule, which exhibits the beginnings of the Massora, and which forms the third of the four periods mentioned above. The connecting link between the third and fourth periods, i.e. between the Massoretes and the grammarians, is Rabbi Aaron ben Moshe ben Asher, or Ben Asher, as he is generally called, who flourished circa A.D. 900 at Tiberias.¹ In the fourth period the scientific treatment of the Hebrew language commences, and the first person who is celebrated for cultivating grammatical subjects is:

1. Judah ibn Koreish or Qarish.

Judah ibn Koreish, who flourished about A.D. 870–900, at Tahart or Tahort in Africa, was skilled in languages, understood the Berber language, besides the three original Shemitic languages, studied the Mishna and the Talmud, the Koran and Arabic poets, and was well fitted to write works upon the Hebrew language and its comparison with others. He wrote: 1. a *Hebrew dictionary* (אָרִיז) in alphabetical order, but with that peculiar arrangement which all works of this class were subject to at that time, viz. each group of words belonging to a letter was accompanied by introductions — one on those words which have only the letter in question for a radical theme, and another on the changes of that letter. This work seems to have been extensively used, and is quoted by many later writers, as Saadia, Saruk, Labrat, Ben Gannâch, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Tanchum, Hadassi. As a

Crown of the world, sweet wood, salvation's horn
 Rearing its beauty, shall for man be born:
 O wood, that saints adore, and sinners scorn!
 So from twelve fountains shall its light be poured;
 S taff of the Shepherd, and victorious sword."

¹ Comp. Die Dikduke Ha-T'amim des Aharon ben Moscheh ben Ascher, edited by S. Baer and H. L. Strack (Leipsic, 1879), reviewed by Stade in Schärer's Theolog. Literaturzeitung, 1879, No. 26.

continuation of the dictionary may be considered: 2. *Risdlet* (רסדלת), a letter addressed to the Jewish community at Fez. It begins with an energetic exhortation to study the Targum or the Chaldee version of the Old Testament, and then illustrates, in three divisions, by examples alphabetically arranged, the striking affinity between Hebrew, on the one hand, and Chaldee and Arabic, — the languages of the Mishna and the Talmud, — on the other. His comparison includes, besides, some foreign words of difficult etymology and meaning, probably belonging to the dialect of Barbary and some other African dialects. This work, quoted by later Jewish writers, as Jonah ibn Gannâch, D. Kimchi, Ibn Ezra, etc., became first known in 1715 by a communication which John Gagnier sent to Joh. Chr. Wolf,¹ then by extracts with translations by Schnurrer,² Wetzstein,³ and Ewald and Dukes,⁴ and has lately been edited from an imperfect manuscript of the Bodleian library⁵ by I. J. L. Bargès and D. B. Goldberg.⁶ 3. *a Hebrew Grammar* (ספר הקריק), quoted by Levi ben Jepheth (1030), and anonymously by Ibn Ezra; and 4. *a homonymic work* (ספר השוואות) mentioned by Judah Hadassi.

2. Saadia ben Joseph Ha-Pithomi.

Saadia ben Joseph Ha-Pithomi, or Ha-Mizri,⁷ called in Arabic Said Ibn-Jaakûb Alfajjumi, was born A.D. 892 at Fajjûm, in Upper

¹ Bibliotheca Hebr., iii. 311 sq.

² Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Literatur (Leipzig, 1790), iii. pp. 951-980.

³ Literaturblatt des Orients, Vol. iii. No. 2, 1842.

⁴ Beiträge zur Geschichte der Aeltesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des Alten Testaments (Stuttgart, 1844), i. pp. 116-123; ii. pp. 117, 118.

⁵ Cod. Huntington, 573; comp. Uri. Cod. Manuser. Hebr. et Chald., p. 95, No. 487.

⁶ The title is: R. Jehuda ben Koreish Tiharentensis Africani ad Synagogam Judaeorum civitatis Fez epistola de studii Targum utilitate et de linguae Chaldaicae, misnicae, talmudicae, arabicae, vocabulorum item nonnullorum barbaricorum convenientia cum hebraea; ed. . . . Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1857. Comp. Geiger Jüdische Zeitschrift ix. (Breslau, 1871), p. 59 sq. On Koreish, comp. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, v. 261. Pinsker, Likute Kadmonioth, p. 107, etc.; additions to the work, p. 129, etc. (Vienna, 1860); Fürst, Bibl. Judaica, ii. 230; Gross, Menachem ben Saruk (Breslau, 1872), p. 19 sq.

⁷ Comp. Rappaport, Biography of Saadia in Bikkure Ha-ittim (Vienna, 1828), ix. 20-37; Geiger, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1835), i. 182; ibid. (Leipsic, 1844), v. 261 sq.; Jüdische Zeitschrift, 1868, p. 309; 1872; p. 4 sq., 172 sq., 255; Munk, Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon et sa Version Arabe, in Cahen's Bible (Paris, 1838), ix. 73 sq.; Ewald und Dukes, Beiträge zur

Egypt. He was distinguished alike as philosopher, Talmudist, theologian, grammarian, and commentator. On account of his great learning he was appointed master of the great Jewish academy at Sora, in Babylonia, in 928, but, in consequence of a dispute and his unyielding character, was compelled to resign the office in 933; but resuming it four years later, his learning and energy rescued its name from the contempt into which it had fallen, and into which it relapsed after his death in 942. As Saadia concerns us here as grammarian, we can only mention his works in the department of philology, viz. 1. a Hebrew grammar, which consists of ten chapters or sections, treating of the consonants, — especially the gutturals and their changes, — *dagesh* and *raphe*, the accents, the connection of words, nouns, and particles; 2. refutations of and criticisms upon the works of Ben Asher, written in rhymed verses; 3. a dictionary of the Hebrew language in alphabetical order (תִּיבֵּי חֵטֶף), in Hebrew, in which each letter is called תִּיבֵּי חֵטֶף; 4. an interpretation of ninety words occurring but once in the Bible or ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, which he illustrated by synonymous terms gathered from the Mishna, the Targum, and the Talmud, entitled

Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung des Alten Testaments (Stuttgart, 1844), i. 1–115; ii. 5–115; Fürst, Bibl. Judaica, i. 266–271; idem, Geschichte des Karäerthums von 900–1575 (Leipsic, 1865), p. 20 sq.; Introduction to the Hebrew and Chaldean Lexicon, p. xxiv. sq.; Steinschneider, Catalogus Librorum Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, No. 3156–2224; Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, v. 268 sq., 479 sq.; Bloch in Grätz's Monatsschrift, 1870, p. 401 sq.; Turner, Biographical Notices of some of the most distinguished Jewish Rabbis (New York, 1847), pp. 63–65, 185–190; Ueberweg, History of Philosophy (ibid., 1872), i. 418, 423, 424; Ginsburg in Kitto's Cyclop. s.v. id. Commentary on the Song of Song's (London, 1857), p. 34 sq.; Etheridge, Introduction to Hebrew Literature, p. 226 sq.; Dössauer, Geschichte der Israeliten, p. 278 sq.; Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, pp. 84, 125, 131, 132, 135, 159, 160, 165, 166; Schmiedel, Saadia Alfajumi und die negativen Vorzüge seiner Religionsphilosophie (Vienna, 1870); Kalisch, Hebrew Grammar (London, 1863), ii. 5 sq.; Keil, Introduction to the Old Testament (Edinburgh, 1870), ii. 383; Bleek, Einleitung in das Alte Test., p. 101 sq., 104 sq., 744; De Rossi, Dizionario storico, p. 97 (German transl.); id. Bibliotheca Judaica Antichristiana, p. 98 sq.; Jost, Gesch. d. Judenth. u. s. Sekten, ii. 274 sq., 279, 285, 345; Kaufmann, Die Attributenlehre des Saadja (Gotha, 1875); id. Geschichte der Attributenlehre (ibid., 1877), and review of this work in Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft (1878), xxxii. 213 sq.; and by H. P. Smith, in The Presbyterian Review (New York, 1881), p. 720 sq.; Eisler, Vorlesungen über die jüd. Philosophen des Mittelalters (Vienna, 1876), i. p. 1 sq.; Cohn in Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums (Berlin, 1881), p. 1 sq.; Pick in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s.v. Saadia.

חפסי אלבעין לפסח אלפיה, which has been published by Dukes,¹ and again with important corrections by Geiger;² 5. a work on Hebrew style or rhetoric, in which he treats at length of word-building, style, grammatical anomalies, and the use of Hebraism in rhetorical style.

3. *Menachem ibn Saruq or Saruk.*

Menachem ibn Saruq or Saruk³ was born about 910 A.D., at Tortosa in Spain, and died about the year 970 at Cordova. He is the author of a biblical dictionary, called ס' אנרין, or ס' חפריין, also ס' חפריין סתם,⁴ including the Aramaean of Daniel and Ezra, with explanations in Hebrew. This dictionary, the first ever written, is preceded by an elaborate grammatical treatise. Ibn Saruk, who knew and used his predecessors Koreish and Saadia, "attempted to penetrate deeper into the subtler parts of the flexion of words; he treated ably of *dagesh* and *raphe*, of the gutturals, the vowels and accents and of the letters which are incompatible in the same root; he established correct distinctions and found for them new terms; yet he scarcely passed beyond the rudiments of grammatical treatment. Dividing the alphabet into radical and servile letters, — the former being employed in the root (יסוד), the latter for inflection and derivation (מלצר), he fell into manifold errors in the application of this principle; for, reducing all roots to *two* letters, he was often guided by appearance and sound, rather than etymology. That principle itself is so far interesting, and perhaps correct, as possibly at a very early period the roots of the Shemitic languages consisted of two strong or firm consonants, supported later by the addition of one weaker letter, either before or between or after them. But this

¹ l.c. ii. pp. 110–115.

² Wissensch. Zeitsch. (1844), 117–324.

³ Comp. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, v. p. 336 sq.; Braunschweiger, Geschichte, p. 25 sq.; Fürst, Bibliotheca Judaica, iii. pp. 248–250; Introduction to his Hebrew and Chaldee Dict., p. xxvi.; Kimchi, Liber Radicum, p. xxvi sq. (ed. Biesenthal and Lebrecht); De Rossi, Dizionario storico, p. 287 (German transl.), Kämpf, Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter (Prague, 1858), p. 135 sq.; Gross, Menachem ben Saruk (Breslau, 1872); Geiger, Jüdische Zeitschrift (1872), p. 81 sq. — Pick, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop., s.v. Saruk.

⁴ Edited by H. Filipowski, under the title of ס' חפריין סתם, Antiquissimum linguae Hebraicae et Chaldaicae lexicon ad sacras scripturas explicandas a Menachem ben Saruk Hispaniensi saeculo decimo compositum (London, 1854)

process had entirely ceased before the time of biblical Hebrew, when the third radical — which moreover is in very many cases no weak letter — had become a constant and integral part of the roots. Hence Saruk's dictionary is not seldom confused in arrangement, and, though many of the explanations are judicious and acceptable, it betrays an imperfect acquaintance with the exact laws of the language. His merit is to have marked out the full boundaries of Hebrew grammar, and to have prepared the way for its more profitable cultivation." That Menachem has not been without influence upon later grammarians and writers can be seen from the fact that he is quoted by Kimchi (*Lexic. Rad.*, s.v. קלל, נצר, כרר) and other writers, but more especially by Rashi, who quotes him most frequently.¹ In spite of this, Menachem's work found a severe, if not a bitter and envious, critic in his contemporary,

4. *Dunash ben Labrat.*

Dunash ben Labrat,² called in Hebrew Adonim Hallevi, was born about 920 A.D., at Bagdad, and after having lived for some time at Fez, he also repaired to Cordova, where he wrote his anti-dictionary, under the title of ספר תשובות, "The Book of Answers or Objections." This dictionary, which is of a polemical nature, consists of a minute examination of Saruk's lexicon, giving in one hundred and sixty articles his critical strictures upon Saruk's lexicon in an alphabetical order; and every article concludes with some terse remark or saying in rhyme. This work was also edited by Filipowski, with notes of Dukes and Kirchheim.³ The principal points may be summed up in the following: "1. Dunash classifies *verbs* and *adverbs* (מליץ חטעה) separately, and objects to the derivation of the former from the latter. 2. Distinguishes the *servile* letters of verbs from nouns similar in

¹ Comp. Gross, l.c. p. 68 sq.

² Comp. Dukes, *Liter. Mitth. über die ältesten hebr. Exegeten, Grammatiker und Lexicographen* (Stuttgart, 1844); Steinschneider, *Catal. Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, col. 897, etc.; Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmonioth*, pp. 66-157, etc.; Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, v. p. 338 sq.; Fürst, *Introduction to Hebrew Lexicon*, p. xxvi.; Kimchi, *Lib. Rad.*, p. iii. sq. (ed. Biesenthal and Lebrecht); Braunschweiger, *Geschichte*, p. 36; Etheridge, *Introduction to the Hebrew Literature*, pp. 373, 379; De Rossi, *Dizionario*, p. 183 (German transl.); Kalisch, *Hebr. Grammar*, ii. p. 9 sq.; Steinschneider, *Bibliogr. Handbuch*, p. 77; and *Jewish Literature*, p. 138; Kaempfer, *Nichtandalusische Poesie*, p. 156 sq.; Kitto, *Cyclop. s.v.*; Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift* (1866), p. 200 sq.

³ *Criticae vocum recensione Donash ben Librat, etc.* (London, 1855).

form by grammatical rules. 3. Shows the advantage of the application of Chaldee and Arabic in the explanation of Hebrew words. 4. Points out the proper construction of some verba. 5. Departs in more than twenty-four different verses from the Massoretic reading, wherever he can find a more appropriate meaning." In all it is, as Fürst says, "a work of great interest in relation to a knowledge of Hebrew philology, of the new Hebrew poetry, and of the state of Jewish culture in Spain in the tenth century."

In the same polemical spirit Dunash wrote also against the grammatical views of Saadia, under the title of *חשיבות* "Animadversions," which, though only fragmentary, show that he was a better grammarian, especially as to the knowledge of the verb, than Saadia.¹ That Dunash exercised a great influence over grammarians and expositors of the Bible may be seen in the frequent quotations made from his works by the principal lexicographers and commentators, such as Rashi (Ex. xxviii. 28; Num. xi. 8; Isa. xxvii. 11; Eccl. xii. 11); Joseph Cara (on Hos. ii. 9; viii. 6; xiii. 7, etc.); Ibn Ezra (on Ps. ix. 1; xlii. 5, etc.); Kimchi's Lexicon (under *עזר, עזר, עזר*). Dunash died A.D. 980.

The contest begun under Menachem and Dunash continued between their followers.² Most prominent of Menachem's followers was:

5. *Jehuda ben David ibn Chayyug.*

Jehuda ben David ibn Chayyug,³ called in Arabic Abu Zakarja *Jachja ibn Daûd*, the chief of grammarians (*ראש תלמידיקראים*), and

¹ Comp. Ibn Ezra's *Sephat Jether* by Lippman, and preface by Jost, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1843. *Kritik des Dunasch ben Labrat über einzelne Stellen aus Saadia's arab. Uebersetzung des A. T. etc.*, herausgegeben und mit kritischen Anmerkungen von R. Schröter, Erster Heft (Breslau, 1866).

² Comp. *Liber Responsium*. Particula i continet Responsiones discipulorum, R. Men. b. Saruk, etc.; Part i. continet Responsiones discipuli Dunash ben Labrat, etc. Primum edidit. . . . S. G. Stern. Vienna, 1870.

³ Comp. Dukes, *Literaturhistorische Mittheilungen über die ältesten hebr. Exegeten, Grammatiker, etc.* (Stuttgart, 1844); Kitto's *Cyclop.*, s.v.; likewise McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*, s.v.; Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica*, i. 160; his *Introduction to the Hebrew Lexicon*, p. xxvii. sq.; De Rossi, *Dizionario storico*, p. 73 (German transl.); Levita's *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, p. 20 (ed. Ginsburg, London, 1867); Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 136; the same, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, col. 1301-1306; and *Bibliogr. Handbuch*, p. 34 no. 390; Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, p. 247; Kimchi, *Liber Radicum*, p. xlii. sq. (ed. Biesenthal und Lebrecht, Berlin, 1847); Graetz, *Ge-*

the "master of thinkers," was a native of Fez in Africa, but spent the greater part of his life at Cordova, between 940–1010. He was the first who, after the Arabic model, established the triliteralness of Hebrew stems. He, too, was the first who discovered the true relation of the *quiescent letters* forming the *mnemonic* אָחִי, and their changes. It was he, too, who arranged the verbs according to their conjugations (בִּינְיָיִם),¹ distributing them under two heads: *a*, *kal* (קַל) i.e. light, and *b*, *kabed* (כָּבֵד) i.e. heavy; and fixed six conjugations, viz. 1. *Kal*, 2. *Niphal*, 3. *Hiphil*, 4. *Hithpael*, 5. *Pual* and *Hophal*, 6. *Piel*. This arrangement has been substantially adopted by all grammarians, and is exhibited in all the regular paradigms of the verb given by Gesenius, Ewald, and all modern linguists in their Hebrew grammars. On account of this system with its consequences the teachers of the Hebrew language in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the grammarian Ibn Ezra,² and the lexicographer Par-chon,³ and Kimchi,⁴ consider him the actual founder of Hebrew philology. He wrote, 1. a book concerning verbs with *quiescent letters*, called by Ibn Ezra, in Hebrew אֲחִיּוֹת הַיָּדָא by Ibn Chiquitilla אֲחִיּוֹת הַיָּדָא, in three divisions, namely, a collection and explanation *a*. of all אָ and אֵ verbs; *b*. of all אֵ e.g.

schichte der Juden, v. p. 355 sq.; Jost, Geschichte des Judenthums, u. s. Sekten, ii. p. 404 sq.; Hävernick, Introduction to the Old Test., p. 215 (Edinb., 1852); Keil, Introduction to the Old Test., ii. p. 163 sq. (ibid., 1870); Bleek, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 102 (Berlin, 1865); Kalisch, Hebrew Grammar, ii. p. 10 sq.; Munk, Notice sur Aboulwalid, p. 64 sq.; Preiswerk, Grammaire Hébraïque, p. xlv. (Bale et Genève, 1871).

¹ Comp. Bacher, Die Grammatische Terminologie des Jehûdâ ben Dâwîd Hajjug. Vienna, 1882.

² In the list of philologists (preface to Mosnayim) it is said of him: "He is the most learned of the masters of the Hebrew language, the chief of all who gave forth deep thoughts before him." In Sephat Jether, No. 74, "the grammar of the Hebrew language was not known until Jehuda ben David, the chief of grammarians, arose. In Sapha Berurah (ed. Lippm.), p. 256, he says: "Know that all older teachers of the language assumed as the roots of יִרָּ, יִרָּ only יִרָּ, יִרָּ; for יִרָּ merely יִרָּ, for יִרָּ only יִרָּ, and for יִרָּ only יִרָּ and יִרָּ. . . . this was the view of Ibn Koreish, Ibn Sarûk; only Ibn Labrat awoke a little from the sleep of ignorance, etc., and God opened the eyes of Jehudah to perceive the quiescent letters, how they are added, are wanting, or change."

³ In the preface of his Dictionary he says of him, that there had been revealed to him what even a Saadia had not known.

⁴ In the preface to his Mikhlol: "and the chief of the teachers of the Hebrew language was Jehuda Fasi, called Chayyug; he found Hebrew grammar perverted in his time," etc.

עפ; c. of all מל, e.g. מלך: 2. a book on verbs whose second and third radicals are the same=פ"ע e.g. עפע, called מלך-העפע. 3. a work on the signs, or the *sepher ha-Nikkud* (ספר הניקוד), in which the vowels, Sh'va (שׁוּבָא), the system of accents, and the gaja (גַּיָּא) are treated at length. For a long time known only by fragments and extracts,¹ they have been edited in Ibn Ezra's version with notes from a ms. in Munich by L. Dukes,² who also gives an elaborate sketch of the author's life and linguistic discoveries; and in a more correct edition by J. W. Nutt.³ All these three works were used from Parchon, Kimchi, Balmes, down to Heidenheim. Ibn Chayyug was a very great authority to the great grammarian and lexicographer of the eleventh century Ibn Gannâch, who pays most regard to him in the grammar and dictionary. But notwithstanding this esteem, Ibn Gannâch wrote his *Kitâb-al-Mustalikh*, i.e. "the Supplement," in the form of additions and corrections to Ibn Chayyug, against which book, however, Chayyug's pupil, Samuel ha-Nagid, wrote a treatise. Chayyug compiled also a dictionary, which is quoted by Ibn Gannâch and Parchon, but it is completely lost, like another work, the Book of Spices (ספר התיב), which is mentioned by Ibn Ezra. Next in order is

6. Jona ibn Gannâch.

Jona ibn Gannâch,⁴ in Arabic *Abû'l Walîd Merwân*, was born between 985-990 at Cordova, but was, in consequence of the military occupation of that town by the Moors in 1024, compelled to flee

¹ Comp. Morfni, Exercitt. Bibl. xiv. p. 433, 521, 528; Wolf, Bibl. Hebr., i. 425; iii. 307; R. Simon, Hist. Crit., i. chap. 31.

² Beitrage (Stuttgart, 1844), Vol. iii.; comp. also Vol. i. pp. 123-125; ii. pp. 155-163.

³ Two treatises on verbs containing feeble and double letters. . . . edited from Bodleian Mss. with an English translation. London, 1870.

⁴ Comp. De Rossi, Dizionario storico, p. 110 (German transl.); Fürst, Bibl. Jud., i. p. 315; Introd. to Hebr. and Chald. Lexicon, p. xxx. sq.; Kitto, Cyclop., v.; McClintock and Strong's Cyclop., s.v.; Munk, Notice sur Abulwalid (Paris, 1851); Ewald and Dukes Beitrage, i. p. 126-150; ii. p. 169-175 (Stuttgart, 1844); Lebrecht in Ersch und Gruber's Allgem. Encykl., sect. ii. vol. xxii. p. 383-385; Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, p. 136; Catalogus Libr. Hebr., in Bibl. Bodl., col. 1415-1420; Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, vi. p. 20 sq.; Etheridge, Introduction to Hebrew Literature, p. 268; Jost, Gesch. d. Judenth. und seiner Sekten, ii. p. 404 sq.; Kimchi, Liber Radicum, p. xvi. sq. (ed. Biesenthal und Lebrecht); Lindo, The Jews in Spain and Portugal, p. 60; Hävernick's Introduction to the Old Test., p. 215 (Edinburgh, 1852); Keil's Intro-

to Saragossa. Here he practised medicine for his maintenance, but devoted all his spare time to the prosecution of philology, in which department he became one of the most scientific and independent. He died about 1050.

Ibn Gannâch wrote in elegant Arabic a number of works, seven of which are known to us, composed in the following order: 1. The Supplementer, *Kitâb-al-Mustalhik*, called in Hebrew ספר המשנה, in the form of additions and corrections to Ibn Chayyug. Against this Samuel ha-Nagid, a pupil of Chayyug, issued a rejoinder, to which Ibn Gannâch replied in a treatise entitled, 2. *Kitâb attashwîr*, Hebrew ספר תשלוח, "The Book of Reproach." 3. A polemical work, called *Risûlet at-Tanbîh*, Hebrew ספר התנב"ח, "the Book of Recollection," in which learning, judgment, and withering sarcasm are combined to ridicule, and in most cases successfully, to refute his opponents. 4. *Risûlet et-Takrîb wat-Tashîl*, Hebrew ספר הקריב והשי"ל, i.e. "a Letter of Approximation and facilitating." 5. *Kitâb at-taswîja*, Hebrew ספר התשו"א, "The Book of Reconciliation." But his principal work is that which he composed last, after he had silenced his opponents, and gained their reluctant respect; it bears the title *Kitâb at-tankîh*, Hebrew ספר הקט"ח, "Book of Inquiry." It is divided into two distinct parts, one grammatical, the other lexicographical; the former is inscribed, 6. *Kitâb al-lumâ*, "Book of Variegated Fields," in Hebrew ספר הלומ"ה,¹ treats at length of Hebrew grammar, in forty-six sections, on which Joseph ibn Caspe is said to have written a commentary.² The latter is entitled, 7. *Kitâb al-usul*, "Book of Roots," in Hebrew ספר השרשים,³ and is a Hebrew

duction to the Old Test., ii. p. 164 (ibid., 1870); Steinschneider, Bibliogr. Handbuch, p. 71, No. 1013-1015; Preiswerk, Grammaire Hebraïque, p. xlv. (Bale et Genève, 1871); Bleek, Einleitung in das Alte Test., p. 102, 104 (Berlin, 1865); Kalisch, Hebrew Grammar, ii. p. 12 sq.; Frankel-Graetz, Monatsschrift (1873), p. 379 sq.; 431 sq.; J. and H. Derenbourg, Opuscules et traités d'Aboul Walid Merwân ibn D'janah de Cordoue. Texte arabe publié avec une traduction française (Paris, 1880; comp. also the review of this work in Frankel-Graetz, Monatsschrift (1880), p. 145-166, 205-215).

¹ This grammatical work, formerly known by extracts only (comp. R. Simon, Histoire Critique, i. ch. 31; Morini, Exercitt. Bibl., p. 527), has lately been edited in the Hebrew translation of Jehudah ibn Tibbon, from two Mss. preserved at Paris by B. Goldberg, revised and corrected by Kirchheim, under the title: "Sefer Harikma. Grammaire hébraïque de Jona ben Gannach, traduite de l'arabe en hébreu par Jehuda ibn Tabbon (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1856).

² Delitzsch, Catal. of the Hebrew Mss. at Leipsic, p. 304.

³ This work was several times translated into Hebrew, but portions only of

dictionary. "If we survey," says Fürst, "the writings of Ibn Gannâch, the great linguistic work, as well as his other small treatises, we are involuntarily impressed with the view that a profounder knowledge of the vowel and accent system was already lost, in part, in the eleventh century; more than five hundred years having passed since the invention. Ibn Gannâch himself complains in the preface to his grammar, that a knowledge of the Hebrew language was only looked upon in his time as a secondary thing. But notwithstanding our scantier knowledge of this part of Hebrew philology, history cannot refuse him the testimony, that by means of his glowing zeal and comprehensive studies he became the restorer, and for us the new founder, of Hebrew grammar and lexicography."

7. *Abraham ben Meïr ibn Ezra.*

Abraham ben Meïr ibn Ezra,¹ also called by the Jews Rabe (רַבֵּי), from the initials of Rabbi Abraham ben Ezra, and by the scholastics

one of these versions have hitherto been made known by Luzzatto in *Kerem Chemed*, v. 34-47 (1841). The original has lately been published by A. Neubauer, under the title: *The Book of Hebrew Roots*, by Abu'l-Walid Marwân. Ibn Janâh, otherwise called Rabbi Yônâh. Now first edited with an Appendix, containing Extracts from other Hebrew-Arabic Dictionaries (Oxford, 1875).

¹ Comp. Hartmann in Ersch u. Gruber's *Allgem. Encyklop.*, sect. i. vol. i. 79 sq.; the arts. *Aben-Ezra* in Kitto, McClintock and Strong, *Herzog and Schaff-Herzog's Cyclopaedias*; De Rossi, *Dizionario storico*, p. 2 sq. (German transl.); Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, i. pp. 251-257; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libror. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, col. 680-689; *Bibliograph. Handbuch*, No. 968-971; *Abraham ibn Ezra. Zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissenschaften im 12. Jahrh.* (Supplement), zur historisch-liter. Abtheilung der *Zeitschrift für Mathem. und Physik* (1880), xxv. p. 57-128; Geiger, *Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift* (1835), i. p. 98 ff., 308 ff. (1836), p. 553 ff.; iv. (1839), pp. 261, 436; *Jüdische Zeitschrift* (Breslau, 1866), pp. 292-297; (1868), pp. 122-131; Ben Chananja, v. pp. 146, 210, 372; Turner, *Jewish Rabbis* (New York, 1847), pp. 31 sq., 92 sq., 134 sq.; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs* (English transl. by Taylor), p. 525 sq.; Lindo, *Hist. of the Jews in Spain*, p. 59 sq.; Finn, *Sephardim*, p. 193 sq.; Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles*, p. 257 sq.; Kalisch, *Hebrew Grammar*, ii. p. 15 sq.; Etheridge, *Introd. to Hebr. Literature*, pp. 248 sq., 382, 407 sq.; Marcolliouth, *Modern Judaism Investigated*, pp. 244, 252 (London, 1843); Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv. p. 183 sq.; Jost, *Gesch. des Judenth. und s. Sekten*, ii. p. 419 sq.; Braunschweiger, *Gesch. d. Juden in den roman. Staaten*, p. 72 sq.; Pesanor, *Gesch. der Israeliten*, p. 297 sq.; Kimchi, *Liber Rad.*, i. sq. (ed. Biesenthal und Lebrecht); Sachs, *Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, pp. 109 sq., 310 sq.; Kaempf, *Nichtandalusische Poesie* (Prague, 1858), p. 213 sq.; Grätz, *Leket Shoshanim*, p. 113 sq. (Breslau, 1862); Delitzsch, *Zur Gesch. der Jüd. Poesie*, pp. 245, 142, 149, 152, 157, 158, 160, 161; Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*,

Ebenare or Evenare, was born at Toledo in 1088–89. He settled at Cordova, but, incited by an unconquerable spirit of restlessness, he wandered through almost every country of Europe. Endowed with a mind wonderfully rich and versatile, brilliant and original, he soon distinguished himself in almost every field of literature. He wrote in Hebrew biblical commentaries, philosophical and astronomical treatises, religious and secular poems, and various grammatical treatises. Of the latter the following are known to us: 1. *Moznayim* (מאזניים לטוב ורע), “The Balance of the Hebrew Language,” which was written at Rome, and contains in the introduction a most valuable list of the earlier Hebrew grammarians, in many respects the only reliable source we possess on the subject.¹ 2. *Yesod* (יסוד), “The Book of Foundation,” composed at Lucca. 3. *Sephath Yether* (שפת יתר), “The Distinguished Tongue,” also written at Lucca, is a rejoinder to Ibn Labrat’s attack on Saadia. It contains the explanation of one hundred and sixty-three biblical passages, and has therefore both an exegetical and grammatical value.² 4. *Tsachoth* (צחית), “On the Purity of the Hebrew Style,” written at Mantua, in 1145.³ 5. *Sapha Berurah* (שפה ברייה), “The Pure Tongue,” composed at Rome, treats of diverse points of Hebrew grammar.⁴ Besides, he wrote several smaller works on grammatical subjects, as: 6. “The Mystery of the Form of the Letters” (סוד השמות האלפביתיים); 7. “On Ascertaining the True Sense of the Scriptures”; 8. “A Riddle on the Weak Letters” (חידה אל איתות אצור), given at the beginning of his Commentary on the Pentateuch;⁵ 9. “A Riddle on the Letters ט and י.”⁶ Moreover, many grammatical

pp. 11, 15, 133, 238, 242; *Literaturgesch. zur synagog. Poesie*, pp. 207–214, 414 (Berlin, 1865); Ginsburg, *Levita’s Massoreth ha-massoreth*, pp. 45, 125 (London, 1867); Jacob ibn Adonijah’s *Introd. to the Rabbin. Bible*, pp. 6, 7, 70 (*ibid.*, 1862); *Commentary on Song of Songs*, p. 44 sq. (*ibid.*, 1857); *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, p. 46 sq. (*ibid.*, 1861); Keil, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, ii. pp. 163, 384; Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, pp. 105, 174, 453, 740; Friedländer, *Ibn Ezra Literature*, 3 vols. (London, 1873, 1877); Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Einleitung zu seinem Pentateuch Commentar* (Vienna, 1876), and *Abraham ibn Ezra als Grammatiker* (Strassburg, 1881).

¹ Best edition with Heidenheim’s *Commentary*, Offenbach, 1791.

² Best edition by G. H. Lippmann, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1843.

³ Published by G. H. Lippmann, Fürth, 1827.

⁴ Published by G. H. Lippmann, Fürth, 1839.

⁵ Latin translation, by D. C. de Lara, Leyden, 1658.

⁶ Given in Lippmann’s edition of *Sapha Berurah*.

remarks and discussions are scattered throughout his commentaries. Ibn Ezra died at Rome, January 23, 1167.

8. *Solomon ben Abraham ibn Parchon.*

Solomon ben Abraham ibn Parchon¹ flourished about 1130 at Calatayud in Saragossa. He afterward emigrated to the Peninsula of Salerno, where he most probably died about 1180. In the year 1160 he compiled a grammatical and lexicographical work, entitled *מחברת חזקיה*. Though it is substantially a translation of Ibn Gannâch's celebrated Book of Roots, yet Parchon also introduces in it the labors of others, or omits, modifies portions, and occasionally changes the arrangement without indicating these deviations. The dictionary is preceded by explanations on the elements of the Hebrew language, and followed by syntactical observations (on elliptical and pleonastic expressions, changes of vowels and consonants, *ῥοτερον-ῥοτερον*, *status constructus*, genders and numbers), partly adopted from the Sepher Harikmah of Ibn Gannâch, but still less logical and systematic in arrangement. Parchon's lexicon, formerly only known from fragmentary extracts published by J. B. de Rossi,² has been published complete by S. G. Stern,³ with a valuable introduction by Rappaport, in which a succinct history is given of the study of the Hebrew language, and of the different periods, in which the great grammarians lived.

9. *Joseph ben Isaac Kimchi.*

Joseph ben Isaac Kimchi,⁴ the father, was compelled by Mohammedan persecutions to leave Spain, and settled in Narbonne, where he died about 1180. He devoted his whole life to the science of the

¹ Comp. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, iii. p. 66; De Rossi, *Dizionario storico*, p. 256 (German transl.); Kitto, *Cyclop. s.v.*; McClintock and Strong, *Cyclop.*, s.v.; Kalisch, *Hebrew Grammar*, ii. p. 18; Steinschneider, *Bibliogr. Handbuch*, p. 108; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vi. p. 261 sq.; Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, u. s. Sekten, ii. p. 24; Frankel *Monatsschrift*, 1862 and 1863, to which, see Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, 1863, p. 69 sq.; M. Weiner, *Parchon als Grammatiker und Lexikograph*, Ofen. 1870, and Geiger's criticism in *Jüdische Zeitschrift* (1871), ix. p. 73 sq.

² *Lexicon Hebraicum selectum quo ex antiquo et inedito R. P. Lexico novas ac diversas variorum ac difficiliorum vocum significationes sistit.* Parma, 1805.

³ *Salomonis ben Abrahami Parchon Aragonensis Lexicon Hebraicum. . . . Praemissa historia grammatici apud Judaeos studii auctore ven. S. L. Rappaport.* Pressburg, 1844.

⁴ Comp. Fürst, *Bibl. Judaica*, ii. p. 186 sq.; De Rossi, *Dizionario storico*, p. 169 (German transl.); Kitto, and McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop. s.v.*; Kimchi, Vol. XLI. No. 163.

Hebrew language and biblical exegesis, and succeeded by his clear and independent judgment in creating a new epoch in the study of the Hebrew Scriptures among his brethren in Southern France, by introducing there the learning of Spain, and continuing the labors of Ibn Ezra. He wrote a Hebrew grammar, called ספר זמרון, "The Book of Remembrance," which is the first written by a Jew in a Christian country, and is quoted in his son's Mikhlol, (s.v. ספ"ב). Another grammatical work of his is also quoted there (s.v. ספ"ו). His elder son was

10. *Moses ben Joseph Kimchi.*

Moses ben Joseph Kimchi,¹ also called Remak (רמ"ק), who flourished about 1160–1170, is chiefly known as the author of a little grammatical work, entitled ספר דרכי שכל, "Journey on the Paths of Knowledge," which became a manual for both Jews and Christians who were anxious to acquire the rudiments of Hebrew grammar, through the recommendation of Elias Levita, with whose notes it was edited in 1508, and who published it again, in a revised form, in 1546.² "The chief merit of this little volume is, that M. Kimchi employed as a paradigm of the regular verbs the word קָנָה, instead of the less appropriate verb, *mediae gutturalis*, קָנַה, which had been

Liber Radicum, p. xxiv. sq. (ed. Biesenthal und Lebrecht); Bartolucci, *Magna Biblioth. Rabbin.*, iii. p. 327; *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1850, c. 11 sq.; Geiger, in *Ozar Nachmad*, i. pp. 97–119 (Vienna, 1856); Kalisch, *Hebrew Grammar*, ii. p. 19; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, i. p. 121, and *Literaturgesch. der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 400; Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, p. 258; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vi. p. 219 sq.; Landshut, *Amude aboda*, p. 90 sq.; Lindo, *History of the Jews*, p. 67; Dessauer, *Gesch. der Israeliten*, p. 307 sq.; A. Levy, *die Exegese bei den französischen Juden* (Leips. 1873), p. 25 sq.; Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden, u. s. Sekten*, iii. p. 30; Finn, *Sephardim*, p. 177 sq.; H. Adams, *History of the Jews*, i. p. 257 (Boston, 1813); Braunschweiger, *Gesch. d. Juden in den roman. Staaten*, p. 88 sq. (Würzburg, 1865); W. Bacher, *Joseph Kimchi et Abulwalid Merwan ibn Ganah. Étude d'histoire exégèse* (Paris, 1883).

¹ Comp. Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, ii. p. 187 sq.; De Rossi, *Dizionario*, p. 170 sq.; *Cyclops. of Kitto*, and McClintock and Strong, s.v.; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr.*, col. 1838–1844, and *Bibliogr. Handbuch*, p. 74 sq.; Kalisch, *Hebr. Gram.*, ii. p. 19; Kimchi, *Liber Radicum*, col. xxxviii. sq.; Geiger, in *Ozar Nachmad*, 1857, ii. p. 17 sq.; Reifmann in *Literaturbl. des Orients*, 1841, i. p. 150, 151; *Zion*, vol. i. p. 76; ii. pp. 113–117, 129–133, 155–157, 171–174. Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, vi. p. 220; A. Levy, *die Exegese*, p. 6; Lindo, *History of the Jews*, p. 67; Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden. u. s. Sekten*, iii. p. 30; H. Adams, *History of the Jews*, i. p. 257; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, p. 630 (Taylor's English transl.); Braunschweiger, *Gesch. d. Juden in den roman. Staaten*, p. 89.

² It was translated into Latin by Seb. Münster in 1531, and later issued in various other forms.

used by his predecessors in imitation of Arabic grammarians. He wrote, besides, another grammatical treatise on the anomalous expressions, entitled *מִקְחָל לְמִשְׁכָּל*, quoted by D. Kimchi in the *Mikhlol*.² More distinguished, however, was his younger brother :

11. *David ben Joseph Kimchi.*

David ben Joseph Kimchi,¹ commonly called Radak, was born at Narbonne in 1160, and died about 1235. He is justly regarded as the greatest of Jewish grammarians, since he combined and enriched the labors of his predecessors, which he eagerly studied. For centuries he remained a never-neglected mine of exact and minute observations, and the first Hebrew lexicons or glossaries compiled by Christians, as well as the grammars and the notes accompanying the Hebrew Bibles of Münster and Stephen, are derived from Kimchi. The work which immortalized his name was his *Mikhlol* (מִכְלָל), or "Perfection," which consists of two parts : (a) a Hebrew Grammar (חֶלֶק הַדִּקְדּוּק), usually bearing the name *Mikhlol*,² and (b) a Hebrew Lexicon (חֶלֶק הַזִּנּוּן), commonly called the "Book of Roots" (סֵפֶר הַשִּׁרְשִׁים).³

Kimchi does not pretend to originality ; he frankly says in his introduction to the *Mikhlol*, that his aim is to exhibit the results of

¹ Comp. Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, ii. pp. 183-186 ; De Rossi, *Dizionario storico*, p. 164 sq. (German transl.) ; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, col. 868-875 ; the same, *Bibliogr. Handbuch*, p. 73 sq. ; the *Cyclops. of Kitto*, McClintock and Strong, *Schaff-Herzog*, s.v. ; Geiger, *Ozar Nachmad*, p. 157 sq. (Vienna, 1857), and *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 211 ; Dukes, *Die Familie Kimchi* (*Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1850) ; Kalisch, *Hebrew Grammar*, ii. p. 20 sq. ; Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, p. 258, 410 sq. ; Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden*, u. s. *Sekten*, iii. p. 30 ; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi. p. 220 ; Turner, *Jewish Rabbis*, p. 52 sq., 76 sq., 117 sq., 168 sq. ; Lindo, *History of the Jews in Spain*, p. 68 ; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs* (Taylor's transl.), p. 630 ; Levy, *Die Exegese bei den französ. Israeliten*, p. 27 sq. ; Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 103 sq., 106 sq. ; Keil, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii. p. 384 ; Braunschweiger, *Gesch. d. Juden in den roman. Staaten*, p. 89 sq. ; J. Tauber, *Standpunkt und Leistung des R. David Kimchi als Grammatiker, mit Berücksichtigung seiner Vorgänger und Nachfolger* (Breslau, 1867) ; S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, *The First Book of the Psalms. . . . with the Longer Commentary of R. David Kimchi* (Cambridge and Leipsic, 1883).

² Edited with notes by E. Levita, Venice, 1545 ; by M. Hekhim, Fürth, 1793. A new edition is being prepared by Prof. H. L. Strack, at Berlin. The first section, with a Latin translation, was published by Ag. Guidacerius, Paris 1540.

³ Often published. Last edition with Latin Notes and Introduction, by Biesenthal and Lebrecht : *Rabbi Davidis Kimchi Radicum Liber*. Berlin, 1847.

the manifold and extensive labors of his numerous predecessors. Hence his lexicon is to a great extent a translation of Ibn Gannâch's Book of Roots, and hence his repeated quotations from Ibn Korêish, Saadia, Amram, Sherirah, Menachem ibn Saruk, Chayyug, Ibn Gannâch, Dunash ibn Labrat, Ibn Ezra, and others. But though he exhibits a singular want of order and system, so that the rules on the letters, the inflection, and the syntax are most strangely mixed together, "yet his merits are great. He was the first who discovered the distinction between the long and short vowels, whereby the understanding of the changing of vowels has been greatly facilitated. He moreover defended a simple, natural, and grammatical exegesis, free from all artificial views or forced speculations, as have been customary with most of the Jewish writers of that time, who were enamoured to Hagadic, cabbalistical, and astrological interpretations." Besides these authors, many other grammarians wrote between the tenth and thirteenth century; but their works, scarcely known beyond the titles, have either perished or lie unpublished in private or public libraries.

SECT. II. — *Decay of Grammatical Research among the Jews* (A.D. 1250–1500).

Not long after Kimchi the philological studies of the Jewish scholars rather fell off than increased. Talmudical researches absorbed the attention almost entirely, because they had an immediate and practical bearing on the duties of life. The knowledge of the cognate idioms, especially Arabic and Syriac was lost, and by adherence to the authority of the older grammarians independent grammatical inquiry was paralyzed and checked. The few grammarians known to us from this period of transition are the following :

Isaac ben Moses Duran,¹ or *Profiat Duran*, of Aragon, flourished between 1360–1412. He was also surnamed *Ephodæus*, from his principal work, *מגן אפרים*, a Hebrew grammar,² divided into thirty-

¹ Comp. Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, i. 215; Steinschneider, *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, col. 2112–2119, and *Jewish Literature*, pp. 127, 137 sq.; De Rossi, *Dizionario storico*, p. 260 sq. (German transl.); Ginsburg in *Kitto's Cyclop. s.v.*; Pick, in *McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s.v. Profiat*; Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, viii. p. 94 sq., 403 sq.; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, p. 690 (Taylor's transl.); Lindo, *History of the Jews*, p. 195; Finn, *Sephardim*, p. 386; Kalisch, *Hebrew Grammar*, ii. p. 31; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 212; Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, p. 268; Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden, u.s. Sekten*, iii. p. 100; S. Gronemann, *De Profiatii Durani (Ephodæi) vita ac studiis cum in alias literas tum in grammaticam collatis* (Breslau, 1869).

² Published from different Mss. by Jon. Friedländer und Jak. Kohn with the title *Maase Efod*, etc. Vienna, 1865.

two chapters, with an interesting and elaborate introduction. He was the first who demonstrated that the *Niphal* has a reflexive or reciprocal instead of the passive meaning. He greatly praised Abulwalid, and held him for the best grammarian, and often criticised and censured David Kimchi, and seems to have duly appreciated the decrease of scientific investigation.

2. *Moses ben Shemtob*, called *Ibn Chabib* (1486), wrote a grammar, *זרעא לשון*, and a valuable treatise on poetical forms, *זרעא נים*.¹

3. The author of *רקיוק רשי* (about 1400), who gives an explanation of the grammatical parts of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch availed himself chiefly of the preceding grammarians.

4. *Samuel Jarchi*² of Lunel,³ is the author of a small work, entitled *לשון לזכר*, wherein he states the seven conjugations of verbs now generally given in grammars.

5. *Joseph ben Judah Sarek* or *Sarko* (1429) of Italy is the author of a Hebrew grammar *רוב פעלים*.⁴

6. *Menachem ben Moses Tamar* wrote (1450) *בשנים ראש*.

7. *Judah* called *Messer Leon Hebreo*, of Mantua (1454), is the author of a learned work, *לבנה חספיר*.

8. *Abraham Bedarshi*,⁵ author of *Chotam Tochnit*.⁶

9. *Solomon Urbino*,⁷ of Italy (about 1480) the author of *Ohel Mo'ed*.⁷ We must not omit

10. *Isaac Nathan*,⁸ the author of the first Hebrew Concordance *מאיר נחיר*, composed after the example of Arlotti (1290), first published at Venice 1523, then again at Basle 1581.

11. *Moses ben Isaac* author of a Hebrew lexicon and grammar, entitled *Sefer Hassöham*.¹⁰

¹ Edited with additions of W. Heidenheim, Rödelheim, 1806.

² He must not be confounded with Rashi, who is commonly called Jarchi.

³ On this famous school, compare *Étude sur l'école juive de Lunel au moyen-âge* par A. Rouet (Paris et Montpellier, 1878), and *étude supplémentaire*, etc. *ibid.*

⁴ The preface to this grammar is published by Steinschneider in his *Hebräische Bibliographie*, pp. 115, 116. 1878.

⁵ Comp. P. Kroner, *De Abrahami Bedarschi vita et operibus*. Berlin, 1868.

⁶ New edition by G. I. Polak, Amsterdam, 1865 (cf. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 212).

⁷ Comp. Pick, art. "Urbino." in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*.

⁸ New edition by Jonas Willheimer, Vienna, 1881.

⁹ Comp. Pick, in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop. s.v.*

¹⁰ Edited from a Ms. in the Bodl. Library . . . with additions and corrections by G. W. Collins, London, 1882, reviewed in *Frankel-Graetz Monatschrift*, 1883, pp. 232-239.

ARTICLE III.

COMMONPLACE BOOKS: A LECTURE.

BY PROF. JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, LL.D., OF MADISON, WIS.

It was once my fortune to spend a morning in the study of John Quincy Adams while it still remained just as he left it. I read many a title on the backs of books arrayed in long lines, and climbed the ladder to search on highest shelves for I knew not what of rich and rare. The printed books were ten thousand, but they were of small interest to me compared with a single square black chest, which was filled with the note-books of the president, — his life-blood treasured up for a life beyond life. By virtue of being well introduced, I was vouchsafed an hour's inspection of these manuscripts. The first I took up was written when the author was a boy of fifteen; the next marked "rubbish," was an account of his journey, at the close of his administration, from Washington to Boston. Many a volume was written throughout with observations, thoughts, and feelings during more than half a century. Mrs. Adams told me that when her husband took a journey he seemed to have no thought of books, or silver, or children; but always said, "Now Mary, if the house takes fire, look out for this chest!" In that chest I saw the well-spring whence had flowed the speeches and published writings of the most active, versatile, and erudite of our chief magistrates, and could not doubt but that Adams had inured himself to read and think "pen in hand," as a help to retain and fit for use whatever he acquired or excogitated. In this habit I detected, as I thought, the secret of that talent, so diversified and ready, which made men say of Adams,

"Turn him to any cause of policy,
The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
Familiar as his garter."

A similar habit of writing in connection with study seems to me useful to every scholar who would make the most of himself, and accordingly I shall now set forth before you some uses, as they lie in my mind, of keeping what, for want of a better term, I will call a commonplace book.

But first permit me to state what I mean by keeping a commonplace book. Do I mean, as many do, copying the books we read, or extracts from them, or the indexes to them? Do I mean, merely or chiefly, copying of any sort? No, nothing of the kind. What then? My idea of a commonplace book is a blank volume in which you first set down the name of the first subject concerning which you purpose to speak, read, or write, or in which you feel special interest. Suppose the first topic to be commonplace books themselves. Under this heading you will note the names of scholars who have made that kind of book, or have advised to make it, the volume and page where you find such facts. You will add from time to time hints at reasons for (or against) the habit of commonplacing. Nor will you fail to record catchwords which recall new applications of old sayings, and illustrations of the matter in hand. You will write out under the same heading, those epigrammatic ideas which resemble the honey-bee — short, sweet, and with a sting at the end, and you will cage in black and white those magic phrases which no man can improve, stamped in nature's mint of ecstasy, "What all have thought, but none so well expressed," — the immortal part of books, — common-sense sharpened till it shines.

"Jewels five words long,
That on the stretched forefinger of all time
Sparkle forever."

After due practice, you will learn to store into half a page — as in a "box where sweets compacted lie," or as in the purse of Peter Schlemihl — the materials on any theme which it costs you a month to master, fortuitous discoveries in widely devious paths of life and literature, and, since all jewels are small, you will there cork up quintessences which, at your bidding, will expand almost of themselves into an



hour's lecture, — or indeed into one two hours long, could you find hearers who would tolerate such prolixity. In a similar style to that I have described would I have you proceed with topic after topic as, "living wisdom with each studious year," you shall admit one after another into your book of record as into its honey-cell. Concerning arrangement, my habit is to assign an equal number of pages to each letter of the alphabet, and that in alphabetical order; you can thus turn to each topic as easily as to the words in a dictionary. If the space allotted to any letter becomes full, though it will not so soon as you imagine, you will always see vacant space under other letters, — vacancies provoking you to fill them as irresistibly as vacant houses provoke boys to break their windows. Many scholars as they go on in life will make two other books, one devoted to their profession and the other to that specialty into which they sally on excursions from their home-field. But I am no stickler for forms. I am so far from it, that I am ready to say, altering Pope a little,

*"For forms of record-books let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered is best."*

How best to keep such a book you will learn by keeping it. Refuse to begin till you ascertain that best mode, and you will procrastinate till he leaps into the river who will not touch water till he can swim, or till she eats tomatoes who will not taste them till she likes them. Will you forget your topics? Seldom, if you remember anything, for they ought to be — I have presupposed them to be — the things you feel most interest in, and oftenest think of, — places so common that they are as well known to you as Boston common is to Bostonians. When you are used to hang your hat on a particular peg you do not often forget where that peg is. How many men forget the location of the bank where they have laid up all their savings? Hide a man's spectacles in his Bible, how long will they remain unfound, if his habits are such as they ought to be? But one subject runs into another. All the better. Make mutual references —

clues of *Ariadne*—to guide you from one co-ordinate to another, as well as from genus to species and from species to genus. All truths are interdependent; linked to each other by golden chains.

The term "commonplaces" is at least as old as Cicero. The word "places" signifies the points on which arguments rest, or from which they are deduced. They are called "common" because they afford considerations bearing on both sides of a question, or on more than one question. To ladies I may say they are filling for the scholar's scrap-bag, where nothing is in the way and nothing out of the way.

It is sometimes objected that commonplacing will cost too much time. But you know time spares nothing which has not cost time; and then I insist that you condense what you write, till a single entry will find ample room in a single line. Thus your task will become like a clock's—only one tick at a time. Doubtless in naming topics, and in arranging collections or creations, a beginner will be perplexed; but what veritable study is not perplexing? and that the more, the more it is worth our best energies?

But I proceed to state reasons for holding the keeping of a commonplace book an important element in liberal culture. Indeed, I hope to show the habit I inculcate to be of use to every man, somewhat as the post-office is. That institution, like the spring-time leaving no corner of the land untouched, is open to all alike. It is not, however, of equal value to all men, but it blesses each just in proportion as he makes proof of its facilities. For one I should be disposed to draw up such a book simply because such has been the custom of so many an eminent scholar. Regarding the author of *Hudibras*, Johnson remarks: "Butler had a commonplace book, in which he repositied such similitudes, allusions, assemblages, or inferences, as occasion prompted or inclination produced, those thoughts which were generated in his own mind and might be applied to some future purpose." Johnson himself had provided a volume of hints before he wrote the first number of his *Rambler*; nor did Addison issue one of his

COMMONPLACE BOOKS.

Spectators, till he had filled three folios with materials. I might occupy many pages with similar testimonies respecting Euripides, Dante, Alfred, Ben Jonson, Milton, Hobbes, Bentley, Bacon, Locke, Swift, Warburton, Gibbon, Voltaire, Coleridge, Southey, Wilberforce, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir William Jones, Richter, Flaxmann, Macaulay, Franklin, Edwards, Rush, Hawthorne, Emerson, and others, giants in culture, testimonies evincing that no printed books have done so much for their development as blank books have done.

But I proceed to show that the ripest scholars recommend the practice by precept no less than by example. What says Shakespeare?

"Look! what thy memory cannot contain,
Commit to these waste blanks."

What says Bacon? "I hold the entry of commonplaces," says he, "to be a matter of great use and essence in studying as that which assureth fulness of invention, and tracteth judgment to strength. A man would do well to carry a pencil in his pocket, and write down the thoughts of the moment. Those that come unsought for are generally the most valuable, and should be secured because they seldom return." What says Franklin? "I would advise you," his words are, "to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in books hints of what you find that is curious or may be useful." What says Locke? He published the plan of a notebook according to a method he had himself tried a quarter of a century. What say Cicero and Aristotle, the greatest masters, the one of oratorical and the other of philosophical reasoning? They each wrote a book entitled "Topics," consisting of what I would have you fill yours with. If there any lawyer here, I would remind him of the last note of Coke on Littleton, which is: "I had once intended the ease of our student to have made a table (that is, index) of these Institutes; but when I considered that they are most profitable to them that make them, I have left work to every studious reader." Besides all this, they have a commonplace against commonplacing, like

temperance men, privately practise what they publicly decry. The secret history of celebrated speakers, as Sheridan, shows that they prepare what are called *impromptus* beforehand. Whenever a man uncorks champagne for the delectation of congregated friends who does not know that some one has first bottled it up? Other considerations point the same way with the advice and practice of genuine scholars. Thus, whoever travels is bidden to write; is told that the poorest pencil is better than the best memory, and that half a word fixed on the spot is worth a cartload of recollections. But why record impressions when we move more than when we are at rest, especially as we travel no more than one month in the year? Why gather the gleanings and leave the harvest to rot?

Again, you believe in book-keeping. Every man keeps accounts. Why make no note of mental advancement, as well as of material? Memory is not enough for lucre you love too well; is it, then, for the true riches of which you are prone to make light? Why keep no record of what you may expect from a doctrine, as well as from a debtor? Be yours a ledger for that merchandise that is better than rubies, and let it be posted every night.

Let us next consider whether a note-book, kept as I have proposed, is a detriment or a help to memory. How do we remember? Metaphysicians all say, in proportion as we attend. But while reading, selecting, arranging, and writing an idea, we must attend to it more than while reading or thinking alone. Four are more than one. Again, memory is aided by order. But the recorder sets in order; and a writer so old that he has become new again tells us — and we knew it before — that “we can carry twice more weight trussed up in bundles than when it lies flapping about our shoulders.” In memory, as well as any other box, a good packer will stow more than a poor one. Had not the signers of the declaration of our independence hung together, they would have been hanged separate, and one by one. So fares it with the facts we learn. So long as they hang together they are



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safe, while, devoid of orderly connection, they perish on as high a scaffold as Haman's.

Memory is also assisted whenever we associate a new thing with what is known to us, and dear to us. "How old are you, my boy?" asked Queen Elizabeth of Francis Bacon. The answer was: "Just two years younger than your majesty's blessed reign." That boy's age, do you suppose Queen Bess could ever forget it? Now, your topics ought to be—I have supposed them to be—each as well known to you, and as dear, as her coronation to a queen; and what you are to aim at is to group all things relevant around these topics. The more you do so, the more will you incorporate with yourself of genuine memoranda—things that must be remembered till a maid forgets her ornaments, and a bride her attire. According to my experience, every heading entered in an *index rerum* is as servicable as the knot a seamstress ties in the end of her thread. It has kept many a stitch from slipping through.

"Time but the impression stronger makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear."

Besides, every new head under which you class a fact is a new handle by which to hold it, and a new hilt with which to wield it. Moreover, the more we examine why a thing is, the better we remember, and I have advised to record the reasons of things; for a principle, like the silver cord of Aeolus, confines where you would have them a legion of facts which otherwise, like enfranchised winds, scatter beyond control. In every view, then, the device I speak of will make you retain the contents of those books you have borrowed as easily as you now keep those borrowed books. It is, then, the best mnemonics. Its grasp is tenacious as the hundred hands of Briareus.

Again, through writing such memoranda as I recommend, you will render your knowledge exact. Lest you blot your book, you will look twice before putting pen to paper, to see whether your first impression was correct; and often discover that it was not, though, but for your purpose to write

it would have always seemed so, and you would have gone on in a blunder forever.

“Thoughts disentangle passing o’er the pen.”

Or, writing is to an idea what a carpenter’s vise is to a block of wood ; it holds it fast till you can fashion it into shape. Then whatever is written abides, like peaches in an air-tight can, in its first freshness ; while whatever is unwritten fades, — ay, dwindles, like an onion when its coats are stripped off one after another ; or like King George the fourth, whom Thackeray describes as all bow and grin, padding and under waistcoats, and then nothing. The unwritten is your shadow in the glass ; the written is your photograph. The one is cobweb, the other cord of silk. Hence what you have forgotten, yet remember that you wrote, is good evidence in court ; so that a merchant may swear to his book-account.

Nor can any one keep such a book as I have in view without heightening mental activity. The more you mark down, the more will you remark what would otherwise escape notice. Whenever and wherever you read, converse, observe, or reflect, you will be asking, “What can I gather for my garner of notes ?” Your studies lead you like the bee into many a field ; you will tax them all for one hive, and, like the bee when honey-laden, you will steer a bee-line to that hive. You cannot write the hundredth part of what passes before your mind’s eye. You are hence enforced to think through what you see, till you pluck out the heart of each mystery. Wheat in the straw is bulky ; you must thresh before you put it in your sack. When you have seized an idea worth saving, you are in doubt to which of your multitudinous topics it belongs as the niche it was ordained to fill. That doubt is precious ; for it drives you to think, that is, to threshing your mind. What seems that niche turns out a false position. At length you classify your idea under a head to which it has some relation. While so doing, or afterwards, you perceive that it is more relevant to another, or to half a dozen others, or perhaps to some topic that hitherto has had no name to live in your treasury. Such a



suggestive fact will sometimes serenade you as sweetly as any flute till the night shall be filled with music. On the other hand, a fact unclassified, like a bone out of joint, will leave you little ease till you put it in its place.

When ignorance bursts upon you you say you never can learn anything, like Antaeus thrown down by Hercules; yet like that giant you spring up from the earth invigorated by its humbling touch. Surprised that you have been ignorant, you are too much mortified to continue so; your range of inquiry widens; your mind wakens to newness of life, — ay, “to moments worth living years for.” Thus your memoranda become a fault-book for self-correction. The reason men know so little is that they know not how little that little is. Hence says the epigram to the ignoramus:

“Thou may'st of double ignorance boast;
Thou knowest not that thou nothing know'st.”

A young friend who was about to read Hume's *England* once asked me how to read. I said: “Glean some keepsake from every page for your note-book. If you come to the bottom of a page, yet have caught nothing, look on your reading as thus far dropping buckets into empty wells, or brooding on eggs of chalk.” Meeting him a month afterward, I inquired whether he had followed my advice. He said he did till, turning to the end of the last volume, he espied there a better index than he could make, and so had laid away his commonplace book on a high shelf. My answer to him was: “No matter how much information the printed index gives, the inspiration which making one of your own would breathe into you it cannot give.” Another's index carries you a long way; your own would strengthen you to run. Another's is dainties; your own, exercise for giving appetite. Another's index is the mouse which the old cat throws on the floor half dead for her kitten to play with; your own resembles that kitten catching the mouse herself. Besides, the printed index — what is it? It is the key to what struck some other man as he read Hume. Yours, had you done as I advised, would have shown what struck

you — yourself, and not another, and therefore would be worth more to you than a better one from the hand of another.

“Why,” I continued, “would you rather travel through Italy than peruse the best book ever penned by tourist there? Not because you would see more than that tourist has described, — still less because you could describe as well, — but because, while his book shows you his impressions, a tour would stamp you with impressions all your own. On the same principle, the poorest notes drawn up by myself are more improving to me than the best ones composed by any one else can be. Each woman’s own piece-bag, — how much more it is worth to her than any other woman’s can be! Why is it? Because it is best suited to furnish repairs for the garments of her own household. It matches them. For the self-same reason your mental piece-bag is beyond all others of value for your own mind. It matches it. If I may reason in Hibernian style, I will call your own notes (that are poor) the moon, and another’s (that are good) the sun. They surely cannot differ more than that. But, said the Irishman, the moon is worth more than the sun; for the moon gives us light in the dark when we need it, while the sun shines only by day when we have a plenty already.”

“All others, says Pat, in the sun may delight;

But for the fair moon my praise shall be steady.

She shines in the night, when we need rays of light;

He only by day, when we’ve too much already.”

On reflection, I seem to have pointed out to my reader of Hume a path more sought for, alas, than the path to heaven, and as seldom found — the path to originality. My student of Hume would have been original so far as he made his own observations on what he read; while relying on another’s, he was a borrower, saying, “Give me of your oil; for my lamp has gone out.”

Why do we call Humboldt original? Others have seen whatever he saw, read whatever he read, and are not original. His peculiarity was that he caught more with the pen of what passed before his eye, and then more than others marshalled



the chaos into a cosmos — one whole consolidated of parts mutually related — a system where jagged atoms fit like smooth mosaic — *e pluribus unum*. Through thus spending ten years in tracing relations to one year in travel, Humboldt wrote his superscription on whatever he learned. We call that the best gift which has in it the most of the giver. Hence the pricelessness of the tears with which Mary washed the feet of her Lord. What, then, is the best writing? Clearly that which has in it most of the writer.

"Brightest and best there loves and graces shine
Where all the author lives in every line."

Such a one has no need to write his name on his productions. He marks them all over. There are few Humboldts, either in nature, training, or facilities for research; yet many may pursue Humboldt's method; and so far as they thus classify and illustrate what they acquire, they develop not the originality of Humboldt, but whatever there is in them of originality. The mistake of most lies in throwing away what is peculiar to them, — "nature's livery," — while they save what they have in common with others. Don't you think so? They throw away the blush that nature's own sweet and cunning hand lays on, and then covet the hypocritical rouge they buy in Paris; so that, like houses newly coated with white lead, they need to be labelled: "Look out for paint!"

Tom Corwin, having consented to give a commencement address at Yale College, wrote such a speech as another man would write, and undertook to deliver it according to elocutionary rules. He soon saw that he was making a failure, stopped, and said: "I can do nothing as an Eastern rhetorician, let me speak as a Western wagoner." He then burst out in his own vein, and showed himself a Samson, who brought down the house as though it were the temple of Dagon. You, too, shall be somebody, if you had as lief not be at all as not to be yourself. You will be yourself in proportion as you note and classify, according to your own laws of association, whatever you observe. In struggles to hold fast individuality you will trace the relations of what you

learn, and piece out by common sense what you cull by the five senses. Through such endeavors facts that once seemed isolated will shoot out roots and ramifications interweaving them in one web. Viewed thus in their relations, trifles come to resemble the widow's mites, which shall jingle in the treasury of the Lord to the end of the world. But what is a fact before you consider its relations. You are puzzled what to do with it, as much as the postmaster is where to send a letter addressed, "John Smith, Valley of the Mississippi."

On the other hand, when you scrutinize its relations, many a fact seems contrived on purpose to pay a treble debt like that old wall in Aphek which falling on Benhadad's soldiers gave them all at once not only death, but burial, and grave-stones into the bargain. Every fact once articulated may do yeoman service as an illustration to simplify, dignify, or adorn ideas for which you have long and vainly sought such an auxiliary. Of all faculties none is more important than that of illustration; reasons are pillars which sustain the roof and gallery, but similitudes are windows and chandeliers which afford light.

"We also know an apt similitude
Will on the curious fancy more intrude,
And will stick faster in the heart and head
Than things from similes not borrowed."

Many an illustration is likewise an argument. Witness the stories of Abraham Lincoln picked up in log-cabins, but good enough for the cabinet at the White House. For want of illustrations many a speech otherwise good, is as monotonous as that picture of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea which was all one dead wall, or barn door, of Spanish brown. When the painter was asked, "Where are the Hebrews?" he said: "They have all passed over," and when the question was, "Where are the hosts of Pharaoh?" "Why they," his answer was, "they are all drowned." All the people who would have given human interest to the painting had gone, either over, or under, — in Western parlance "gone up."



Men wonder that some writers are rich in illustrations that illuminate their ideas, giving to what is one like the ocean its vast variety of waves. They might as well wonder that certain men's drafts are honored at a bank. The secret is in both cases the same. He who would draw out must first make deposits. The munificence of the Boston Lawrences, who has not heard of it? How could they be thus generous? Not without petty layings up more than you could number. I have been in their factories. There were bobbins by the million from which threads were unwinding. Over each I observed a little cap cunningly catching every particle of cotton that flew off in the process, and tons, the foreman told me, are thus saved. Would you have much to lay out? you must lay up much. If your illustrations are original with you, they must often be homely, because most men are mostly keepers at home. But exactly because they are homely, they all the more come home to what men feel. They fly over nobody's head, but hit just in the heart. "To accumulate such a mass of sentiments as we see in *Hudibras*, at the call of accidental desire or sudden necessity," Johnson declares "beyond the power of any mind, however active and comprehensive." You should sooner expect spirits from the vasty deep to come at your call, than that many of the illustrations pertinent to any theme can be rallied to its standard in one single day. Yet whoso will, can enlist such recruits one by one.

Take, for instance, Tell shooting at the apple on the head of his boy. I have referred to this story as an illustration under some sixteen heads in my index rerum, while, but for my so seizing it by the forelock, that incident might fail to occur to me even once during my writing a lecture on each of those sixteen topics. Thus, the exploit of the Swiss archer suggested to me, in his boy, filial trustfulness; as to Gessler, it showed cruelty, tyranny, and the danger that irresponsible power will be abused; as to Tell himself, I marked not only skill, that all skill is of use, often of higher use than can be anticipated, but how men are roused to retaliate,

that fame is dear-bought, that emergencies drive to achievements, and that what seems a curse may prove a blessing. I further set down this miracle of archery as shedding light on the way that sympathy, hatred, fear, admiration, and emulation are excited,—as exemplifying the dependence of great events on small causes,—as reminding historians of parallels among Danes and Greeks, as leading sceptics to question the evidence of its reality, and, since such is the law of local association constraining the pilgrim to Altorf, in whose ears still twangs the cord, “dread bounding, sounding,” from the Switzer’s bow, to exclaim:

“Who that walks where men of other days
Have wrought with god-like arm their deeds of praise,
Feels not the spirit of the place control,
Exalt, and elevate his laboring soul?”

Some of your gleanings will thus enrich you with a galaxy of illustrations bright as the stars in our national flag,—or like stars in the sky, giving light to other things which without them could not be seen. Other trifles you pick up, coming as pat for your purpose as a square man for a square corner, or as Lincoln’s pegs for his holes, when he sent Butler to New Orleans, and Grant to Vicksburg, will correct false notions you have yourself imbibed, or those into which others have fallen. They will thus prove snuffers to prune and brighten the candle of your mind.

Since it cannot be foreseen which of your acquisitions shall thus become most useful, you will become a snapper up of trifles, which most neglect as they do pins in their pathway, or poor relations. You will then scorn no key, you know not what locks it may open,—and no needle, you know not how much pointless thread it may utilize.

“A spark from this or t’other caught
May kindle, quick as thought,
A glorious bonfire up in you.”

Let me give you a specimen. I once read, in a Connecticut newspaper, the following advertisement:

“TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Stolen from me, the sub-

scriber, in the time of action, the sixteenth of August last, a Brown Mare, five years old, had a star in her forehead. Also a doe-skin seated saddle, blue housing trimmed with white, and a curbed bridle. It is earnestly requested of all committees of safety, and others in authority, to exert themselves to recover said thief and mare, so that he may be brought to justice and the mare brought to me; and the person whoever he be, shall receive the above reward for both, and for the mare alone, one half that sum. How scandalous, how disgraceful and ignominious must it appear to all friendly and generous souls, to have such sly, artful, designing villains enter into the field of action in order to pillage, pilfer, and plunder from their brethren when engaged in battle!

Bennington, 11th Sept. 1777. JOHN STARK, B.D.G."

This morsel, picked from the wormholes of long-vanished days, seemed worthy of a note considered simply as a characteristic utterance of the hero who broke Burgoyne's left wing. The promise of ten dollars for a general's horse was also significant. The smallness of the reward showed how early horses were cheap in Vermont, and how scarce money had become, since Stark was so far from offering, like King Richard, a kingdom for a horse. Who also could be blind to Stark's patriotism, oozing out even in a call to stop a thief, and flaying as with scalping-knife the tories of his time. But a year afterward, being invited to address the Vermont Legislature when they received from Congress the cannon taken at Bennington, I looked up the reference in my savings bank of old odd ends, quoted the advertisement in my speech, and found it a spice-island, a veritable oasis in the desert of details over which I was obliged to lead my legislative caravan. Through shaking my hearers with a laugh, it won a hearing for my history. At the end of a string of tame statistics it resounded as, before the railroad era, we used to hear the snapper at the end of a stage-driver's whiplash when he entered the village with good news.

Nor was this all. The same old scrap enabled me to correct a blunder into which Headley, Everett, Irving, Spencer,

and, I believe, every other historian, had fallen. Thus Headley says, "Stark's horse sunk under him." Everett writes, "The general's horse was killed in the action." Irving's words are, "The veteran had a horse shot under him." They were all led to a false inference concerning this sinking, killing, and shooting, by Stark's writing in the postscript of a letter these words: "I lost my horse in the action." How he lost him we have seen by his advertisement.

Nor is this half; for, on my writing to Mr. Everett, he acknowledged the justice of this correction, and paid the reward offered for the horse, in the shape of books for the library of my parish. Seldom are debts for "dead horses" collected so successfully, especially when they have been a century outlawed. Had all the authors whose mistake I had rectified been as liberal as Everett, I should have made my fortune. Dr. Sparks subsequently made my finding the text for a discourse on the sources of historical error. Mr. Everett also used it at a war-meeting in New York. Thus a mouse brought forth a mountain, and Jonah swallowed a whale. Who shall say that this antediluvian newspaper, from the dust of old oblivion raked, has not new uses yet to be revealed? Why, I am using it now, this minute. Often used, it is not yet used up, or a squeezed orange. All editors and merchants will confess that these results demonstrate that it is a good thing to advertise—that, in fact, there are millions in it—that advertising pays.

My discovery in the paper from the Nutmeg State may also serve as a proof that we sometimes espy what we need in places where no one would anticipate that it could come to light. An Englishman, fighting a duel with a Frenchman in a dark room, first received the fire of his antagonist, and then,—as he escaped unwounded,—not wishing to hit his adversary, shot his own pistol up the chimney. Notwithstanding, he brought down the Frenchman, who had no sooner discharged his piece than he softly slipped up from the fireplace as into a niche of safety. The man of notes repeats the experience of that Briton, and brings down many



a Frenchman from hiding-places where no one would look for a prize. Far as was that Englishman from expecting to do execution when he snapped his revolver up a flue, so far was I, on taking up the Connecticut Courant, from hope of exhuming such an historical gem as I now seem to have there detected. No matter how hackneyed a subject has become, it still abounds in good things not well applied, so that if you apply them fitly men will call you original. What says Irving? His words are: "Most of the traits that give individuality to Columbus in my biography of him were gathered from slightly-mentioned facts in his journal, letters, etc., which had remained almost unnoticed by former writers." Brightest blazes are lit up by unexpected sparks.

Proofs similar crowd upon me, — that we should spurn no part of knowledge, but gather all fragments since the least may prove in union with the greatest; and the moment it is so proved, what before was the charcoal of an old newspaper transforms to a diamond, bright as a boy wishes he could give his first love, or as she wishes might be given her, — with many faces, each radiating its own lustre. Some smile at this figure as sentimental. For such stoics let me derive one from our barn-yard fowls. There is no nutriment in gravel, and so it at first seems silly for a hen to swallow it. But it seems so no longer when once we learn that every grain of it adds grit to her gizzard.

Moreover, whoever will enter minutiae in such a record as I urge will save what turns out diamond-dust, and what he otherwise would have thrown away before its value was suspected; as the first papyrus rolls exhumed in Herculaneum were destroyed, being mistaken for charred sticks; and as, in darker ages, many an algebra was burned before it was dreamed that the sign plus might not be popish, and many a geometry was burned before it was ascertained that a circle might be something else than a conjurer's ring.

"The cunning workman never doth refuse
The meanest tool that he may chance to use."

It is true, the legion of the lazy will make light of you as

zealously affected in trifles. But they know not "how poor an instrument can do a noble deed"; and resemble the lookers-on in a Shaker meeting, who said to one of the dancers, "Friend, you have forgotten the text that 'bodily exercise profiteth little.'" His answer was, "Why, strangers, that 'little' is what I am after," and pushed on in his saltatory gyrations. Be yours his spirit, and you will catch up knowledge as tirelessly as your clock picks up every crumb of time. Many fail when a trifle more persistence would fix in them a habit which would perpetuate itself. A certain man gave as his excuse for not reading the Bible, that its words were too hard, and mentioned as an instance the word "so-met-i-mes," in the text, "Ye who so-met-i-mes were afar off." If he had looked but a little longer his mountain of difficulty would have dwindled to a mole-hill; for in the quadrisyllabic stranger "so-met-i-mes" he would have recognized his old familiar friend "sometimes."

What more valueless than autumnal leaves? Yet half a dozen of them from a maple in Massachusetts were carried abroad in her herbal by the wife of our minister in London. As her husband's salary would only pay his rent, and he had no post-traderships to sell, she felt it a duty to economize. Accordingly, having, like Miss Flora McFlimsey, nothing to wear at a court ball, she put some of those leaves in her hair. Gorgeous beyond hues known to European forests, they eclipsed jewels; and the result is, that similar gems from the sugar-tree have been exported every year since. A wreath of them sent by New York ladies to the crown princess of Prussia was accepted with thanks. As the lady's herbal to the leaves of the maple, such is the book I propose to your native thoughts — often trodden under foot, yet worthy to stand before kings.

"Since that a pearl may in a toad's head dwell,
And may be found, too, in an oyster shell,
What our contempts do oftentimes hurl from us
We wish it ours again."

Not only is knowledge power; but the more we ken, the

more we can. A king is etymologically, according to Carlyle, he who kens most — the kenning man by way of eminence. There is a proverb, "Keep a thing seven years, and you will find a use for it." Long before that time you will utilize most acquisitions. Some of them, however, like the century-plant, will not bring fruit to perfection till the close of a still longer cycle. For ages the kite was only a boy's plaything. How long before it drew down lightning! how much longer before it drew a bridge over Niagara! When Franklin admired the first balloon that rose to the clouds, he was asked by some *nil admirari* utilitarian, "What's the use of this puff-ball?" His answer was, "What's the use of your new-born baby? It may become a man!" Already has the fate of battles hung in the scale of aeronautics, but it has not yet unfolded its century flower. In general, the longer fuel seasons before you need to burn it, the easier it kindles.

My subject grows upon me so that I can only allude to other utilities. Nothing is better adapted than the practice I advocate to keep an object for which to read, talk, observe, and think before your mind not merely on the eve of debate, but always and on many a theme, when you sit in the house and when you walk by the way. Why do we praise the bee more than the fly, when both are equally busy? The bee has an object, the fly none. The importance of a mark to aim at he only can appreciate who feels that

"Unless to some particular end designed,
Reading is but a specious trifling of the mind;
And then, like ill-digested food,
To humors turns, and not to blood."

But the more you read with the heart, the more will you learn by heart.

"The sweat of industry would dry and die,
But for the end it works to."

Through keeping a book of topics, you will be led to read also by topics, and not by volumes. He only who has formed this habit, and is always studying some subject, is master of books, instead of being mastered by them. Others are vaga-

bonds; he is a traveller. He can mentalize what others only memorize. Such a one's library (like that of Daniel Webster as I saw it in Marshfield while still left as in his lifetime) will be largely composed of indexes, encyclopedias, and "all the dictionaries and contradictionaries that ever were heard of"—books not so much to be read as to be referred to whenever curiosity is keen—books straightway supplying present demand, and guiding to the standards in each specialty. Consulting should be like going to a store and selecting from an assortment what you need; reading is prone to be attending an auction, where you buy what you do not want, and pay for it what you do.

Again, your list of topics—each a cord to string pearls on—will enlarge as naturally as a circle widens in water. Whenever you kindle a dry stick, many a green one will catch; and each new topic will rouse you to till those old fields which yield new corn, and will add to your eye precious seeing,—ay, telescopes and microscopes, till you discover Americas that lay hid from Columbus. Notes lead to queries which are the keys of knowledge, often to those which, though you cannot answer them for years, make you watchful for every clew to such labyrinths, and train you to habits of investigation.

In view of such considerations as I have now presented, most people say: "Oh that we had thought of these things sooner—when our school-days began, or at least when they ended; but now, alas, it is too late! For us the harvest is past." Let me remind these faint hearts that in a certain New England graveyard you may read this epitaph: "*Here lies one who existed seventy years, but lived only seven.*" Possibly that old man was first *married* at three score years and ten; or, as old bachelors think, he then became a widower. It seems more likely that at seventy years he began to keep a commonplace book, and found the practice a new birth,—a higher birth,—so that he reckoned former years, in which he hardly knew he was born, as existence, but not life.

Moreover, what more likely to lead to the best reading, and to dropping many a novel like a hot coal, than a habit which holds before you perpetual contrasts between that investment of time that is remunerative and that which brings no return ; between the harvest from sowing wheat and that from sowing wild oats ; between what inspires with virtue and what infects with virus ?

Nothing renders intellect dyspeptic sooner than gluttonous reading. What better check on such a surfeit than a style of training which bids you refuse a second meal till you have digested the first ? The mind of a voracious reader — what is it like ? It has been compared to a purse so full that it will not shut, but lets everything drop out. I will rather compare it to a hound unable to track a deer through a flower-garden, losing the scent through multiplicity of odors. It may find a still more apt emblem in that Thracian reveller who, when he could drink no more, poured wine on his clothes till he drenched himself from head to foot ; yet the wine was all outside. So is the voracious reader's reading, as the Koran is outside of many a Moslem who wears every word of it written on his shirt. Or, once again, the gluttonous reader resembles the patients of a doctor who fed such as had lost their appetite by soaking their feet in pails of soup. Still, the food is all outside. So is yours from omnivorous reading. You deprecate such a destiny. You will escape it, and make digestion as good as appetite, in proportion as you subordinate what you read to your own laws of thought. How can you do this better than by such writing as I urge ? Thus will you hold fast your individuality, as that John Bull did who, travelling in Indiana, when he expressed fears of fever and ague, was told by his landlady that he was out of danger ; for he carried so many English airs with him, such a British atmosphere, that he would remain proof against chills, even where all Hoosiers were shaking.

To but one more of the advantages resulting from devotion to commonplacing will I now advert ; and that is the aid thus ministered whenever you have need to recall what you have

learned; summoning into the living present whatever on any point you have ascertained in the dead past. "Without such a remembrancer," says Johnson, "recollection will come too late for use." "Knowledge," says Carlyle, "which wants an index wants everything." It is a clock-face without hands. For lack of it you have consumed days in a wild-goose chase for a passage, dodging like a flea, to which it would have given you a clew in a moment; for

"When index-keeping turns a student pale,
It holds the eel of science by the tail."

As "the table wherein all your thoughts are visibly characterized and engraved to lesson you," it will unroll, as on a map, all provinces of knowledge you have ever explored. You will have salt-pits that you can extract salt out of, and sprinkle where you will, and that to better purpose than throwing salt on the tails of pigeons. Your birds shall be in the hand, not in the bush. Thus you will seldom lack any ingredient needful to concoct a bowl of punch,

"Where strong, insipid, sharp, and sweet,
Each other duly tempering, meet —
A little sugar to make it sweet,
A little lemon to make it sour,
A little water to make it weak,
And a little whiskey to give it power."

Of course, I mean teetotaller's punch—the good, champagney, "old particular" brandy punch of feeling, thought, knowledge.

Once having occasion to publish proofs how valuable antique medals are for illustrating language, customs, dress, and all history, I accomplished my object in one day, thanks to my save-all, better than I otherwise could have done in a month. How is this? Why, while reading Gibbon some years before, I had entered by chapter and note in my book of memory a nugget from every placer I mined, that is, every instance in which his Decline and Fall is, from first to last, elucidated by coin or medal. In other cases more than I can number have I found that "a commonplace book contains many notions in garrison, whence the owner may draw

COMMONPLACE BOOKS

into the field." Nay, what is it but the whistle
Dhu in the solitary forest, which we read of in
the Lake:

"He whistled shrill,
And he was answered from the hill;
Instant through copse and heath arose
Bonnetts and spears and bended bows;
That whistle manned the lonely glen
At once with twice five hundred men."

ptness is power. Where is not prompt knowledge
st? I never saw a man out of work who was ready
municate, and had said of learning,—what ladies say
rets,—that if it were offered him on condition he
d keep it all to himself he would not take it. Prompt-
is power. Ready money commands interest. What a
thing is a cannon-ball, compared with a battering-ram;
it is prompt—shattering that it may reach, and shat-
ing what it reaches; and just because it works in hot
ste, like the thunderbolt outrunning the thunder, it has
aperseded the battering-ram, the old foggy monarch of sieges.
'Little fellow,' said Goliath to David, "how much do you
weigh?" The stripling's answer was, "Ordinarily I get
in the scale one hundred and twenty; but whenever I get
mad I weigh a ton—every ounce of it." When mad he was
nimble, and hence his sling-stone outweighed the spear huge
as a weaver's beam.

Promptness is power. The wheel of fortune rolls; but
the prompt man is spry enough to keep atop of it all the
time. Primaries fail; substitutes are called for, who can
furnish, if not what is best in itself, yet the best they have,
on the spur of the moment, prompt as a caudle-lecture. No
year will elapse at some emergency in which you will not be
more than yourself if you can collect your knowledge on some
subject as readily as you can double up your fingers into a
fist, and can express yourself not as enabled by the mercies
of a moment,—not extempore, that is, extrumpetry,—but
bringing out not merely the froth of your beer, but the body
of it, "things new and old"; things new as the latest tele-

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gram ; things old like wine, which the longer it is kept the better it grows ; and all condensed like light in a flash, " with a wave-like upgathering to burst at the end."

He who thus holds knowledge in hand resembles that puny constable in Boston, who arrested a champion pugilist, and, when the giant threatened to flog him, cowed that Hercules by saying, " Whip me ! then you will whip the commonwealth of Massachusetts." No thews and sinews could stand before you, did past studies back you up. But they do not. You have, for instance, to prepare for a debate. You are assured that you have known something bearing on the matter in hand ; but your knowledge like sleep eludes your grasp, and dodges you the more the more you seek it and the more you need it, till you feel like the man who, comes home drunk, and when, groping at his door in the dark, he finds no opening for his night-key, swears some scoundrel has stolen the key-hole. No idea can you feel sticking up, like a rabbit's ears or jug-handle, for you to seize. Nothing at your fingers' ends,

" Like the lock in the Koran to Mussulmans given
For the angel to hold by that lugs them to heaven."

The reason is, that the handles of thought, like the hair of time in the primer, are all forelocks—not one hindlock. In the hour of need where are your facts and arguments ? Water spilt upon the ground.

" The keen demand, the clear reply,
The fine poetic image,
The grasp of concentrated intellect
Wielding the omnipotence of truth,"—

Where are they ? Gone, glimmering in the dream of things that were. Gone, as those who move West fade from Eastern memories. Gone, like that glorious nibble in the trout-hole when you failed to pull your hook in the nick of time. You set your mill running, but there is no grist in the hopper. How can you, then, turn out flour ? You will as soon cooper up a new barrel out of an old bung-hole, or hatch chickens from eggs of chalk.



"You beat your pate, in hopes that wit will come;
Knock as you will, there's nobody at home."

He who never saves will never have.

When the debate is over your ideas come flocking around you, and are about as welcome as the doctors who come to the funeral of your friend only to tell you that they have just discovered how he might have been cured, so that he had no business to die. Is there anything more heart-breaking than to be tantalized by knowledge always ready, like friends, — and umbrellas, — except when wanted?

Abound, then, in notes of preparation. Being forewarned, be forearmed. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise; which, having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest." Go thou and do likewise. Stow so as to unlade,

"As warlike arms in magazines we place,
All ranged in order and disposed with grace, —
Not thus alone the curious eye to please,
But to be found, when need requires, with ease."

"Hast thou a thought on thy brain?
Catch it while thou canst,
Or other thoughts shall settle there,
And this shall soon take wing."

Ideas are customers; you must wait on them as soon as they come, or they will be gone to your rival who will. However we may have differed concerning the fugitive slave bill, let us be unanimous for a fugitive thought bill. Hurrah for a bill to detect, apprehend, and hold in custody runaway thoughts! Seize the fugitives! Chain them in a coffle. Fast bind, fast find.

"Since losers are sneakers,
Let finders be keepers."

The fault with many a man is not that he knows so little; it is rather that so much of his knowledge lies beyond his reach; that he is like that cousin of mine whose nose was so long that he could never hear himself sneeze, much less blow it.

What is a great scholar? De Quincy answers, "Not one who depends on an infinite memory, but also on an infinite power of combination, bringing together from the four winds,

like the angel of the resurrection, what else were dust from dead men's bones, into the unity of breathing life." He is a tree which includes in its last growth that of all former years :

"A power of arranging, combining, discerning,
Digesting the masses he learns into learning."

To recapitulate, or gather into a sheaf my gleanings : Such commonplacing as I advise helps retain knowledge ; it is mother of accuracy and order ; it fertilizes fancy ; it corrects error ; it quickens curiosity, widens its scope, and gives kingly command over one's havings.

"Each fainter trace that memory holds
So darkly of departed years,
In one broad glance man there beholds,
And all that was at once appears."

"Of all the best of men's best knowledges,
The contents, indexes, and title-pages
Through all past, present, and succeeding ages."

What is such a volume less than a cornucopia — Amalthea's horn of plenty, that flowed with nectar, ambrosia, and whatsoever she would. Such a feast — we do it wrong to name it "commonplace." Where, then, shall we find a name that will do justice to its nature ? I find none except the longest word in the world — the word coined by Aristophanes to denote the most delectable of delicacies, and which is the most polysyllabic that human lips have uttered, because it blends in its single self a smack of every dainty known to the Greeks. That one unique word of seventy-nine syllables is :

λοπαδοτεμαχοσελαχογαλεο-
κρανιολειψανοδρμνποτριμματο-
σιλφιοπαραομελιτοκατακεχυμενο-
κιχλεπικοσυφοφαττοπεριστερα-
λεκτρυνοπτεκεφαλλιοκιγκλοπε-
λειολαγωοσιραιοβαφετραγαν-
οπτεριγων.

Such is my name for a commonplace book — a name none too long or too good for its nature, but for which our poor vernacular affords no better equivalent than the monosyllable "hash."

I once lived in Cincinnati where four streets met, and was

sometimes waked at night by a bell. When I looked out, the gas-burner on the corner would show me the bell-ringer on horseback, and beside him another mounted man, who when the ringing stopped would cry out : " Oh yes ! Oh yes ! Child lost ! child lost ! boy, five years old, — straw hat, — light hair. — checked apron, — blue eyes — Mother lives at Race Street. No. 240." But, in spite of all this benevolent machinery, the parents of such a stripling wanderer must often have watched and waited the livelong night before the criers could ascertain who had picked up and cared for their darling. Such is our relation to our truant thoughts. We seek them, and they seek us ; but neither of us knows where to find the other.

They order this matter of missing boys otherwise in Boston. In that Puritan metropolis there has long been a depot for lost children. Thither whoever meets a rover too young to tell where his home is straightway leads the little prodigal. There the juvenile estrays are warmed, fed, and amused ; and to that asylum every mother, if her wee ones let out to play by the door are lured off by the marvels of the city or snared by its intricacies, so that they answer not her call, turns her hasty steps, confident that her urchins cannot be long in reaching its hospitable doors, and not so much distressed as exhilarated by the romance of her rogue's getting lost. In this lost-child depot of the Yankees behold my ideal of a veritable commonplace book. It is a place to lay up all you find, and to find whatever you have lost ; a depot to which you may lead every wanderer from other men's brains you know not what to do with, nor yet his relations, satisfied that he and his relations will there see eye to eye ; a depot in which you may be sure the children of your own soul — however while you are busy here and there they have vanished out of your sight — are safe and ready for you to rejoice over whensoever you will.

As men differ in ability to make full proof of every other means of culture, so must they in the tact to make the most of commonplacing. No doubt some will expect from the



expedient I have proposed miracles which no expedients can work. Some can make blank-books doubly blank. When a countryman was seen watching the geese on our university green at Madison, as they cackled, and was asked what he was doing, his answer was, that he supposed university geese must gabble in Greek, and so he was listening to hear what they would say. Yet I do not suppose a commonplace book can turn a goose into a Grecian: for spectacles are valueless to him who has no eyes. But to every one who will do what he can in this line, his note-book, as years roll on, will become a richer treasure than Vanderbilt's scrap-book of government bonds, or than that Roman table I gazed on in the Borghese palace, which is inlaid with a specimen of every known gem.

Whoso has a will shall get a sort of skill. His whole life shall gravitate toward it like water toward the ocean. Mark the water. In cisterns a prisoner, in rivers a passenger; dam it up here, and it is doubly impetuous there; plunge it in the bowels of the earth, it still gropes its way in the dark. It never rests till it reaches its goal. Nay, it rests not then. It evaporates, rises, returns whence it came as a fertilizing shower. That which the fountain sends forth returns again to the fountain. So whatever your mind as a fountain pours into your written reservoir, — the art preservative of all arts, — shall thence return to bless you altogether. Such a volume, when one has dealt with it half a lifetime, gathering daily manna, will be more to its possessor than any library of printed books; it is more than half of himself; yea, such a Mecca of the mind can be described only by Milton;

"Made porous to receive
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gathered beams, great palace now of light;
Hither as to a fountain countless stars
Repairing in their golden urns draw light."

Such a commonplace book — least of all books commonplace — may you live long enough to elaborate, and then may you live a good while after that!

ARTICLE IV.

INSPIRATION;—WITH REMARKS ON THE THEORY PRESENTED IN LADD'S DOCTRINE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.

BY REV. GEORGE N. BOARDMAN, D.D., PROFESSOR IN CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

I. THE inspiration of the Bible must always be a theme of the highest interest. It implies, in any view which may be taken of it, communion between God and man. Those who hold to the doctrine must accept the personality of God and admit that he communicates instruction to certain of his rational creatures for ethical purposes. The mere consent, therefore, to discuss the topic raises us above Pantheism and Deism into the realm of moral government, administered through precepts, persuasions, and awards. We have also in inspiration the most conclusive evidence of the reality of the Christian system. It is true, the evidences of Christianity must be shown to be in a high degree convincing before an argument for inspiration can be of force; but if the fact of inspiration can be once established, this becomes one of the supernatural evidences of our religion, and takes its place by the side of miracles and prophecy as overwhelming proof that God is with his people. Those who hold to a real inspiration must hold, at the lowest, that the Bible contains the word of God—many words of God; Protestants have generally held that the Bible *is* the word of God. The only doctrine of inspiration which has been satisfactory to the Christian church has been one which justifies the claim that the Holy Scriptures are infallible in their moral and religious teachings, and are so based on the authority of God that they must be accepted as binding the conscience and dictating our duties.

There are two views of inspiration, fundamentally diverse,

which may be called generic. These views may, however, be held with such modifications, or with such accompanying adjuncts, that they shall seem at certain points to resemble each other, if not to be identical. One view teaches, that God so controlled the minds of the writers of the Bible that they wrote down such things, and only such things, as he proposed to give to mankind as an authoritative guide for a religious life. This view makes the Bible the book of God. It might be maintained in accord with it that God dictated to the writers every word which they were to transmit, thus making them simply his amanuenses; or it might be maintained that he exercised such a superintendency over their work as to secure in their manuscripts the thoughts and narrations which he desired to use in instructing men, and to exclude from their manuscripts all material which he did not choose so to use. A superintendency like this would probably imply at times the dictating of words to the Scripture authors, and at times it might imply merely a prompting to write out thoughts already in their minds.

The other view connects inspiration not with the writings, but with the thoughts of the person inspired. It teaches that God so affects the mind that it apprehends the truths which he would disclose. Generally these truths are of too exalted a character to be known without special divine aid. Generally the mental action put forth because of inspiration is intuition; God enables one to see the truth. He does not in any case give to the mind thoughts ready-made, he does not correct its understanding of the ordinary facts of history or science, but by the power of his Spirit raises the soul to fuller and larger views of truth, to deeper and more impressive experiences in the religious life. Under such inspiration the mind works out its apprehensions with a more intense energy and brings within the range of its consciousness truths that would ordinarily evade its grasp. The knowledge produced by such inspiration does not differ from ordinary knowledge; it rests on subjective experiences, is a conviction of the mind, and is not to be accepted by the world as authoritative because of



the source from which it comes. Knowledge thus acquired may be mixed with error, may approach more or less to the truth as apprehended by the divine mind. Inspiration of this character is always an effect produced upon one person by another,—upon man by God. Sometimes the man may not be in a state to respond properly to the divine influence, sometimes he may not be sufficiently moved to apprehend adequately the truths before him. The products of such an inspiration we are not therefore to receive as of course setting forth the truth of God, but are to receive as containing something that comes from God, and are to allow them an authority according to their value. One who has an adequate power of discernment can select from the various products of inspiration in the Bible much that has the mark of being truly from the divine mind, and which may therefore be called the “word of God.”

The theory¹ of inspiration presented by Professor George T. Ladd, D.D., of Yale College, is very fully wrought out, and may be taken as fairly representing the second kind of inspiration above noticed. We will present his view somewhat in detail, in order to compare it with inspiration of the kind first noticed.

Professor Ladd rejects decisively, as absurd if not impossible, the kind of inspiration first described. He says: “With the inspiration of the Bible, in the meaning of this term, which obtained almost without dispute in Protestant theology from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries, we might properly give ourselves no further concern. Neither the claims and phenomena of the Bible, nor the rational and biblical idea of revelation, are consistent with such a meaning.”² He holds that the “old orthodoxy” divorced revelation from inspiration, and in this way really destroyed both. “Inspiration is thus separated from its living and organic connection with revelation, and

¹ The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, by George T. Ladd, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. p. 452.

is conceived of as something attached to a writing, rather than wrought out in a personality. It loses, then, its characteristic of personal communion between two spirits. . . . Thus does a wrong conception of inspiration, with the sun-dering of all the vital ties which unite revelation and inspira-tion, lead on to the complete destruction of both alike."¹ He maintains that such a view of inspiration is mischievous. "It is of no little importance that men should know what it is fair and safe *not* to expect from the Bible. The danger of sending men to the Bible with a false theory of its nature and origin is theoretically very great. . . . If the inquiring mind is directed to the examination of the Bible under the incubus of a dogma whose very essence consists in a pernicious application of the dictum, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, how can any just complaint be made when such a mind proceeds with the consistent application of this dictum? We cannot save the Bible as a whole to the satisfaction of human reason, when we have once committed its case to the infallibility of its separate parts."²

In order to understand the view of inspiration presented in the work before us, it is necessary to observe the author's view of those faculties of the mind that apprehend moral and religious truth. He considers the conscience the faculty through which God has access to man. He calls the faculty also the moral reason, and considers it a power of perception or intuition, or, by whatever mental activity, a power of apprehension. This faculty in its natural state he considers incompetent to religious knowledge, or even to a sense of the ill-desert of sin. In like manner, the law of morals is not recognized by this faculty, except through a divine move-ment upon the soul. "The inner law, as existing within man, is only the effect; the cause and significance of this law are to be understood only in the light of a divine self-communication. What modern ethics might call the threat-enings of a guilty conscience is the wrath of God revealed within; for what modern ethics calls an operation of the

¹ Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, Vol. ii. p. 454.

² Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 685.



human intellect is really the word of God made known to the soul.”¹ When this faculty has been developed and informed by, conformed inwardly to, the divine teaching, it is competent to judge of religious truth, and can recognize the divine communications made known apart from itself, as in the Bible or the writings of good men. Without the divine teaching, the self-communications of God, the conscience is incapable of forming an opinion upon revelation, but in its self-sufficiency is the special foe of revelation.² The conscience or moral reason is not, in fact, constituted to act independently of the special operation of God. Its apprehensions, resulting from its natural energy awakened by external events, would be erroneous and in opposition to the truths of revelation. This power can no more act with proper effect without the illuminations of the Holy Spirit than the eye can see without light. “Moral reason has need not only of development, but also of redemption. As it cannot have a purely natural development,—cannot, that is to say, develop itself,—so it cannot redeem itself. For both its development and its redemption the divine self-communications are necessary.”³ This power, when properly developed by the aid of the Holy Spirit, and made apprehensive of the truth through the word of God, becomes the Christian consciousness, and is thus able to test the word of God—at least, to discern it when mingled with the words of men. The author speaks of this faculty, also, when blessed with divine communion and instructed by the divine word, as the ethico-religious consciousness. Under this name the faculty is made to discharge a most important office—becomes, with the various aids afforded it, the judge of the scriptural writings, the discernor of inspiration, of revelation, of the word of God wherever found.

We must also notice his view of revelation, and of the office of revelation. If this is a true view of the faculty of religious knowledge, it follows, of course, that all religious truth must be known by revelation, and that not such a reve-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. i. 481.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. p. 378.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. p. 532.

lation as is sometimes said to be the basis of all knowledge, — whatever is seen being seen in the light which God gives us, — but an immediate and special revelation afforded for the purpose of disclosing a particular truth. If one sees, for instance, that disregard of God is war on himself, he sees it through a special divine communication. Moreover, when such a revelation is made, the mind is not competent to apprehend it by any energy which it possesses by nature. Indeed, there is no real revelation while the mind remains in its natural state. God must waken the mind to new activity whenever he makes disclosures of truth, i.e. of himself. This enabling the mind to receive a revelation is inspiration. Inspiration and revelation are correlative terms; practically they imply each other; neither could exist without the other. A few citations will exhibit the author's view of this subject. "In all legitimate uses of the term revelation we find that inspiration is involved as the subjective condition of revelation. Revelation, of whatever kind, is realized only through that condition of the subject of revelation which we fitly ascribe to the activity of the Divine Spirit within the human spirit, and which we therefore call inspiration."¹ "Revelation is, then, a divine work, which is regarded as taking place in the faculties of knowledge and as resulting in the making known of truth to its recipient. Inspiration relates to all the faculties of man, and emphasizes especially the ethical activities of faith. Inasmuch as the Holy Spirit is the personal principle of all truth, and especially of all truth concerning God as the Redeemer, and concerning the divine work in the kingdom of redemption, to have this Spirit within one is to be inspired with insight into the truth. To ask, however, for this inspired insight is the same thing as to pray that the Spirit of wisdom and revelation may be given; for by revelation the personal knowledge of the truth is gained, and by revelation the defects in the knowledge of every Christian are supplied."²

Professor Ladd again and again affirms that inspiration is

¹ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 456.

² Ibid., Vol. ii. 461.

bestowed upon the church as a whole, that it is bestowed for the good of the community of believers, and that in all its forms it is essentially of one kind. "The general rule of distribution for this donative work of the Spirit [i.e. that described 1 Cor. xi.-xiv.] is the profit of the community. It is in accordance with the same fundamental law that the inspiration which constitutes the call, endowment, and guidance of the apostolic office is to be construed. We find, then, in this chief passage, all the essential elements of apostolic inspiration, except the selective act of Jesus with its accompanying commission, attributed to the entire community of believers."¹ "But the revelation and inspiration which are claimed and enjoyed by the apostles have already been shown to be the same in kind with those of all believers."² "Inspiration, as the subjective condition of biblical revelation and the predicate of the word of God, is *specifically* the same illumining, quickening, elevating, and purifying work of the Holy Spirit as that which goes on in the persons of the entire believing community."³ He designates four grades of inspiration, all being of the same kind: first, that of the apostles and prophets; second, that of "selected and official personages," who are able to make the right application of the truths of the gospel to practical life; third, that which imparts insight into the history of God's kingdom; fourth, that "which fills the soul of every true believer in God with joy, love, faith, hope, the spirit of prayer, and all the spiritual exercises of the religious life; and which expresses itself in invocation, exhortation, ascription of praise, and sacred psalmody."⁴ "It must be concluded, then, that the dogma which assumes to separate the Bible from all other books by defining the inspiration of its writers as *specifically* different from the inspiration of other believers fails entirely of its purpose."⁵ In accord with this view, inspiration must continue an endowment of the church through its entire existence. "Inasmuch as the same Spirit who has

¹ Ibid., Vol. i. p. 188.² Ibid., Vol. i. p. 191.³ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 483.⁴ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 372.⁵ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 465.

spoken that which has become scripturally fixed, and who has ordained the events in history which constitute the past process of redemption, constantly operates within the soul of every believer, revelation and inspiration can never cease within the church. Inspiration and revelation must continue in a living process, or that which is past will become dead past — will become, that is to say, only a claimant for the title of revelation, and not a revelation realized.”¹

The relation between inspiration and revelation here set forth makes it a necessity that inspiration should involve a communion between two persons. The revealing and inspiring agent must be a person forming and carrying out designs, and the recipient of the revelation must be a person, since the revelation is possible only through a mind inspired to receive it. The transaction is between persons as persons. A truth so disclosed that the natural mind would understand it would not be a revelation, because there would be no inspiration of the recipient mind; and a mind elevated by ordinary stimuli, however animated and enlarged its survey of truth, would not be inspired, because there would be no proper revelation connected with its action. “In order to make the transaction valid, the second party in the transaction [man as the subject of inspiration] must be a being which is worthy of the name ‘person,’ must be that kind of free and self-conscious individuality which we call a personality. Only such a being has the capacity for revelation, or for that knowledge of God which the self-revealing Infinite Spirit produces within the finite spirit. Only such a being has the capacity for receiving those ethical and spiritual impressions and changes in which inspiration essentially consists.”²

To obtain an adequate view of the subject before us, it is necessary to notice still more particularly the agencies engaged in revelation and inspiration, although these have been necessarily alluded to in the remark that they imply a transaction between persons. Adopting a division of the theme from Kahnis, the author says: “Every revelation leads us to

¹ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 523.

² Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 374.

inquire as to (1) its agent, (2) its subject, (3) its object, and (4) its method or form. In all revelation a personality acting as an agent imparts some new knowledge to another personality, through some means, or in some form, of communication. The revealing *agent*, the one who reveals, in all divine revelation, is God. In the special revelation of the Bible the agent of revelation is the inspiring and sanctifying Divine Spirit—it is God regarded as the energizing source of ethical and spiritual illumination and life; or it is the Logos, the Revealer, the Eternal Word. The *object* of all revelation is God, and God alone. The content of revelation is not, however, the knowledge of God as he is in himself, but as he stands related to the world, to the soul of man, and to the course of human history. The object of the biblical revelation is pre-eminently God as the Redeemer of man, and the activities of God in the historic process of redemption. The *subject* of revelation is man. The *method* or *form* of revelation can be learned only by an actual study of the process of revelation.”¹ The factors of revelation give a clew to the method, and “are history, miracle, law, prediction, doctrine, and the God-Man Jesus Christ. The Spirit *reveals* the Logos in and through the Bible; the Logos *is* the revelation of God.”²

Such a view of inspiration makes the Bible at once the foundation and product of the church. The church, as embracing redeemed humanity, is competent to produce the Bible, and to give utterance to so much of the word of God as is contained in the Bible. The founding of the church must be by the word also; but the incarnate word Jesus Christ was present at its foundation, laid the stone on which it was erected. Inspired men have from time to time apprehended God as the Redeemer, and he has been to them the same word that Christ was when in the flesh. The intuitions of truth attained through inspiration have been recorded, and much of the word of God has found its way into the Scriptures. Though there are writings of Christian men

¹ Ibid., Vol. ii. 324.

² Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 335.

which are more fully inspired than some portions of the Bible, on the whole the Bible is unique and incomparable in its value. The apostles were selected by Christ for their work, and the prophets had an inspiration of the same grade with theirs, so that some portions of the Bible have the authority of the very word of God. "The general principle which regulates the distribution of the gift of inspiration is, so far as its recipient is concerned, his own ethical fitness for receiving it and his fidelity in its use. . . . But this condition by no means controls the distribution of the gift, so that we can conclude from the ethical character of the inspired one as to the relative value of the product of the inspiration and revelation given to him. Other historical conditions, which concern the great final purposes of redemption, and which regulate the place of each agent and age in the general course of historic revelation, may often be of chief importance."¹ The duty of Christians of every age is to study the Bible so as to discover its inspired and sacred portions; remembering that, though the Spirit still inspires the followers of Christ, the great ages of inspiration have sent down to us intuitions which we are to inherit and receive from history rather than attain through a present inworking of the inspiring agent. Our inspiration is rather an enabling us to see what others have seen than the awakening of new intuitions. If we can recognize and adopt the word of God as contained in the Scriptures, we shall ourselves stand on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

The theory of inspiration presented by Professor Ladd is one akin to, if not identical with, others that have been entertained abroad, and to some extent in this country. It seems to agree in outline with that of Morell as given in his *Philosophy of Religion*. The latter, however, was represented, at the time of its publication, to be essentially the theory of Schleiermacher, with whom Professor Ladd would not agree on some important points. Tholuck wrote an article for the first edition of Herzog's *Encyclopedia* which advocates a view

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. p. 467.

lations that have struggled through the medium of the human mind and, by the aid of inspiration, have found utterance in human language. The infra-inspiration portion is that which contains no revelation and so has nothing sacred in it. Our author admits of no inspiration except that between persons, in which there is a communication between two spiritual beings, in which one mind imparts truth to another "pre-eminently in the imparting of religious intuitions."¹ Of course our Lord is not the subject of any such operation by which he is made the recipient of intuitions otherwise above his capacity. Even the Jews of his own day saw that he spoke with authority, i.e. said what he himself knew. Our author says: "The subject and object, the agent and media, of revelation are united in him."² It is to be noticed here that the words of Christ are not Christ himself, who is the Word. It can be maintained with plausibility that Christ is known only as a revelation, and that we need the inspiration of the Spirit to apprehend him as divine, to recognize him as the Word which the Bible in part is; but the words which he *uttered* are to be taken from his lips, and there is no possibility of connecting them with inspiration in the sense proposed by our author; to be inspired to write them down, or to be inspired to understand them, would remove the inspiration from them. Yet he ascribes to them the highest authority and makes them the germinal centre of all Scripture that is sacred. He describes the difference between Paul's judgment and Christ's teaching thus: "The source of judgment in the one case is his own inspired, but not infallible 'subjectivity'; the source in the other case is the infallible objective word of Christ."³ Among the truths from the influence of which biblical criticism is not to be asked to set itself free is "the final authority of Christ upon the ethico-religious matters which it was his mission to teach."⁴ In reply to the question, What is there which the religious faculty must recognize as of sovereign authority? he says: "The

¹ Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, Vol. ii. p. 329.

² Ibid., Vol. i. p. 203.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. i. p. 227.

objective word of Christ furnishes the form within which, and the law according to which, the subjective development of the Christian consciousness must take place. . . . It is, then, the objective word of Christ in the Bible which makes the Bible a ground and norm and law unto the believing community. . . . The portions of the Bible which were written before his coming, the church carries forward to Christ, and receives his word upon them; the portions which were written after his coming, the church carries back to Christ to receive his word upon them. And, inasmuch as certain faiths regarding the older portions are involved in the infallible word of Jesus Christ concerning these portions, and certain faiths regarding the latter portions are founded upon his infallible promises, the Christian consciousness receives all such portions as being the word of God in Jesus Christ."¹ Christ's words must therefore be a part of the revealed word, and yet they are without inspiration. A revelation of this kind comes very near to that which the author would make to appear absurd by applying to it the expression of Rothe, "the imparting of ready-made religious cognitions of the intellect in the form of dogmas." This is no bad description of the words: "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." The words of Christ the author admits to have been authentically reported to us, admits that they form a very considerable portion of the New Testament, and maintains that they so constitute the germ and law of the whole, that it may, with slight exceptions, be accepted as a revelation and a rule of faith.²

An author has a right to define his own terms and use them accordingly. Professor Ladd has stated clearly what he means by the word inspiration, and has adhered to his definitions; we prefer to give the word a different signification and apply it to the words of Christ. We would call these objective words, admitted to be infallible, inspired or theopneustic. They are words which God breathes forth. And we would prefer, if possible, to connect other words

¹ Ibid., Vol. ii. pp. 536, 537.

² Ibid., Vol. ii. pp. 536, 576, 511.

found in the Scriptures with these of our Lord, or to find for them a similar source, that we might ascribe to them a similar inspiration. Of this, however, we will speak later. But it is to be noted here, that when Professor Ladd uses the word inspiration he means by it something totally different from that ordinarily intended, and yet that he does not exclude from a portion of the Bible an infallibility of precisely the same kind as that associated with the word inspiration as commonly used.

After the objective words of Christ, which are to be received as of absolute authority because of their source, come the inspired portions of the Scriptures. These are characterized, some by higher, some by lower, degrees of inspiration. "Next to the word of redemption which Christ in his own person is, and which he utters with his own actions and speech, stands that apostolic word which expands, explains, and applies the word of Christ. The authority of the apostolic word is guaranteed by the promises of Christ, which were all true, and were realized by the apostles, in the sense in which Christ meant them. . . . With an authority more indirectly derived, and always to be referred to and tested by the authority of Christ and the apostles, do the non-apostolic authors of the New Testament teach us the same divine truth. But of the Old Testament in general we must say that all its authority is relative, and that authority is to be assigned to its several portions and teachings according to the authoritative teaching of Christ and the apostles."¹ Elsewhere our author ascribes to some of the prophets, especially the author of Psalm cx., an inspiration equal to that of the apostles. He does not attempt to draw the line at which inspiration ceases, in making its descending grades, but clearly gives over some portion of the Bible to the rubbish-bags of errors and myths. He finds much more inspiration in the works of Christian writers than in portions of the canon. "We need not hesitate, then, to affirm the indubitable fact, that Christian symbols and creeds, in so far as

¹ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 578.

they are constructed by the activity of the Christian consciousness and are based upon the faiths which belong to the word of Christ and the apostles, have an authority superior to that of many portions of Sacred Scripture. Calvin and Augustine, although not infallible, can teach us concerning redemption with more authority than Ecclesiastes or Esther, or even the Mosaic Torah."¹

The last quotation indicates the difference between the author's view of inspiration and that ordinarily entertained. Those who hold to the inspiration of the entire Bible do not estimate the degree of inspiration belonging to any passage as being in proportion to the amount of truth concerning redemption which it contains, but hold that it is inspired if it fills a place in the *system* of revealed truth. The Westminster Confession teaches the way of salvation better than the Book of Joshua, but the Bible would not be improved by substituting it for the Book of Joshua. Nor is there any inspiration in the Westminster Confession or in Calvin's Institutes except that which belongs to them as a statement of Bible truth. The inspiration which our author advocates is useful indeed, so far as it is a reality among Christian people, but is not of itself a source of authority in the instruction of mankind, is never an object of final appeal in settling difficult questions, and is moreover, even if an admitted fact, to be tested by the ethico-religious consciousness. In place of the simple and ultimate basis of religious teaching, "thus saith the Lord," the system before us sets up another — the Christ of history. Christ is, we grant, the proper authority, when recognized in his true character; but his authority is degraded by combining with it human elements, if it is only such as we can accord him through the church's apprehension of him in its historical experiences.

This division of the Bible into portions that are authoritative, partially authoritative, and not at all authoritative — rather, erroneous and misleading — goes far toward destroying the unity of the Bible. It is true that our author finds much

¹ Ibid., Vol. ii. p. 608.

in the Old Testament looking forward to Christ, and considers the Bible in some sense a unit; but this is a conclusion which he can only affirm with qualifications. With the other view of inspiration the unity of the Scriptures forces itself upon us as an indubitable fact, is implied in the doctrine of inspiration itself. The two ideas, in fact, support each other, the inspiration accounting for the unity and the unity manifesting the inspiration; both being evidenced by the influence which the book has exerted. In a little tract (210 of the Presbyterian Board of Publication), Professor Warfield uses the following language: "Looked at from a purely external point of view, the volume [the Bible] is a rough bale of drift from the sea of time, a conglomerate of *débris* brought down by the waters and cast in a heap together. Nay, not only are there heterogeneous, but seemingly positively conflicting, elements in it. One half is a mass of Hebrew writings held sacred by a race which cannot look with patience on the other half, which is a mass of Greek writings claiming to set aside the legislation of a large part of its fellow. Yet it is this congeries of volumes which has had, and still has, this immense influence. The Hebrew half never conquered the world until the Greek half was added to it; the Greek half did not conquer save by the aid of the Hebrew half. The whole mass, in all its divinity, has attained the kingship."

3. The position of the author, that "the object of all revelation is God, and God alone," is one which cannot be maintained. That God is glorified by his revelation and is "the last end of all things" is not to be denied. But this is a truth that is perceived only as the result of revelation and a study of history and a contemplation of the divine government. It was after prolonged reflection, and as the utterance of a baffled understanding, that the apostle said: "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." There is no proper sense in which it can be said that each revelation is a revelation of God, that every apprehension of a revealed truth is an apprehension of God, that every disclosure in the divine government accomplishes its purpose only

by giving a view of God,—and God as a redeemer. Indeed the author seems conscious that his assertion is for the sake of a theory, rather than the expression of a clear truth, for he modifies his statement in such a way as almost to retract it. “The content of revelation is not, however, the knowledge of God as he is in himself, but as he stands related to the world,” etc.¹ Still the position that God is the sole object of revelation is vital to his system and may be profitably put to a more thorough test. It would have been well if he had cited instances of revelations and made application of his doctrine to them. It is not an easy task to do it for him; but perhaps the parables in the thirteenth chapter of Matthew will be as readily accepted as revelations as any passages of the Scriptures. They are closely connected with the scheme of redemption. The shortest one is that of the leaven, Matt. xiii. 33: “The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.” The thing here revealed is the effect of preaching the gospel. The parable represents a well-known thing, the word of God, as leaven, and reveals the effect of the word as it is to appear in the kingdom of God—the leaven is to pervade the mass. To say that the truth set forth by the parable illustrates God’s character when it is taken with all the facts connected with the case, is to say nothing to the purpose; so does the French Revolution, so does an earthquake. Let us take a second passage; there are no clearer revelations than those of Matthew xxiv. Christ instructs his disciples in the matter of their future duties, tells them when to flee to the mountains, tells them that attempts to defend Jerusalem against the enemy soon to come upon the city will be useless; but there is here no more a revelation of God than there would have been in explaining to the disciples, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the mistakes they would have made if they had not followed the Master’s directions.

It is clear that the apostle Paul considered the aim of reve-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. p. 325.



lation to be a good life — a life of communion with God and of blameless morals. He does not congratulate Timothy on his knowledge of God by elevated views and uncommonly early intuitions, but that from a child he had known the Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation. And he sets forth the advantage of inspiration by declaring that Scripture having this quality is “profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” One cannot avoid feeling, in reading this passage, that Paul valued inspiration as a motive power, because of the *moral* effects that are produced by it. It is not to be denied that one learns of God through inspiration, but it is for the most part indirectly. In a word, inspiration is not that we may know more (though that is the result), but that we may do better.

4. There is no need of inspiration in Professor Ladd’s meaning of the term for the understanding of most of the revelations which God makes. We believe fully in influences of the Holy Spirit similar to those which he calls inspiration. Elevation of mind in the pulpit labors of many a pastor, the demonstration of the truth and the power of persuasion granted to many a preacher, the “Saturday assurances” of many praying servants of God, are testimony of this; but this divine moving of the mind is not necessary for understanding revelations, rather revelations are made that the ordinary mind may know the truth without dependence on a special divine afflatus. What need is there of supernatural assistance to understand such words as these: “And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead”? or this, “That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure”? Even obscure passages of the Scriptures are not made clear by a struggle of intellect, by straining after intuitions. Such passages are not made clear to men in general — there may be individual

exceptions for an ulterior purpose — by simple insight divinely given, but by events that manifest the truth in real experience. When Peter said, "This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel, And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh," etc., the prophecy was understood; but before that time there was not, so far as we know, any historical and inherited understanding of these words coming down from their inspired author. Probably Peter knew far better than Joel the import of the prophecy. Sometimes words were uttered in prophecy which confessedly were not understood, though prophecy is a high form of inspiration, as our author understands inspiration. Jesus said: "And now I have told you before it come to pass, that when it is come to pass ye might believe." Here is no making competent to understand through inspiration. Daniel says: "And I heard, but I understood not; then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things? And he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end."

5. Professor Ladd does not show that the inspiration which he recognizes — one of the charisms mentioned in the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians — is the inspiration that gives the Bible its divine character. Let it be granted that what he terms inspiration is known in the church, an endowment through all its history, it does not follow that this is the only inspiration; if it exists it can have no power to exclude an inspiration by which God communicates truth in a special way to men selected for a specific work. We have already seen that there are considerable portions of the Bible — all the words of Jesus — of the highest possible authority, of which this charism inspiration can not be predicated. And when we pass on to other portions there is no proof of an inspiration to be numbered among the ordinary charisms of the church. The Professor criticises the ordinary view of this subject very sharply because of its failure to connect inspiration with authorship. He says we do not know, never can know, who wrote some of the books of the



Bible, therefore we never can know that the writers were moved by the Holy Ghost in their writing. It cannot be shown that their words are dictated to them. But he equally fails in making the desired connections. He cannot deny that the inspiration of a passage written by an apostle or prophet may have been dictated, he cannot prove that the words and thoughts came by elevated intuitions imparted by the Holy Ghost. He has not attempted to show that the ethico-religious consciousness is able to distinguish between Christ's words and Paul's words by perceiving an inspiration in one and a quality above inspiration in the other. He bases the superiority of Christ's words on evidence wholly different from the critical discriminations of the reader. He cannot deny, therefore, that in some way the words of the apostles may be as much the words of God as the words of Christ are. If the Scriptures are inspired the fact must be learned from themselves. The quality must be perceived in the writings, or a credible claim to it be made by them. No one can say the authors of the Scriptures were inspired, therefore the writings are inspired; we only know them through their works; or if we knew them independently, and knew they were inspired, we should not know that their inspiration was exhibited in the works we have. We must begin with the writings themselves, and if we are assured of their inspiration we are perfectly safe in referring it to God as its source. We may investigate and speculate as we please about the men who wrote, and the influences under which they wrote, but we cannot in this way explain the fact of inspiration. We shall be obliged to content ourselves with the position that, if there is inspiration, God is its author.

II. The word "inspiration" does not definitely express that quality of the Sacred Scriptures which compels us to consider them as in some peculiar sense the work of God. That God is to some extent the author of the Scriptures is admitted by all Christians. The Bible is found, in their experience, to such a degree "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness" that

they cannot avoid the conclusion that God is its author. Hence it is said to be inspired, or theopneustic. But the exact meaning of the word, adopted from Paul, is not easily determined. Tholuck says, "The word 'inspiration,' borrowed from 2 Tim. iii. 16, characterizes the contents of the sacred writings as having proceeded from the breath, the Spirit of God." The term, however, does not determine either the extent or the method of the divine influence in the production of the Scriptures. If the writers received every word they put in their manuscripts by dictation from God, if they wrote upon topics and used facts suggested to their minds by the Divine Spirit, if they were brought into sympathy with the Holy Spirit so as to be enabled to give to the world by their writings the instructions and the impressions which the Spirit desired to have given, if they were merely impelled to write, and restrained from writing what the Spirit of God did not desire to have communicated to the world,—in either case, the writing would be, in some sense, a product of the divine mind, and might be characterized as inspired. The term is not given to us as one of established meaning, with the requirement that we find in the Bible the qualities it designates; but the Bible is given us, and among its many qualities we shall, if we exercise the proper discernment, find inspiration to be one. But how much inspiration means must be learned from the Scriptures themselves. Professor Ladd attempts to establish a doctrine of inspiration, and then to show that a part of the Bible was written under its influence; we believe the Bible is to be examined like any other book, and that its peculiar qualities are to be learned from such an examination.

Before taking up this question, whether God is the author of the Bible, we call attention to the fact that it involves considerations of the utmost importance. On the answer to the question depends not the truthfulness or trustworthiness of the Bible, but its power. If God is so the author of the Bible that it can be demonstrated to an unbelieving world that he has spoken through it, and in it has given commands



that may not be disregarded, instructions the heeding of which leads to the salvation of the soul, then the disciples of Christ can preach the word; they can speak with authority; they can appeal to the consciences of their hearers with boldness. But if God is the author of the Bible only in such a way that the believer is able through his regenerate conscience to find some words of God in it, and is obliged to reject much as of no account, then the only way to reach the world is to bring men in contact with the church, in the hope that the leavening power of the word will reach them, and that some time they will attain to the ethico-religious consciousness that can find the word of God in the Scriptures. There is no doubt that many might in this way be brought into the kingdom of God. But if any should be repelled by Christianity instead of being attracted, should learn to consider the superstitions and bigotry and persecutions of some bearing the Christian name as the truthful exhibition of their religion, what hope could there be for them, what possibility of their salvation, what ground for charging them with a guilty rejection of salvation? If we cannot carry the Bible to unregenerate men, and preach it to them as the word of God, — a word which they ought to recognize as his, — then such men as Edwards and Chalmers and Nettleton are out of place in the ministry.

Our easiest way of attaining to just and adequate views of inspiration is to begin with the views of the Lord Jesus Christ. What did he think of the Old Testament? We are not shut up to this method; it was possible, undoubtedly, to prove the inspiration of the Old Testament before Christ came; it is possible now to prove, without direct reference to Christ, the divine mission of the apostle Paul, and to some extent a divine sanction accorded to his teachings. But we are enabled best to understand and rightly estimate the Bible by starting from the position which Christ took. We are to accept his views as absolutely correct, attribute to the Scriptures the authority he attributed to them, ascribe them, without any hesitancy, to the author — whether human or

divine, whether Moses or the Father — to whom he ascribed them.

Before going further, it will be necessary to give the reasons for according this importance, this unquestioned authority, to the words of Christ. If we can give him his place only on the supposition of the inspiration of the Bible, we are reasoning in a circle in proving inspiration through him. But this we do not do. We ascribe him his place because of the miracles which he wrought. It is not necessary to prove the inspiration of the Bible in order to render it credible as history; and if we can accept the Gospels as we accept other histories we are warranted in believing in him as an attested messenger of God. If we can accept him as God's messenger to men, and combine with this his personal character of clear understanding, balanced emotions, perfect competence to meet any emergency, moral earnestness, and freedom from sin, as they are portrayed by such writers as Professor Greenleaf and Professor Weiss, we can accept his opinion of the Bible without questioning. We are well aware that the advocates of the theory of inspiration which we oppose do not admit the evidential value of miracles which we here attribute to them. They hold that miracles are to be tolerated only as they are seen to have an ethical force of their own, and that their evidential force is subordinate, incidental, and conditional. Here we are obliged to differ with them positively. We do not believe they can hold to a single one of Christ's miracles, if they reject all except those of which they see the ethical value. With them no miracle can be admitted to have occurred which does not form a part of the historical development of redemption as God is working that out in revelations of himself. Now, how can any one know that the time had come, on the occurrence of the marriage at Cana, when water must be turned into wine? Who can see that the ethical condition of the kingdom of God needed it? that the self-revelation of God in redemption would have gone awry if this had not occurred? The advocates of this view of

miracles cannot say, We know the necessity from the fact; for they say they can only believe the fact from the necessity. They maintain that the only tolerable view is, that the miracle—i.e. the specific miracle—is involved as a constituent part of the plan. If they mean that miracle-working belongs to the supernatural order of the divine government, they have no occasion to set their views in contrast with those ordinarily held; but when they say that “the evidence for the miracles of Scripture is inseparably and organically connected with the person of Jesus Christ,” they must mean that each miracle helps make up an organic whole, of which Jesus Christ is a part. They must also mean that no miracle can be accepted as actually occurring which does not presuppose Jesus Christ as the “central miracle of Scripture.” This, of course, makes it impossible for them to use the miracles as evidence of Christ’s divine mission, and requires them to reject those not seen to be necessary in the development of his mission. But how can any one see the necessity of the miracles narrated in such a way as this: “And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people” (Matt. ix. 35)? Especially, how can the healings by the apostles be connected organically with the self-revelations of God?

Some of Professor Ladd’s remarks on miracles are admirable; but we must consider his position, on the whole, a rejection of most of those of which an account is found in the Bible. We believe another view tenable. We grant very readily the position taken by Dr. Channing, that a naked miracle cannot be proved; but none of the miracles of the New Testament fall into this category. A miracle wrought for the sole purpose of proving one’s supernatural power would not be a naked miracle. A miracle wrought for an immediate effect on the minds of a gathered mass of people could be proved. The miracles which Christ wrought, we believe, are fitted to satisfy any candid mind that God was with him. The office of a miracle is to cut short debate—

to carry conviction where a survey of the ordinary reasons for a conclusion would be tedious, and at best would lead but to feeble apprehensions of the truth. The office of a miracle is to compel an assent to a work or to instruction as coming from God. To some this will indeed seem the antiquated idea ; but it is the effective idea, and makes miracles of service. Moreover, this is the biblical idea. "And Israel saw that great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians ; and the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord and his servant Moses" (Ex. xiv. 31). Nicodemus said : " Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God ; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him " (John iii. 2). " Then came there a voice from heaven, *saying*, I have both glorified *it*, and will glorify *it* again. The people, therefore, that stood by and heard *it*, said that it thundered. Others said, An angel spake to him. Jesus answered and said, This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes " (John xii. 28-30). But citations are not necessary ; there can be no doubt that it is the Bible representation that signs and wonders were given to confirm the word. If, now, we may accept Christ's word as a divinely appointed testimony to the truth, and yet receive him as a witness as we would any other man, without presupposing the Christian system to give him his character as a witness, we may properly receive and hold to his view of the authority of the Bible.

We remark in passing, lest injustice should seem to be done to Professor Ladd, that he accepts the word of Christ as authority not to be questioned, and here we only object to his interpretation of Christ's language concerning the Old Testament. But we do not consider that his appeal to Christ is well founded, nor do we believe it will have any influence with those with whom it is most desirable such an appeal should have influence.

What, then, was Christ's view of the Old Testament ? Christ appeals to the Scriptures as if they confessedly expressed the irreversible will of God. He says " it has been



written (*γέγραπται*)"; the perfect tense is used — it has been written, and still remains written (stands among the Scriptures). He clearly considers that an appeal in this form ends all discussion, and leaves no choice as to the course to be taken. There are in the Gospels as many as twenty recorded instances in which Jesus in this way refers to the Bible as authority. By pointing to the Scriptures he sets at nought the temptation of the devil, designates the one to be worshipped, connects John the Baptist with prophecy, connects the betrayal of himself by Judas with the divine purposes, recognizes the hypocrisy of the people as foretold, justifies himself in cleansing the temple, steadies his own spirit and the spirits of his disciples amid the trials of Gethsemane. In the most critical circumstances, on the most solemn occasions, he makes the Scriptures his consolation and the guide of his disciples. Nor does he in any case lay an emphasis upon any particular author who has written, or upon any words quoted; but the fact that there was a *writing* applicable to the case was the prominent thought.

Christ appeals to the entire Old Testament, at least to large portions of it, as if the authority resided not in special texts, but in the whole—in entire sections or the entire book. There can be no doubt that the Jews had the Old Testament essentially as we have it. The Septuagint was certainly in the hands of the Jews in the time of Christ. He directs attention to the Scriptures, to the law and the prophets, and the Psalms, and ordinarily quotes from the Scriptures as if the single passage cited were merely indicative of the spirit of the whole. He declares that he has not come to destroy the law or the prophets, that all that is in them shall be fulfilled, that it is not possible for a tittle of the law to fail, that Moses and the prophets teach the truth as well as any one could that should rise from the dead, that all that is written concerning himself in the prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled; expounds the truth concerning himself, beginning at Moses and all the prophets; charges his hearers with error because they do not know the Scriptures,

with unbelief because they do not know the Scriptures; warns them of danger by referring them to the Scriptures, which tell them of the stone which the builders rejected; appeals to their failure to know him as evidence that they had not become familiar with the word of God. In the passages here referred to Christ must have had in mind the entire Old Testament. He refers to it as if those whom he addressed could find the truth which he would inculcate in various places and in the spirit of the whole. When he refers to the one hundred and tenth Psalm, he does not put his hearers on their guard against the sixty-ninth; when he quotes Isaiah, he does not say, Beware of Esther, but treats the entire body of Scripture as if each part had its place in the one whole. The selection of the single passage quoted as the only one endorsed, fixing on prophecy as inspired above law, making the future more important than the past, prediction than history, are none of them warranted by the general tenor of Christ's teaching. This *vivisection* of the Scriptures, as Rudelbach calls it, does violence to the part separated, as well as to the whole body. The law is often prophecy, or the foundation of prophecy; history is a warning for the future and a conditional prediction of its events. The theocracy was the kingdom of God in symbol.

The importance which our Lord attached to the knowledge of and the acceptance of the Scriptures is obvious from the remarks already made. He believed that they contained the truths on which salvation and perdition depended, that the failure of his countrymen to understand him was due to their misunderstanding of the Scriptures. He ordered his own life, especially his official career, by the Scriptures. He chose Judas that the Scripture might be fulfilled, and Judas was lost that the Scripture might be fulfilled. He declined to resist his enemies in the garden for the same reason. He suffered on the cross because he ought to suffer according to the Scriptures. His disciples saw that the Scriptures were fulfilled in the casting of lots on his garments, in his thirsting, in his dying before a bone was broken, in his being pierced with a spear.



A few expressions from Rudelbach's eloquent statement of this truth are in place here. "He himself set up in the simplest words the great rule, which the apostles afterward applied so forcibly, that nothing can be accomplished except according to the Scriptures, and everything which is foretold in the Scriptures must reach its fulfilment. The Scripture is, as it were, the spiritual hour-hand in the kingdom of God ; the striking of the world-clock corresponds with it, or, rather, is controlled by it. When Peter would oppose force to force, the Lord intimated to him how much more easily legions of angels might wait on his command ; but the counsel of God, spread out in the Scriptures, indicated another way, another hour. 'But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled that thus it must be ?' This is the only response, the reason why he now gave himself freely into the hands of his enemies, who so often had sought in vain to seize upon him. This clear consciousness of the necessity of fulfilling the Scriptures in himself and through himself did not forsake our Lord even in the deepest anguish, even in the moment when soul and body were about to separate. All human words are here too feeble. God himself speaks down from the cross of the Redeemer, and lays upon our hearts with the cross of Jesus the scripture which meets its fulfilment at this point. It is as the roaring of the sea of eternity, which we hear, when the Lord, crowned with thorns, spit upon, derided, mocked, emptying the last bitter cup of God's wrath, which smote the entire sinful race, made bare to us his high-priestly heart with the words of the twenty-second Psalm : 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?'"¹

From considerations like those now adduced, it is clear that Christ looked upon the Old Testament as the word of God. He must have believed that Moses gave the law to the Israelites, that the prophets spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. He could not have doubted that God had revealed his plans to some extent, and that whatever had been predicted would certainly come to pass. We have no

¹ Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Lutherische Theologie, etc. 1841. 4. 34.

intimation that he excepted any part of the Scriptures from the class of sacred, holy, or inspired writings. Indeed, if he criticises or depreciates anything, it is the law; yet he most distinctly sustains it as expressing the will of God. The precept "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" had its place, and was once the proper rule to be enforced. Why, then, might not Judges and Chronicles have their places and fulfil an office in the divine revelation?

Our Lord has not told us how the various books of the Old Testament were the work of God, the product of his mind; but the fact he certainly did hold. It would have been a clear inconsistency in him, as Rudelbach has remarked, to attribute it to any human mind. He condemned his own generation for not knowing the Scriptures, yet held that the men of his day were like their fathers, and were filling up the iniquity of those who had gone before them. The fathers had rebelled against God, and the Scriptures were written for their guidance and warning; the children had gone in the same way, and went on to their ruin because they would not regard the Scriptures. There was no mind in all the nation by nature akin to the Scriptures; there was no mind competent to produce them, or of a disposition to produce them, without divine aid.

No one can doubt that this view of Christ was adopted by his apostles. The evangelists in later life, reflecting upon past events, refer certain deeds and sentiments of Christ to the Scriptures. They did not understand at first, but saw afterward. John says: "His disciples remembered that it was written" (see John ii. 17, 22; xii. 16; Acts xi. 16). The multiplied quotations from the Old Testament in the New (Böhl, a professor at Vienna, has commented on more than two hundred and fifty) show that the authors of the latter considered the Old Testament a sure criterion of truth. They felt that they were engaged in works that were a fulfilment of the Old Testament teachings. Paul preached "that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day,

according to the Scriptures." The freedom with which Paul quotes from the various parts of the Old Testament, grouping phrases gathered from different portions of the Bible, shows that he did not feel the need of caution lest he should cite some passage outside the range of inspiration. His description of the character of man, in Rom. iii. 13-18, gathers up phrases from seven different places in the Old Testament, found in the Psalms, Jeremiah, Proverbs, and Isaiah. Kautzsch remarks that the passage is constructed of various Old Testament clauses, and refers, for other instances of like citation, to Rom. ix. 25, 27 sq.; x. 5 sq.; xi. 26 sq., 34 sq.; xii. 19 sq.; xiii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 25 sq.; 2 Cor. vi. 16 sq.; 2 Tim. ii. 19 sq. Sometimes the formula of quotation is found with each passage referred to, as in Rom. xv. 9-12. The thought of avoiding portions of the Old Testament as of evil tendency or as worthless is wholly foreign to the spirit of the New Testament writers. But Paul has given us a clear intimation of the estimate which he put upon the Scriptures. He urges Timothy to continue in the things which he has been assured of, bearing in mind that from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures (*ἱερὰ γράμματα*), which are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. The Holy Scriptures which he had learned from his mother and grandmother must include anything to be found in the Old Testament; at least, the term "holy" cannot be shown to exclude any part; no one will suppose that Paul intended to say to Timothy that from a child he had had that ethico-religious consciousness that was competent to distinguish in the Scriptures the holy from the not-holy. The apostle also gives the reason for holding that the Scriptures are able to make one wise unto salvation: *Every scripture is inspired and profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction.* The sentence giving the reason has no verb expressed, and is susceptible of different interpretations. It may mean that every scripture is inspired and profitable; or every scripture, inasmuch as it is inspired, is also profitable; or every scripture which happens to be

inspired is also profitable, i.e. so much of it as is inspired is profitable. The connection, however, makes the last interpretation exceedingly improbable, if not impossible. The "every scripture" (*πάσα γραφή*) must refer to each portion which goes to make up the whole, the Holy Scriptures mentioned in the earlier part of the sentence. It cannot possibly be held that holy is there used as a discriminating word, implying that there were scriptures not holy. The Jews designated the least valued part of the Old Testament "Hagiographa" — holy writings.

There seems to be no difficulty, if we accept the view of Christ and his apostles concerning the Scriptures, in arriving at the conclusion that the Old Testament is inspired, i.e. that the book as a whole conveys to the world the instruction which God designed to convey, and that the book is so composed that all its parts contribute to the fulfilment of the divine plan. We are not, either by Christ or by his apostles, put on our guard against any portions of it; but those who think they have eternal life in it are reproved by our Lord for not finding a more distinct and definite eternal life than they had ever apprehended.

It constitutes no objection to this conclusion that there are narratives of evil deeds in the Bible, or that evil passions are portrayed. The Bible teaches no error; it can be safely followed; its precepts lead no one astray; its information is all useful, or may be on occasions. We are not commanded to imitate any bad man, or any good man in his evil ways; we are not required to make the sixty-ninth Psalm a model of temper, nor Jehu an example of Christian zeal. But whoever reads the Old Testament with the exercise of his common sense will find it not only a safe guide, but a guide possessed of divine wisdom.

It is not to be denied that there are mistakes in the use of numbers in the Bible, but these easily slip in in transcribing. The Bible does not profess to teach science, but attempts to convict it of positive scientific error have not been very successful. The objections to the inspiration of the Old Testa-

ment on account of its immoralities and errors are generally founded on a wrong view of inspiration. If it could be proved that there is no inspiration but that which is produced by the Holy Spirit working in the mind while God is coincidently making a revelation to the mind, and that the inspiration is simply the intuition which the Spirit produces, then it would be necessary to admit that the inspiration could not be supposed to extend beyond truths and statements approved by the Divine mind. But God might teach his people the evils of sin by the story of Absalom and Jeroboam as a father might teach his children by examples cited as a warning against disobedience. And if God should order any one to put on record, for the guidance of his people or for their encouragement, narratives of deliverances or of punishments, a statement of principles of government developed in the theocracy, or psalms of praise acceptable to him, such record would be inspired.

The evidence for the inspiration of the New Testament is not so direct as for that of the Old. Christ had left the earth before any of the later Scriptures were written. He could not refer to Paul and Mark as he referred to Moses and Isaiah. Yet the inspiration of the New Testament is in general more readily granted than that of the Old. The matter of the New more readily disposes one to this; but the testimony of Christ in favor of the apostolic writings is hardly less convincing than that in favor of the law and the prophets. Christ's word is as authoritative concerning the future as concerning the past. And we have his promises relating to the coming age—the period to follow his death—as clear as any utterance concerning the past could be. It is true that he was in the prophets, and guided the movements of Israel in the days of the theocracy, but he appears to us far more intimately connected with the establishment of the churches during the ministry of Peter and Paul than with the career of Israel under the judges and the kings. The Gospel of Matthew closes with these words: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name

of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here is intimated to us in few words the method by which the gospel was to be propagated. The disciples were to teach, teach all the world, and be supported by the presence of Christ. Our Lord did not leave, so far as we know, a scrap of writing; the disciples were as yet unlearned men, they did not understand Christ's doctrine, down to the day of his betrayal they had very crude ideas of his going and coming and of his kingdom, and yet they were to teach a religion intended for all mankind. There was an absolute necessity under such circumstances that he should render them some aid in their work. This he promised to do by his own presence, having previously assured them that all power—all authority—in heaven and on earth was given to him. We may, then, assume from this passage that the apostles and their successors were to have in some way the advantage of Christ's authority and wisdom. His care and help would be an inspiration or its equivalent. This promise is valid to the end of the Christian dispensation. Christ is to be with those who teach in his name as long as preaching shall be necessary. This promise may be fulfilled either by his personal presence or by the presence of the Holy Spirit, or by a written teaching bearing his endorsement, or by all these.

There were other more specific promises made to the disciples. When Christ sent out the twelve to preach to the Jews, as narrated in Matthew x., he said: "But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." Here was a limited work to be performed, but while it continued the assistance from God was to be of the most ample kind. The Spirit was to be in them and to speak through them. The inspiration was to be perfect, not corresponding to a revelation, but adapted to the practical exigencies of their labors. The

se made for this specific work when the twelve were to go "into the way of the Gentiles" was repeated, recently more than once. In Luke xii. is recorded a general truth, it would seem, concerning the divine watchfulness over the Christian preachers: "For the Holy Ghost will teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say." Promises of the same import were given to the disciples when Christ was preparing their minds for the catastrophes coming upon the Jewish nation. In the commotions that were to end in the destruction of Jerusalem the followers of Jesus were to expect persecution, but they were to support themselves with this promise; "Settle it therefore in your hearts not to meditate before what ye shall answer: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist." The method by which the apostles were to be prepared for their work and aided in it is given clearly and with emphatic repetition in the Gospel of John. The disciples were not even to strive to remember the words of the Master, though they had no written documents; they were not to have any anxiety lest they should teach error or be at loss what to teach; they were to be as peaceful in heart and confident in mind as their Lord had been. They were to rest on this promise: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you" (John xiv. 26). The disciples were even to know more of their Lord after his death than before, for they would see how he was connected with the promises of God and the scheme of salvation. This would result from the teaching of the Comforter, the Spirit of truth, who should proceed from the Father and testify of Christ (John xv. 26). John gives (ii. 22), an instance of their remembering after Jesus rose from the dead, and of their consequent belief of the Scriptures and the word of Christ. The Lord says plainly to his disciples that he has not yet given to them his entire gospel, but that provision will be made for its completion. "I have yet

many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come. . . . All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you" (John xvi. 12-15).

These promises give us a clear intimation of the kind of inspiration which the apostles enjoyed, and enable us to form some opinion of the work which the apostles performed under its influence. The inspiration consisted in a quickening of the memory, or in bringing to mind things before known and forgotten, in an exposition of Christ's character and work, in a reporting to the disciples by the Holy Ghost of that which he had heard, and in his taking the things of Christ and showing them to the disciples. Here is a very definite description of inspiration, but it contains nothing about self-disclosures of the Deity; nothing of revelation contemporaneous with the inspiration, but different from it; nothing about an elevation of the mind that renders it competent to new and higher intuitions.

The material which was the product of this inspiration, i.e. the work which the disciples performed under its influence, must have been their utterances in preaching, teaching, and defending Christian truth, or their thoughts in systematizing and making apprehensible this truth. If we can reach these thoughts and utterances we shall of course have before us material bearing the clearest stamp of inspiration. Christ's promise for the future is as good as his declarations concerning the past. If his promises were fulfilled, the disciples gave out to the world fuller, more adequate instruction concerning the way of salvation than Christ himself gave while on earth. The promise that the Comforter should bring to their remembrance whatsoever he had said is a warrant that the essentials of Christ's teaching should enter into the teachings of the apostles; and we may believe that the things he had yet to say, which they could not bear, but



which the Holy Ghost should make known to them, entered into the teachings of Peter and John and Paul as they went from place to place establishing churches and grew strong in preaching the word. There can be no doubt upon these points if we can rely on the promise of our Lord. But this promise we accept—those whose views of inspiration we here criticise accept—with perfect confidence. The question therefore which demands our attention is this: Are the thoughts and utterances of the apostles accessible to us?

An affirmative answer to this may very readily be given: We have them in the New Testament. No one can seriously doubt that we have the teachings of the apostles in these Scriptures. The fairest criticism decides that the evangelists have reported many of Christ's words. The Sermon on the Mount, the parables, the replies to questions, the condensed, proverb-like utterances ascribed to him, are in substance undoubtedly genuine, and for the most part in the very form in which Christ uttered them. The narratives in which the words of Christ are set as gems are very obviously the words of Christ's immediate disciples. The closest scrutiny of these narratives can do no more than divide them into separate traditions, having their origin nearer to the time of Christ than the Gospels themselves, but never made doubtful as to their authenticity. It is impossible that they should not be mainly correct. The Gospels were composed at so early a date, that traditions already established must have had their origin with the immediate followers of the Lord. If we combine with these facts the assurance that the Holy Spirit quickened the memory of the disciples and told them what to say, we cannot hesitate to admit that the matter of the Gospels is inspired. If we turn now to the Epistles of Paul we shall find it easy to conclude the same thing concerning them. Paul was, if we may take his own word, an independent apostle. Though he was clearly familiar with the life of Christ,—Luke, his companion, prepared a careful report of it,—yet he did not receive the doctrines which he preached from any of the twelve, but by immediate revela-

tion, and the promise of the aid of the Comforter applies to him as truly as to any other teacher. We may therefore hold that his preaching was inspired as fully as that of any of his fellow-laborers. Indeed he was the great preacher of the early church, and the promise of help from the Spirit must have been of more value to him than to any other one. But we have at hand the substance of his preaching. Whoever will take the trouble to compare the Book of Acts with Paul's Epistles, and learn from Luke's records how Paul preached, will easily convince himself that the Epistles are a condensation of sermons, with such additions as were required by the circumstances of the persons or churches addressed. We will not speak of the other Epistles, for our subject is not the canon, but much the same could be said of them as of those of Paul. If then we leave out of account the Apocalypse (we do not at all admit that it is not inspired), we can safely conclude that the New Testament is composed of material that has been spoken, given as instruction, preached over and over, listened to in all the houses of worship from the Euphrates to the Tiber. The material is therefore in the fullest sense inspired.

The question naturally suggests itself, at this point, whether these considerations would not lead to the conclusion that all Christian teaching is inspired. If Christ is with his followers in their evangelizing work unto the end of the world, is not inspiration a constant charism of the church, and is not Professor Ladd's theory to be at once accepted? We have no objection to holding to that charism in the church which our author designates inspiration; but the inspiration of which we have spoken and have seen to be a quality of the apostolic preaching is of a totally different kind. What he calls inspiration does not account for the sacred character of the Scriptures, nor constitute a fulfilment of the large and reiterated promises of Christ to his immediate followers. Professor Ladd himself admits that the inspiration of the apostles was peculiar in degree. If we can hold that the things which the Spirit was to bring to the remembrance of



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the disciples, and the additional things to be revealed which they could not bear from Christ's lips, are recorded in the New Testament, then we can hold that the New Testament is an inspired book, and that through it and the ordinary Christian charism by the Spirit Christ is with his disciples throughout the history of the church as adequately as he was with his immediate followers.

The inquiry of interest for us, then, is, Have we an inspired record of the inspired material of apostolic teaching? The reply to this inquiry is virtually given in the remarks already made, especially if we connect them with the antecedent probability that a record of the new revelation would have as much authority as that of the old. A few additional considerations may, however, be briefly noticed.

(1) While we do not know the precise circumstances in which the different books of the New Testament were written, we know they were written by men whom God had called to the ministry of the gospel, and to whom the promise of the Spirit's aid applied. We may fairly infer that they believed they were in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ in their work of writing. This would be true of Mark, as well as of Matthew; of Luke and Paul, as well as of Peter and John.

(2) There were at times requirements to write certain brief passages found in the New Testament, as there were requirements to write and speak the divine messages of the Old Testament.

(3) The writing of the former revelation would render it almost certain that the later and equally important one would be written.

(4) The necessity of writing out the fundamental truths of a religion of universal application, designed for all time, makes it almost certain that the author of the religion would secure a trustworthy record.

(5) The question, in the form in which we now present it, is one on which there is little difference of opinion among those who hold to any kind of inspiration. Tholuck says "The word of the Lord makes us certain that the apostles

writers of the New Testament books must have written by the Spirit of God, because, as bearers of this his word and as promoters of his work, they received from him the promise of the Holy Ghost. If this Spirit inspired them during their *oral* report, how could he fail them in their *written* report?" Again he asks, on the ground that the Bible is the most powerful agent in promoting the highest aim of humanity, "Must not far other than ordinary means have been used for the purpose of its record and preservation?" And he asserts: "But that Providence must be eminently active in this respect [securing the Christian records] is an unavoidable supposition to every one to whom the religio-moral significance of this record in history has become manifest."¹ Professor Ladd in many instances recognizes the providential care of God in securing to us the Scriptures as we have them. He finds evidence of a wise and beneficent Providence in the languages in which the Scripture documents were originally written, in the selection of the men who wrote, in the preservation of the records, and in the formation of the canon.

(6) The size of the New Testament is evidence of its divine origin. Its four lives of Christ can be read in a few hours; yet such a theme would in human hands naturally spread out to volumes, to stories the more expanded as they were less authenticated. The narratives relating to Christ's family and birth are brief; of his youth we have nothing; the record of his miracles is brief and uninteresting, compared with that of his parables; the account of his death, on which the Christian scheme turns, is the fullest and most carefully prepared. The authors of the Gospels are as reticent in regard to themselves as the most delicate literary sentiment would require. The New Testament, and indeed the whole Bible, is of practical form and structure; it is portable; it is readable; it does not make unreasonable demands upon one's time; it does not require comments or any cumbersome apparatus for its interpretation.

(7) The language of the Bible indicates that there was a

¹ Theological Essays, pp. 108, 109.

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divine guardianship exercised in the composition of the book. It is remarkably free from extravagance and venturesome assertions. If we except narratives which are professedly those of miraculous events, the statements of the Bible are not such as to waken suspicion or to invite attack. On the other hand, the language of the Scriptures is generally found to be easily reconcilable with facts — facts unknown to the men who wrote the Scriptures. There are at least plausible ways of reconciling the cosmogony of Moses with the facts of geology. Professor E. P. Humphrey read before the Presbyterian Alliance, convened at Philadelphia in 1880, a paper containing the following: "What they [the sacred writers] knew or did not know, of their own private knowledge, about geology or history or the Copernican system, is nothing to us. They made no mistakes in regard to any of these subjects in their inspired writings, and that is enough for us. . . . Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; what withheld him from adopting into the Pentateuch Manetho's scheme of chronology? . . . Paul was educated in the best learning of his time: why do we find nothing in his speeches or epistles 'like Augustine's scornful denial of the existence of the antipodes? nothing like the opinion of Ambrose, that the sun draws up water to cool and refresh himself in his extreme heat?' " ¹ Rev. Dr. Mitchell of Edinburgh, commenting on Professor Humphrey's paper, said: "My life has been spent mainly in the East, and it has been my duty to study, with the best care I could, the religious books of the greatest heathen nations. . . . Even in the matter of scientific error, I confess it looks to me the most remarkable thing that every book of the heathen overflows with scientific blunders. The Koran of Mohammed has them in every page. Take the New Testament, from beginning to end, there is not one solitary scientific blunder, so far as I have been able to see." ²

The different views of inspiration are probably due to different tendencies of thought, more than to different inter-

¹ Report of the Council of the Alliance, p. 107.

² Ibid., p. 142.

pretations of the Scriptures. Fichte said, no one can *think* the ordinary view of creation. It seems to be the sentiment of those who try to adjust inspiration to revelation that no one can *think* the ordinary view of inspiration. We do not deny that the composition, style, and some of the statements of the Bible of themselves refute the mechanical idea of inspiration held by Quenstedt and Witsius; but this mechanical theory has very few advocates now, and is not at all the necessary form of the orthodox theory. Moreover, those who form theories in opposition to the common Protestant theory go far beyond a criticism of the latter; they construct schemes fundamentally opposed to it. The theory advocated by Professor Ladd is one evolved from a scheme of philosophy and of divine government at variance with that which has been prevalent in the Protestant churches. It assumes that man is not by nature religious, that he has no endowments of mind which by development put him in possession of religious principles and religious emotions. He only knows God and duty and responsibility through the self-revelations of God and a consciousness of God. He is to learn how to conduct himself toward God, as he learns to deal with water, air, and earth, by coming in contact with him.

There is something satisfying, at least fascinating, in monistic schemes of philosophy. The evolution of all that is, spiritual and material, from the idea of God seems at first to give the thinker a comprehension of the universe; the evolution of God, as known to us, with all spiritual and material existence, from an idea, or, perhaps we should say, the capacity to have an idea, is assumed to be an insight into the primal elements of being. We have no objections to speculations of this kind; let those who have time to indulge in them evolve their schemes to their heart's content. But we do object to adjusting practical religion to such methods of thought. There is not the slightest occasion for *thinking* a scheme of religion, or redemption, or inspiration in this sense of the word thinking. The Christian's duty is to *know* what God has revealed, and he is under no obligation



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ive by *a priori* thinking at what God must do. When
eme of inspiration is commended as the only rational
the only one tolerable to the thinking man, the only one
thy of consideration if we would not surrender our intel-
s to prejudice, it is in place to ask what kind of thinking
advocates of the theory have in mind. If it is based on
e assumption that all knowledge is merely that which has
æen wrought into experience by an historical development,
hat all religious knowledge consists of the amount of self-
velation which God has made of himself and succeeded in
impressing upon men, and that inspiration is simply the
wakening of the intellect to those self-revelations, then we
demur; we believe there is a better view of the intercourse
between God and man. The proper view of inspiration does
not make it synonymous with religious perception; philosophi-
cally, such a scheme lacks a starting-point, morally, it relieves
man of responsibility; and brought to the test of facts, it
is at complete variance with the Scriptures and Christian ex-
perience. A covenant theology presents more easily the re-
lation existing between God and man than any other scheme.
Without asking how or why man came into existence, — this
we may leave to those who make the test of truth suscepti-
bility of *being thought*, — we may begin our inquiries concern-
ing man by a study of his moral nature. He has endowments
that enable him to know God and his duty and his responsi-
bility. Hence God by creating him has laid himself under
obligation to his creature. The creature is endowed with
rights which his Ruler must regard, and the two parties, God
and man, stand so related to each other that each has definite
claims. There is a platform on which they stand. God's
moral sovereignty is not unrestricted. It is true he bestowed
on man his rights, but having bestowed them he may not
disregard them. A theology standing on such a basis may
be called a covenant theology. It is not necessary to hold
the view as it has sometimes been drawn out by its advocates,
but it is, as a general scheme, a genial system, honorable
both to God and man. It presents a ground of communica-

tion between them so that there may be address and response on either side. There may be claims, requests, and promises. Under such circumstances communications from God that are prophecy, assurance, threat, may be inspired ; truths pertaining to sin and righteousness, atonement and pardon, may be made known by inspiration. Such a theory of inspiration accords with the Scriptures and common sense far more than that which makes inspiration a necessary result of evolution. A covenant theology, as it seems to us, accords to man a position of far more dignity, and opens to him a Christian philosophy of far broader reach, than the theology that consists of the historical deposits accumulated through the development of a God-consciousness.

ARTICLE V.

THE DIALECTIC METHOD OF JESUS.

BY REV. RICHARD MONTAGUE, PROVIDENCE, R.I.

It is possible that the title selected for this paper may seem more ambitious than is the purpose of the writer. That purpose, as a brief explanation will show, is not scholastic, but simple and somewhat practical.

The attentive reader of the Gospels is often impressed with Jesus' wonderful skill in meeting men ; and in no variety of circumstances is this skill more evident than in those personal interviews, discussions, or controversies in which conversation, mutual question and answer, forms the substance of the narrative. Our Lord displayed surprising readiness in his dialectics, as well as in his didactics. He was a marvellous disputant, as well as the first of teachers. And yet our study in Jesus' dialectic will not restrict the view to Christ's polemic discussions, or to any protracted logical processes. When two persons took counsel together for the purpose of intellectual or moral inquiry, and sought to separate and analyze themes according to their kinds, it



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s, in the Socratic sense, a process in dialectics. Aristotle points out three modes of dialectical debate: the first, that in which teaching is the primary purpose; the second, that in which intellectual gymnastics is the sole object; and the third, that in which both disputants have the simple purpose of testing the argumentative consequences of different admissions, the acquisition of a larger command of the chains of reasoning, *pro* and *con*, bearing on some given topic. The term dialectic has been used in various senses by later philosophers and in general literature. We shall use the word somewhat widely, as pointing to Jesus' argumentative, conversational, analytical, or polemical methods of procedure. To exhibit some of the principles underlying his manner of meeting opponents or inquirers, of dealing with men individually, refuting their false arguments, rebutting their hostile charges, exhibiting their wicked prejudices, revealing their spiritual needs, and insinuating into their minds and consciences the perfect truth, is the object of this paper. Such a study, it is hoped, will enhance our appreciation of Jesus' insight into both character and truth, of his wonderful tact and his consummate zeal. It may justly be expected to be suggestive to such as are anxious to reach men by personal religious labor, by general discussion, or by Christian apologetics.

In attributing a dialectic "method" to Jesus, it is not implied that he used any conscious logical art, or pursued any fixed and uniform plan in his conferences. There was, indeed, as we shall soon see, a singleness of aim in all his discourses which gives unity, and even uniqueness, to them. But the variety of his dialectic resources and the spontaneous artlessness with which he used them are a marked feature in his conversations and arguments. Aristotle likens the dialectician to the fencer, who must be skilled in thrust and parry if he is to win the victory. And when we remember that he was the first to present a scientific analysis of logical processes, or read the acute and minute instructions which he gives to prospective disputants, or patiently follow h

exhibition of the fallacies of sophistical reasoning, we are amazed at the genius of that brain from which a new science could issue, Minerva-like, full-armed, and the accuracy of those observations of mental phenomena which the tests of many centuries of subsequent research have not discredited. Greater surprise, however, and a keener intellectual pleasure, even, await the patient student of the spontaneous and varied processes of our Lord, as, instructed in no schools and taught by no logicians, he wards off the attacks of an opponent, or thrusts his elenchus into the very heart of his foe.

Jesus was never at a loss what to say, nor how to say it. If he was silent, it was from choice, and because silence was the best answer. His weapons of defence and attack, his probes and scalpels were, indeed, the instruments of common life. There was nothing new or startling in the swords or foils that he used. It is the perfection of his skill in using them that amazes us. Just as in his teaching his words are the words of common speech, his pictures are drawn from the home, the street, the field ; but the combination and apt presentation of words and pictures are what surprise us.

Sometimes Jesus met objections or inquiries by the plainest and directest statements of the opposite or appropriate truth. Thus he answered John the Baptist, Nathanael, the Nazarenes, or the critics of his disuse of fasting. At other times his words, though containing a true answer, were so veiled in enigma as to elude perverse minds, while honest eyes could see through the guise. Thus he met the Pharisees questioning his authority for cleansing the temple, the woman at the well, or the multitude asking how to work the works of God and seeking a sign from heaven ; and such was the occasion and dialectic purpose of several of his parables. He could almost play on words (John vii. 25 ff.) for the effecting of his point. He used irony, sarcasm, reproach, rebuke, fiery indignation in the interests of his sublime elenchus. He was quick to meet emergencies. Enemies tried to entrap him, but were silenced, because seeing in their hearts that they were themselves entrapped. He appealed to the Scrip-



tures, to nature, to humanity, to precedent, to common sense, to inherent probabilities and possibilities, to conscience, to the rules of the rabbinical critics themselves. And in all his varied discussions, however subtle the objection or perplexing the inquiry, his mind spontaneously leaped to its decision, and moved artlessly, yet with unswerving precision, to the accomplishment of its end. For his purpose, and within the scope of his opportunity, he was, even beyond Socrates, to whom the palm is usually awarded, a master of dialectic skill. It now remains to specify some of the more marked characteristics of his method.

1. In all his dialectics (whether in dialogue, in formal teaching, or in disputation) *the primary aim of Jesus' elenchus was that of moral search*. It is this that gives both individuality and unity to his method. The Socrates of Xenophon was indeed a moral teacher bent on promoting virtue; but when we combine with the accounts of the Memorabilia the impressions of the Platonic Dialogues, we see that Socrates often paused when he had effected a thorough intellectual search of his hearer. He was satisfied, for the time at least, to expose the mental ignorance of the artisan, artist, sophist, or statesman conversing with him. "Know thyself" was, it is true, the motto inspiring all his dialectic zeal, but it seemed to have primary reference to the reason and understanding only. The same is true, in yet greater degree, of Aristotle. It is as a logician, not as a moralist or advocate of religion, that the master of the Lyceum analyzes and unfolds the principles of debate. His affirmant and respondent, objector and defendant, are engaged in the pursuit or defence or analysis of truth as a matter of intellectual apprehension. It is as a rational, thinking being, chiefly, that both academic and peripatetic would show how

"Man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,—
His glassy essence,—like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep."

And to a like use in debate and philosophy has dialectic been mainly put in modern times. It is the strong hand that tears away the carefully woven garment of argument, and shows the pads and artifices beneath. It is the keen and skilful anatomist, that follows out the concept or idea all along the veins and arteries and nerves of its being. It is a process which in German thought of Hegel's school has been wittily described by an English satirist as busying itself about the

“Great Non-Existence, passing into Being,
Thou twofold Pole of the Electric one,
Thou Lawless Law, thou Seer all Unseeing,
Thou Process, ever doing, never done!
Thou Positive Negation!
Negative Affirmation!
Thou great Totality of everything
That never is, but ever doth become,
Thee do we sing,
The Pantheist's King,

With ceaseless bug, bug, bug, and endless hum, hum, hum.”

Such is the scope for dialectic in its most modern and, as some have urged, its most worthy activity.

With none of these merely intellectual or philosophical results, however, was Jesus concerned. He desired that men should think rightly, and he often corrected their mental misapprehensions. As a matter of simple logic, he often exhibited the fallacy of their positions. But he did it in a way wholly subordinate to his primary aim of moral search. His elenchus was directed to the conscience and moral sentiments. In all the varied manifestations of his dialectic skill this single purpose of exposing to their own consciousness the moral dispositions and purposes lying beneath and behind the inquiries or objections or cavils of his interlocutors is apparent, individualizing and unifying all.

So evident and universal is this characteristic to the attentive reader of Christ's conversations, that it calls for little illustration. We detect it, in germ at least, even in his boyhood, when Jesus' answer to his mother in the temple must have reminded Mary that she was morally at fault for

losing sight of what she ought to know, that the child, born of the Holy Ghost, obedient and devout in his village home, could not be unfilial, as her tone and reproof had implied, while about his Father's business, or in his Father's house. We find it, in subtile form, in his "Woman, what have I to do with thee,"—a reply designed, we think, to suggest that Mary and he were measuring his life by different moral standards, and that he could lend no countenance to her notion that life is a series of acts instead of an inward principle, and that God's mission for him can be fulfilled by any outward exhibitions of Messianic power for the purpose of display. No human being, only God, can direct his course.

Again, how evident the purely moral aim of his elenchus, as it slowly removes the false conceptions of Nicodemus or the woman at the well. Starting from the Pharisee's idea of the kingdom of God he works out the most vigorous, practical, and spiritual consequences. He wishes Nicodemus to see that a whole world of reality—the world of spirit—is as yet unperceived by him and that to know that world the eyes of his spiritual nature must first be opened, he must be born again. And then, as he recognizes the slow unfolding of the old man's spiritual intuitions, with what tact and supreme moral purpose he presents the heavenly truths of the Father, the Son, redemption, and salvation by faith! With the Samaritan woman, however, who was destitute of Jewish scriptural training, he takes his point of departure from the commonest thing imaginable—a well. Suddenly by a bold antithesis he exalts it to the idea of eternal life. Spiritual aspirations are awakened. He probes into the depths of her moral nature. That word "Go, call thy husband," is, it has been remarked, the first stroke, breaking up the surface of her fair appearance, revealing the foulness of the life beneath it: it is the word of penetration upheaving her moral nature; it digs down into her soul, a soul which must be dug through before the fountain of living water can spring up from the deep well of her purified spirit, as an everlasting power. The words with which the interview closes are not

meant simply to startle or to instruct the woman's mind, much as they must have surprised her. They are designed to attach her confidence and love to the personal source of life who has now so thoroughly searched her moral being.

Many instances of a different and more dramatic character might be cited. One must suffice. We turn to the conversation with the priests and scribes and elders who came to Jesus at Jerusalem questioning his authority for his deeds and teachings. Had it been an honest question sincerely put, it would have called for a clear, convincing answer. And, as it was, though he nominally refused a reply, the three parables with which he followed his refusal were an indirect answer to their inquiry. But their question was not from a sincere heart desiring to know the truth concerning his teaching and mission. Even if the inquiry was honest, as based on an uncertainty in their minds, it was not ingenuous as coming from a desire to know and heed the truth. To expose this inward falseness, to exhibit to their own minds their moral perverseness, was the Saviour's aim in the dialectic of his reply. He is more concerned about them than about their question. Their question might be right, and then he would answer it; but they are wrong, and he will answer them. Their question, though legitimate, is based on a moral falsehood. He is before them for the moral end of "hunting men out of their refuge of lies." They are tacitly claiming authority as scribes to examine and pronounce upon him. Very well, have they pronounced upon John? Whatever their answer, it will involve a judgment upon him. For John foretold his work; he witnessed to Jesus. To answer Jesus' question, therefore, will get them into difficulties with their own consciences, or with the people, or with the rulers. And so they smother their consciences and hold their peace. They perceive the dilemma by which Christ has exposed them. They are shown to all whose eyes are open to be time-servers who have abdicated their spiritual office. But Jesus does not pause with this brief, but effective moral *exposé*. He follows up their consciences by the para-

bles of the two sons, the wicked husbandman, and the marriage of the king's son, until their moral blindness, their pride, their murderous spirit, their guilt and awful moral danger are pictured, if they will but look and see, on the horizon of their minds in colors of moral wrath and sorrowful regret:

2. In the foregoing observations we have been led, in a measure, to anticipate another feature of Jesus' dialectic, which we are now better prepared to appreciate. As it is of the nature of a corollary of the preceding principle it may be more briefly treated. *It is characteristic of Jesus' dialectic that he directed his elenchus toward the inward spirit of his interlocutors, in utter disregard of the mere form of their inquiry, argument, or complaint.* By this it is not meant that Jesus never gave a technically satisfactory reply to a technical objection. He often did this, as when accused of blasphemy (because being man he made himself God, in that he called God his Father), he answered: "Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" It may be truly said that the cases are not absolutely parallel, that the inspired Psalmist did not call men gods in the same sense in which Jesus called himself the Son of God, that Jesus put more into his phrase than the Psalmist included in his word. Be it so, yet is the reply all the more effective as a direct technical answer to his accusers. For it is an argument from the less to the greater. If it was not blasphemy for an inspired writer to designate as gods the men who as kings were consecrated to office as the representatives of Deity, how much less is it blasphemy for one commissioned and consecrated by God himself as the representative of divine truth to call himself the Son of God. Thus Jesus meets his objectors on their own technical ground, and, having prepared the way so skilfully, then enters into the very heart and essence of the

matter. It is not blasphemy to speak of *my* Father, if I am his commissioned agent. But am I thus sent? That is a question easily tested. Look at my works. Are not they divine? Do not they substantiate my claim? Technically and really I am no blasphemmer.

But though Jesus thus often met objections from the precise point of view from which they were advanced, he did not deem it essential to do this. It is usually an important principle of honorable and successful debate that a disputant shall answer his opponent from the latter's point of view as well as from his own. For the accomplishment of a purely rational victory this is doubtless necessary. And later on we may see how discreetly Jesus often heeded this principle. But for the purpose of moral search, for showing a soul its moral ignorance or spiritual death or religious prejudice—for revealing what is deepest and most essential in man,—in other words, for the end of Jesus' primary dialectic aim,—it is often unimportant and superfluous. And it is very apparent that Jesus so regarded it. The essential object with him was to search the conscience, and therefore the essential question to him was, What is the inward spirit of him with whom I speak? What is there, even though it be unconscious, lurking behind his inquiry, and urging on his questions? What is it, despite the outward form of his difficulty or cavil, that constitutes its inward essence? By what spirit is it prompted? by what motive instigated? To Jesus' thought the mental difficulties of men touching their relations to him, or his Father, or their fellows were moral in their remoter, if not in their immediate origin, and it was waste of time to attack the pickets and leave the citadel unstormed. As in his didactics, so in his dialectics, Jesus must have some point in common with his hearer. Some premises must be admitted or assumed by both, that will make his logic convincing. He refutes no arguments of straw, but penetrates to a knowledge of the real man, and answers him, unknown as that man often is to himself, till Jesus has brought to consciousness the deeper movements of his heart.



Thus arguments or replies that might seem indirect are, when we consider Jesus' purpose, marvellously direct. The quickest way to a man's conscience and inward spirit is not always, if usually, to show him that that is what you now purpose to assault. He may sometimes best be convinced if caught off his guard.

As a fine specimen of this outwardly indirect way of meeting a question, examine the parable of the Good Samaritan. A certain lawyer has come to Jesus asking how he may inherit eternal life. He is referred to the law of Moses; and when the Saviour has commended his reply, that man's duty is love toward God with all our being, and love of our neighbor as ourselves, and has said that through obedience to these requirements will come life, the lawyer's conscience begins to condemn him. Christ has only accepted his own declarations, and yet by that very acceptance has most effectively searched his moral being. We can almost see the scribe, as feeling the twinges of his conscience, and wishing to conceal his conscious short-comings and excuse his guilt before the law, he asks, "And who is my neighbor?" Just how far must I go to obey this second requirement? Precisely what does the law mean? Where shall I begin, and where may I stop? Now Jesus does not answer the question as the lawyer puts it at all. The parable of the Good Samaritan does not tell the inquirer who his neighbor is. But it does answer perfectly the spirit which prompted the inquiry. That spirit was one of calculation. It was legalistic. It counted on the winning of so much reward for so much service. It would measure love by bounds of race or creed or color. It lacked the flavor of true neighborliness. The man's moral impulses needed reversing. Not how few can I love and yet omit no neighbors; but how many can I make the recipients of my charity, should be the question. Not how little can I do and yet attain life; but how widely may I diffuse the living spirit of God? Having seen and admitted the nature of a loving neighborly spirit he was more effectively told than by a directer reply the wide and even universal diffusion of the neighbors whom he should love.

The same skill in the use of indirection in argument is seen in Jesus' reply to Simon's criticism of the reception of honor from the woman who was a sinner. No prophet, Simon was saying to himself, could fail to know this woman's abandoned character, and knowing it, would suffer these attentions. Now Jesus perceived that this objection was based partly on honest ignorance, and partly on the pettiness of a narrow, selfish soul, and so he proceeded to attack the spirit of the criticism, while indirectly meeting its letter. The parable of the creditor and his debtors disturbed the serenity of Simon's conscience, as is seen by his half-reluctant answer to the Saviour's question. But Jesus does not let him escape. "Thou hast rightly judged." Simon is entrapped. He has condemned himself. Because of an ungrateful heart, that in self-righteous sufficiency did not feel the blessings Christ had brought, he had suffered this poor sinful, but forgiven woman to express her loving adoration in attentions that should put to shame the proud and wealthy, but neglectful and uncourteous host. And yet, while thus reproving Simon's ungrateful spirit, how effectively does Jesus also answer his cavil. You think me no prophet, Simon, because I do not know and reject this woman. But, let us see; I am prophet enough to know the questioning that is now going on in your heart; prophet enough to know the precise attitude of your soul toward me, and to discern the fervent love of this sinful woman; prophet enough to see your pride and her penitence; to discern your *hauteur* and her devotion; to mark your brusqueness and her attention. Nay, I know her so well and you so well, that I see that she is worthy to be received by me, while you are not. And, as mightier evidence yet that I am a prophet of God, I say to her, in your hearing: "Thy sins are forgiven; woman, thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace."

3. *It is noteworthy that Jesus' dialectic is often directed chiefly to the hearer's admissions, tacit or expressed.* By this is meant that Jesus meets his interlocutor at the latter's point of view. He directs his elenchus toward the exhibi-

tion of the inconsistencies of an objector's admitted position. A delicate touch of this is seen in John vii. 25-29. The Jews have objected that Jesus cannot be the Christ, because when the Christ comes no one shall know whence he is, whereas they all know of Jesus' home and family. Then Jesus, with subtile irony and partial word-play answers: "Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am." And when the Christ comes ye shall not know his origin. Alas, how unawares to yourselves am I fulfilling in a deeper sense your own requirements. I am not come of myself, but he that sent me is true, and him ye know not; alas, too true is it that ye know not whence the Christ is come because *ye know not God*. Or see an illustration of the same feature in the verses immediately preceding the passage just cited. Jesus is defending his healing on the Sabbath-day. If, he says, as you admit, the positive vacates the negative precept, and a command to circumcise on the eighth day must override a command to keep the Sabbath free from labor, how much more justifiable is my making a man every whit whole on the Sabbath-day than any mere prevention of ceremonial defilement! The argument is, if we may so speak, a kind of *Tu quoque a fortiori*. "As for what I have done, you all allow the principle to be exercised, and for much less occasion. If I break the Sabbath, much more do you."

Indeed, the *argumentum ex concessu* is no infrequent weapon of Jesus. It is often a most effective way of securing his essential aim of moral search, because it serves so admirably to show the inconsistency and insincerity of his captious critics. And at times it approaches very near the *argumentum ad hominem*, though never vitiated by the usual fallacy of this latter mode of refutation. The account of the healing of the paralytic in Mark ii. is a case in point. The pharisees and doctors had gathered in and about the house expecting from Jesus some display of miraculous power, eager to see or hear some new thing, and quick to fasten on any seeming violation of their traditions. But when Jesus having healed the paralytic said, "Son, thy sins are forgiven

thee," it was an affront greater than was looked for. It was assuming the prerogative of God. It was blasphemy. They were amazed that any man, even Jesus, the worker of miracles, should speak such words as these. For it is to the inconsistency of this amazement that Jesus directs his reply. Why should they be surprised to hear words so simple, words the truth or falsity of which, in themselves, no man could, apart from other evidence, test,— words that pertained to a realm of unseen and spiritual ideas? As a matter of fact they must admit that they were expecting to hear from his lips words which, from their own point of view, as words, were far more amazing than these which he really did utter. Were they not gathered there expecting to hear the word of healing? Were they not looking for a command or declaration in the external realm of sensuous perception, the reality or deception of which could be immediately tested? Christ did not mean that from his point of view the forgiveness of sins was easier than healing a paralytic—it was a vastly higher work; but from the point of view of their captious criticism they should not be amazed that he chose what they regarded as the easier words. But that they might know his authority for the easier words, but harder fact, he will speak the harder words and accomplish the easier fact: "Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house; and he arose and departed to his house." So superhuman and so beneficent a deed as this was enough to authenticate the claims of one who even offered to pardon sins, and this was precisely the deed for which these captious Pharisees were looking, and thus by their expectation and by the deed they stood confuted, convicted of spiritual blindness, moral insincerity, and a spirit hostile to truth.

It was this recognition of each man's own concessions or prepossessions, it was this frequent agreement for the moment with his interlocutor's tacit premises, which led Jesus to adapt himself so skilfully to the peculiarities of each individual with whom he had to deal. He found some *ποῦ στῶ* in every man's knowledge or circumstances before he applied

THE DIALECTIC METHOD OF JESUS.

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er of his word. Otherwise he could not move the Who that follows the thread of dialectic in the con- on with the rich young ruler, and sees the Master rarily adopting his inquirer's assumptions; and then ating successively their shallowness and falsehood, or s his discussions with Pharisees disputing his right to on the Sabbath, his claims to divine authority, or his ver to save, and marks the readiness with which he uses e truth, can fail to exclaim at his reasoning, as did the eople at his wondrous deeds: "We never saw it on this ashion; we have seen strange things to day!"

4. It is also worthy of a brief notice that *Jesus in the in- terests of his supreme moral aim knew what arguments his elenchus should avoid*. Discussion is often cumbered with pertinent, but ill-timed evidence. Not all things that are true call for immediate statement. It was surely no slight evidence of his peculiar wisdom that Jesus' conferences were never laden with irrelevant or injudicious argument. Soc- rates often parleys and beats about, and wearies the patience of the reader as he leads into discussion seemingly irrelevant to the initial theme, or adduces argument susceptible of endless question and dispute. But never was it so with Jesus. His elenchus moved straight toward the mark. It was selective, choosing the things most apposite to the cir- cumstances, and leaving all else unsaid. Only two of many possible illustrations may here be mentioned.

The first is the account of the disciples plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath. The Pharisees, when they saw it, charged Jesus with allowing that which was not lawful on the Sabbath-day. Now, this charge was based on a ridiculous development or exaggeration of the Mosaic law, wholly foreign to that law, and without justification, either in its letter or in its spirit. Jesus might have proceeded to show that this objection was ill-founded, as based on extra- Mosaic traditions. He might have entered into a lengthy interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures concerning the law

of the Sabbath. But evidently he thought such a course unwise. It would only lead to profitless casuistry, and blunt the edge of conscience. He saw that the whole objection, though sincere, arose from a captious spirit; he therefore struck inward. He adopted the *argumentum ex concessu*, and by it justified an *argumentum ad hominem*. Your objection, he contends, is inconsistent with yourselves. Do you not allow that David was justified in eating the shew-bread on the Sabbath, and priests are law-abiding in doing religious service on that day? You allow the exception, on grounds of necessity or mercy, to a David or to priests, and deny it to the Lord of David and the antitype of all high-priests. But more than this. You are not only inconsistent; you are dull of heart; you have thus reversed the true relations of man to the Sabbath, making him the slave and it the master. And thus you do not see that I, the Son of Man, am Lord even of the Sabbath.

In the second instance, Jesus is questioned whether it be lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day, and soon thereafter heals the man with the withered hand. Now here, as just before, our Lord might have answered this inquiry by a careful exegesis of the Mosaic law of the Sabbath. But, filled as their minds were with rabbinical refinements and traditions, a more radical and strenuous method than this was necessary. He placed the man before them. He proposed a dilemma: Is it lawful to do good, or evil, on the Sabbath-day? He pointed to their own practice with their flocks. He threw the decision of their question upon themselves; and then, knowing that their consciences admitted what their lips would not express, he declared that it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath-day, and then healed the withered hand.

Now, the skill of this dialectic lies in the way in which Jesus throws the decision of their question upon his critics, and, avoiding all needless argument over which they might captiously haggle, and turning the lance of his elenchus upon their consciences, probes their wicked, guilty spirit. In fact, this is the purpose, as we have seen, of all his dialectic with

opponents. He seeks the inner man of the heart. He works down into motives. He penetrates into the secret chambers of character. Of course, the intellectual validity of his argument involves the assumption that it is an injury to delay the man's healing, or that the healing requires no Sabbath labor such as the law forbids. But, without pausing to prove these premises, he seeks to exhibit the inhumanity and inconsistency of his critics. It is an appeal to the higher moral law, to which they are false. It is a use of their concessions, of dilemma, of inference from the less to the greater need, all in the interests of moral search.

It may be well to pause a moment, and review the features already described, in the light of a single illustration which presents them all, as well as others yet unmentioned. It may be doubted if the Gospels record argument more conclusive and searching than the reply of Jesus to the Pharisees who had charged him with casting out demons by the power of the prince of demons. On every ground, the accusation was false and wicked. We have noted how Jesus' elenchus is primarily directed to the end of searching the conscience and moral sentiments, and thus is directed chiefly to the inward spirit of his hearer. We have seen it fastening to concessions, and wisely avoiding cumbrous refutations. And thus we have seen it adapting to each peculiar case its method of procedure, and always wreathing with the crown of success its attacks upon pharisaic strongholds. These principles are exhibited in progressive and terrific power to any who will carefully analyze the Saviour's replies to the charge just specified. Such a charge is inherently inconsistent or self-contradictory, Jesus maintains, because it supposes Satan to be working against his own interests, and good to be proceeding from evil. But not only is the charge inherently false, it is inconsistent with his enemies' own admissions, since they acknowledge divine power in the control over demons which their sons are supposed to possess. But more than this, the charge is counter to the fact; for, instead of being under the dominion of Satan, Christ's power over Satan's

subjects is proof that he has conquered and bound the adversary. Moreover, their argument is inconsistent with the very nature of things. It violates the fundamental laws of nature and of life. Is not a tree to be judged by its fruit? But this is not all. False on every count as this charge is, it is mitigated by no considerations of pardonable ignorance and unintended prejudice. It proceeds from a wilful blindness to truth; it is the outgrowth of moral iniquity. In placing themselves against Christ, these Pharisees were showing that not Jesus, but they were in league with Satan. And last of all, in thus preferring darkness to light, error to truth, evil to good, they are incurring the danger of a guilt for which there is no pardon, an obduracy of will so fixed that even Omnipotence cannot change it.

Here, then, in Jesus' refutation may be noted an avoidance of all petty and purely technical considerations. It is an argument based on the most fundamental considerations. Here are tacit admissions used with most conclusive power. Here is dialectic aimed at the very heart and spirit of the objectors. And here is moral search that penetrates into depths of soul so profound and awful that it brings to light the very spirit of hell.

5. We are now led to specify a fifth characteristic of Jesus' dialectic method. *He appealed with absolute confidence of support to the moral intuitions of man.* Down in the hearts of men, despite all their sin and blindness, there was an eye which could see, and a power which would command, even if it could not enforce, the right. It is well to emphasize this feature; for it must be a guide to all who are publishing God's truth to-day. Socrates did not in reasoning appeal more firmly and constantly to the laws of intellect and reason than Jesus in his dialectic appealed to the constitutional instincts of our moral nature. Even when he referred to the Scriptures as authority, unless he was replying to some technical objection, he selected those words or truths of Holy Writ which express the character of God or the duty of man in some large and fundamental way. It was Scripture ex-



pressive of instinctive conscience, of necessary moral law, which he preferred to cite. Thus he strengthened his own moral being, and opposed the perverted conscience of the tempter in the wilderness. Somehow Satan's fallen nature must admit and feel the force of these ground laws of moral being. May not Jesus use his divine power to allay his hunger? No. Soul-satisfaction is better than bodily satisfaction, and to change stones to bread for his own use would be a desertion of his unselfish mission. It is the life of conscious obedience to God which is appointed for him. It is written: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God." Yes; but if, being God's Son, he thus shrinks from serving self, who will believe his claim? His coming is out of harmony with Jewish expectation. Why not correct the popular misjudgments, and show his dignity by a marvellous display of divine support in mid-air? No. That too would be an abuse of privilege. God's mission for Jesus is that of spiritual kingship; and faith in God is not presumptuous daring of God. "It is written: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Very well, then; let Jesus see what is before him — rejection, sorrow, suffering, death. He aims at the recognized lordship of the world. But by what a slow and disappointing path, at best, is that spiritual ascent to be made! Why so lofty an aim at the start? Why not get the world's allegiance first, and then elevate its ideals afterward? Why not be worldly wise, assert his power, rally his hosts, and then later establish his spiritual sway? But no: there is only one way of moral victory, or of duty, for man or Son of Man. Unconditional allegiance to God is the law of moral life and success. "It is written: 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'" It will be observed that in all these replies the cited Scriptures state basal moral principles. They are appeals of a conscience in its normal perfect workings even to a conscience hopelessly perverse.

Analogous to this, according to what we on the whole regard as the best interpretation of the passage yet suggested,

is Jesus' proof of the resurrection of the dead. To the Saddusaic mind immortality and resurrection were correlative. Establish the one, and the other followed, at least as a possibility. By a use of Scripture at once fresh and suggestive, Jesus proves the immortality of the soul. "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," said God to Moses at the bush. Not that the words themselves express, necessarily, a present relation; but the fact to which the words point — the fact that God is such a loving and self-giving God that he did, when the patriarchs were on earth, enter into moral relations of support and friendship with them — is the guarantee that for all succeeding time also he will give to them of his divine love and *life*. This is Scripture interpreted in the light of God's essential character, as made known, in part through the moral intuition, to an active conscience and a loving heart. It is a style of exegesis which, fitly guarded, should be of frequent use in our modern days.¹

We have already had repeated illustrations of the principle now under consideration in the examples of Jesus' dialectic adduced in other connections. He appealed to men's sense of consistency, to their candor, to their justice, to their benevolence, to their mercy, their pity, and their tenderest instincts of humanity. How often when reading the parable of the Prodigal Son do we discern its dialectic aim and marvellous adaptation to its purpose? Yet even that evangelical story of sin and penitence has a strict argumentative use and connection; and is a very catapult of moral power built to shatter the walls of pharisaic hardness and prejudice of heart. The Pharisees are murmuring because Jesus receives sinners and eats with them. A righteous man ought not so to do. Listen to my parable, Jesus says. And then with matchless simplicity he paints the picture of a foolish son leaving the father's home, spending his fortune for naught; but ill, disgraced, alarmed, ashamed, until thoughts of a father's care and love recur, promptings to penitence arise, he

¹ See W. N. Clarke's Mark in loc., for a full and interesting presentation of this interpretation.

comes to himself again, and with tears of sorrow and sincerest purposes of amendment he sets out for the old forsaken home. We can see him along every step of the painful journey. We hear his prayers for help, we hear his acknowledgments of guilt, we read the honest purpose of reformation. Our hearts are filled with sympathy for the wayward but repentant youth, and we are alive to a hundred questions: Will the father receive him? Can he take him back? What will the elder brother say or do? And then, as all our fears are silenced, and our sympathies are met, and we hear the father say: "Bring forth the best robe and put it on him: let us eat and be merry; for this my son was dead, and is alive again;" all our moral sentiments rise to commend so forgiving and generous a parent, and we think him a fit type of God. This is righteous forgiveness by man illustrating righteous forgiveness by God. Precisely this appeal to their humaner sentiments did Jesus design this parable to make in the case of these harsh, hard Pharisees. He, so to speak, takes them off their guard. He skilfully addresses whatever of heart, of tenderness and compassion is left within them, and then in substance says: If you justify, nay commend, this father in his course, as every one of you with a father's heart must do, how much more should you commend God and me for receiving gladly the penitent sinners who seek our embrace!

6. Proceeding in a manner such as this we are able to understand in a measure *the tone of authority with which Jesus used his dialectical resources*. Most reasoners have their moments and signs of trepidation. Few logicians, we must suppose, have felt unshaken confidence in all the arguments which they have adduced. Some things they have advanced with fear and trembling, and in later hours have either come to see their real validity in brighter lights or have withdrawn them as without support. But the absolute certainty of Jesus' dialectic processes is no more marked than his quiet dignified consciousness of their certainty. He expects men to be convinced by what he says, expects them, that is to say, un-

less they wilfully blind themselves to all light and defy approach along the lines of intellectual or moral analysis. This tone of authority may find its explanation in various causes. It surely proceeded in part from a conscious integrity which was willing to face any sin in others ; but more particularly from a moral insight into men and the processes and developments of " the hidden heart " which enabled him to discern the end to be reached as well as the most effective weapons to be used.

We have seen in turn the moral aim, the neglect of outward form in the regard to inward spirit, the recognition of tacit or expressed admissions, the avoidance of cumbrous methods, the confidence of appeal to moral intuitions, and the conscious authority of Jesus, as he turned the forces of his logic toward the minds of men. A study such as that in which we have been engaged cannot fail to excite many questions which it may be difficult or impossible to answer. Was this elenchus of Jesus the Spirit of God (possessed by our Lord without measure) searching men's hearts, and using the weapons of human skill for its divine task of moral exploration ? Or was it only the spontaneous operation of a holy mind, appropriating the instructions of early years and the observations of youth and middle life ? Is it the workings of a perfect human spirit only, or is it the method of the divine mind also which we discern in Jesus' dialectic ? Or is there in the workings of a perfect human mind, which is in communion with God, a method of procedure identical with the movements of the divine mind ? Is it, in other words, Jesus, the Son of Man ; or Jesus, the Son of God ; or Jesus, the God-man ; or Jesus, inspired of the Holy Spirit, who addresses so marvellously the mind of universal man ? Or yet again, was Jesus' dialectic always successful ? Did it accomplish its intended work ? Were men enlightened, refuted, convinced ? A candid mind studying our Lord's conversations and interviews to-day is convinced of the strength and conclusiveness of all his argumentations. They are final. They close debate. But were the uncandid hearers of his

very words driven from their false positions? Surely in many instances his enemies, even though convinced, and consciously condemned, were not dissuaded from their evil intents. In some cases it would appear doubtful if even in their heart of hearts they were convinced, at least more than for a moment, of their error. A vast and sombre field of inquiry opens out of these questions. If the elenchus of Jesus could not convince and convert unholy men in some cases; has Omnipotence, either in this or any other age, resources greater than those of the historic Christ whereby to win hardened sinners to conscience and to God?

But questions such as these, though prompted by our theme, are only suggested as topics for reflection, and must be left, at least by us, unanswered. The restricted and purely inductive method of this paper allows no digression into discussions now rife, save in this suggestive manner. The purpose of this study, however, would not be fully met, if we did not draw from the observations already made some brief suggestions touching the art of spiritual dialectics as an important acquisition for moral and religious workers.

Socrates called himself a midwife in the world of thought. It was his office, says Professor Tyler, "to aid those who came to him for such assistance in giving birth to the ideas, the sentiments, the elements of thought and action which were conceived within them, and, after having examined the birth to see whether it were a living, proper child or a mere abortion, according to the result of such examination to cast it away or to assist them in nursing and cherishing it." To such a work as this in the realm of moral and spiritual ideas and lives, as we are taught in many passages of the New Testament, the Christian teacher is called. Sometimes his best work is done upon great masses of men in the public assembly; often it is done in the dialectic contest with a single soul, by the wayside, in the home, or in an inquiry room.

1. Now, to deal with men individually, to grapple with difficulties that require the faithful application of our moral

elenchus and the ready command of all our dialectic resources is a test of Christian zeal. It has been justly pointed out that animal enthusiasm or intellectual vigor may lead a man to delight in addressing the crowded church or general assembly in tones of apostolic fervor; but it is only devout consecration to God which will prompt us to seek out individuals whom we may introduce, as did Jesus the woman of Samaria, to the richest stores of our mind and the sublimest truths of God.

2. There is no skill, therefore, which we should more resolutely endeavor to attain than the power of dealing with individuals in religious work. There is many a mind that can be brought into the vision of truth only by the clash of spirit with spirit, the moral awakening that comes from the use of question and answer, parry and thrust, move and counter-move of thought.

3. In the cultivation of this skill the capacity of moral insight is chiefly to be sought. And insight such as this is the child of study and experience, of prayer and the influences of the Holy Spirit, quite as much as the child of nature. To see men as they are, to discern their motives and inward spirit, is essential if we are to insinuate into their minds the truths of heaven and holiness.

4. Having gained this moral insight, the Christian dialectician, if he would have a real success, must hold firmly to the primary moral aim of his discussion. Wily minds will try to divert him. Acute intellects will seek mere theological debate. Even fools will hold up questions that saints in glory cannot answer. But the Christian respondent should preserve his moral aim. By seemingly indirect appeals to the constitutional moral instincts he should entrap, if he can, his interlocutor, winning, ere the latter knows it, his assent to some important premise. He should appeal to his concessions or practices or motives, if he knows them; never using fallacious argument, to be sure, but always using every argument in the interests of his supreme moral aim.

5. And then, lastly, the Christian dialectician, be he

humble religious worker or learned apologetic writer, can trust in perfect confidence to the entire harmony of revelation and conscience. There is no argument so effective as the pure white light of revealed truth exhibited in its absolute unity with the nature of things, the essential constitution of man, and the necessary character of God. Truth not only *is* so, but it *must be* so ; and it is ever a moment of mighty power when we are able to display the "must."

Christ drew out of his own being, as from an unfailing treasure-house, his gems of truth and weapons of discourse, and had no doubt that conscience in man would endorse his affirmations and conclusions and appeals. We have the revealed teachings of Jesus, and may use them with equal certainty of their adaption, when rightly presented, to the moral needs of man. Jesus is the model man, the model character, the model teacher, the model *reasoner*. If a protracted study of his dialectic method will impart to his disciples any of the secrets of his power, it is a study deserving their attention. That it should not do it would be an exception to the usual laws of mind and life. "To have prayed well is to have studied well." To have reasoned well is to have convinced well.

ARTICLE VI.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF THEOLOGICAL PROGRESS.¹

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THEOLOGY is the science of religion. Religion has a two-fold bearing; it looks toward God as the object, and toward man as the subject, of religious regard. Theology, then, involves a knowledge of God, and of man in his relations to God. As a science, it is an orderly and systematic statement of our knowledge; and as our knowledge of God and of man extends, and must forever enlarge, so our theology must attain constantly a clearer and more satisfactory statement. We shall probably never, either in this world or in any other, reach a point where it will not be preposterous to say that our theology is complete, and can never be improved. The truth pertaining to God is absolutely inexhaustible, and that pertaining to man is practically so. What is known of God and of man is the accumulation of generations and of ages, and the work of accumulation must still go on.

A confusion has sometimes prevailed in regard to this matter. It has been said that the truth pertaining to God is forever the same; and also that the facts of human nature are essentially the same from age to age. Therefore theology, which is a statement or expression of those truths and facts, must be the same and unchangeable. The difficulty here is a failure to distinguish between the facts themselves and the *knowledge* we have of the facts. Theology is not the exact statement of the absolute facts, but of what we suppose we know or apprehend of the facts. The heavens and the system of the universe have not changed since men began the systematic study of them three thousand years ago; but

¹ A paper read at the Ohio State Association, May 7, 1884, and published by request of the Association.

the science of *astronomy* has made vast progress, and has received material additions within the memory of men now living. The truths and principles of *mathematics*, as facts, must be forever the same, without a shadow of change; but the science of mathematics is enlarging and extending with every generation. Yet this science lies wholly in the sphere of rational or speculative truth, the principles of which are accessible to every man.

Another misapprehension arises from the fact that much of our knowledge of God, and of man in his relations to God, comes to us by revelation. We are not left to gather these facts from reason and nature and experience, but have, in the Sacred Scriptures, a divinely authoritative guide to all the great truths of theology. Hence theology is distinguished from all other sciences in being independent of human thought and investigation. There is a basis of reality in this claim, but it does not cover the ground. We have a revelation containing the great elementary facts of religion, but the revelation itself was a movement continuing through a period of nearly two thousand years, and during this period, at least, theology must have been progressive. Paul had more theology than Abraham or Moses. Since the closing of the sacred canon men have been occupied with the study of the Scriptures. The highest mental activity of the world has been concentrated upon them. Whole libraries have been written to set forth their truth and their treasures, and there is not the slightest indication that this interest will ever be exhausted. There is more of thought and study and inquiry directed upon the Scriptures to-day than ever before; and of all this inquiry there must be some outcome bearing upon the theology of our age and time.

Every advance in general philology reacts sooner or later upon the interpretation of the Scriptures. Every attainment in science brings its contribution. Astronomy and geology, each in its turn, have modified our views of the scriptural account of creation, and we are waiting with more or less of equanimity to learn whether the Mosaic record gives us

the *literal* facts of the origin of the human race. The speculations of palaeontologists and evolutionists may be to us but idle fancies, but, all the same, we begin to talk, hypothetically, in harmony with the facts which they seem to accumulate upon us. We should have learned by this time that the Scriptures are not to lose their authority or their value to us by any new light which material science can bring to bear.

Even more fruitful of results in the field of scriptural theology is the progress that is made in the philosophy of mind and in speculative thought. We inevitably interpret the Scriptures in harmony with our conceptions of personality — the relation of motive to volition, the nature of moral action and moral character. These principles once accepted and clearly apprehended make a part of our common sense. We can no more neglect them or escape their controlling influence in our study of the Scriptures than we can part with any other element of our common intelligence. We carry these principles with us, like the common light of heaven, and we cannot think or understand in any other light. A mechanical theology which places sin in the nature and makes holiness the direct result of creative power must inevitably fail before this clearer conception of personality or character. It will scarcely be necessary to refute such a theology; it fails from want of adjustment to our common apprehension; it “waxes old, and is ready to vanish away.” In this better light it is seen that the Scriptures are not adjusted to a mechanical philosophy or theology. In our want of apprehension we loaded the scriptural phrases with our own mechanical ideas, as in earlier ages men carried into the Scriptures the Ptolemaic conception of astronomy, and could not be persuaded that they did not find it there. A correction of our common thought relieves the Scriptures of all such incumbrances, and we are amazed that men ever found them there. A divine wisdom has so shaped the Scriptures that they are forever in harmony with all progress in science and in philosophy. Hence the Scriptures can never become antiquated, nor does a theology which is anchored to



the Scriptures thereby lose its progressive character. The Scriptures, as an authority, guide its progress, but do not hamper it.

But it is not enough that we are entrusted with the responsibility of interpreting the Scriptures in all the light which can be brought to bear upon them ; we are compelled, in the use of our own judgment and reason to decide what place to give to the Scriptures — in what sense and to what extent they become an authority to us. It is difficult to see that any revelation could have been given that did not lay upon us this necessity. The Saviour himself, speaking directly to men, in words such as never man spake, still submitted his claims to human judgment. "The works which I do," he says, "bear witness of me." Men looked upon him as he walked among them, and "beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." The evidence was sufficient, but it was still evidence addressed to human judgment. So when the prophets brought the message of Jehovah to the people, they submitted their claims, and the people were left to decide upon them. The original revelation was given under such conditions and limitations. To the honest soul there seems to have been no difficulty in the case. But the caution given by the apostle John suggests the need of care even in the days of immediate revelation : "Beloved, believe not every spirit ; but try the spirits whether they be of God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world." If there was need of care and judgment in the presence of the revelation itself, how reasonable the care when the revelation comes to us in a record made by human hands and transmitted through the ages. That there should be continued search for ancient manuscripts, and revisions of the text, and comparison of versions, and inquiry about the canon is inevitable, until what was once the quiet work of scholars becomes the concern of the universal church ; but in all this there is safety rather than danger. A broad intelligence as to the evidences in the case of the Scriptures, is the condition of satisfac-

tion and confidence. We have passed the period in which these questions were confined to the cloister and rest was found in ignorance. Henceforth the church must find its assurance in regard to the authority of the Scriptures — their integrity and their inspiration — in a full discussion and understanding of the situation. In the course of this inquiry we shall doubtless be annoyed by many partial and inadequate presentations. We shall be shocked with the audacity of the “higher criticism,” and vexed with the stupidity of the “smaller criticism”; but the resultant of all this activity will inevitably be a more intelligent assurance of faith. There will be individual cases of an “eclipse of faith.” Here and there an observer may be so occupied with the study of the spots on the sun that it shall seem to him to be made up of spots; but the mass of men can never be thus blinded to its everlasting radiance.

The more exact definition of the place which the Scriptures shall hold in our regard is a necessary problem which we meet in our theological progress, and it is vain to regret the necessity of its discussion, or to be disturbed with the apprehension that the sacred word which has been the life of the church for two thousand years is about to lose its place or its power.

Such considerations as these indicate the necessity of changes in theological conceptions and statements, and these changes must involve progress, if there is progress in our conceptions of human nature, and of the great principles of moral action and character — the nature and extent of obligation. The essential idea of man's relation to the divine purpose and government, the nature and scope of free-will, has much to do in giving shape to our theology, and there can be no doubt that these ideas and their relations are becoming more distinct in human thought. About these ideas the two great systems which have divided human thought between them, Arminianism and Calvinism, have arranged themselves, each partial and inadequate as originally conceived and presented, yet sure to come into harmony

with each other, because truth is harmonious in itself, and advancing thought must at length take in and perceive the harmony of these different sides of the same truth.

There can be no doubt that there has been a great advance toward the reconciliation of the two systems during the last hundred years, and the latest creed which has appeared in connection with the Congregational churches is a token of this tendency to reconciliation. The distinctive features or expressions of the older Calvinism are not there; and they are wanting not simply because it was thought wiser to omit them in the interests of peace, but because to a great extent they have lost their hold upon the thought and life of our churches. The essential facts of the divine plan and purpose are found in the new creed, as they are found in the Scriptures, and as every earnest and successful preacher presents them, whether he be of Calvinistic or Arminian tendencies. The creed, in this respect, follows in the line of the practical Christian thinking of the age. Mr. Spurgeon is often referred to as an example of a successful preacher who still presents these truths in their rugged Calvinistic forms; but if you listen to his preaching or read his discourses, you will see that the old idea of predestination or decrees comes in from time to time in the form of a nugget or boulder, with no vital connection with the drift of his thought or argument — an example of imperfect comminution of the material. You may drop these stumbling-blocks from the discourse, as a farmer gathers the boulders, and dumps them in a corner of his field. If he utilizes them some day in building a wall, his chief object is to get them out of the way. The creed commission probably did not conceive that their work was to build a wall, hence they had no use for the boulders.

There would seem to be room for still further progress in the reconciliation of these two conflicting systems of thought, and the progress is not all to be on the Calvinistic side. There are doctors, at home and abroad, who either deny or hesitate to affirm that the foreknowledge of God extends to the free acts of moral agents; because freedom breaks the chain

of cause and effect along which, it is assumed, foreknowledge must run. In their anxiety to provide for human freedom they trench upon divine sovereignty. It is not reasonable to deny foreknowledge because we cannot explain it.

Again, there has been progress in our conception of the nature of sin and its origin in our race. We are learning to distinguish between nature and character — between defects and infirmities and infelicities of constitution for which we *cannot* be responsible, and failures and aberrations in our voluntary activity for which we *are* responsible. We do not so often hear of inherited sin and transmitted depravity; while we still recognize the law of heredity and the fact of inherited tendencies and propensions. But we have very generally learned to distinguish between temptation and sin, between natural characteristics and moral character. We are not as sure as our fathers were that the explanation of the sinfulness of our race is all found in the sin of our first parents. They were weak and temptable, and sinned; their children inherit their weakness, and follow them in sin. We hesitate, as our fathers did *not*, to connect these two facts in the relation of cause and effect; and hence, probably, it comes that our latest confession places the sin of our first parents and the sin of their posterity side by side as co-ordinate facts in the history of the race, instead of making one the cause and the other the consequence. It is not clear that reason or Scripture requires us to go farther.

The theological conception of the nature of *regeneration* has changed in accordance with this change in the apprehension of the nature of sin. The theologian of the last generation would define regeneration as a change of *nature*; the theologian of the present, as a change of *character*. It is no defect of nature which separates a soul from the favor of God and from heaven. It is the responsible and voluntary attitude of the man himself — the character which he has formed in the exercise of his moral agency.

In the same direction, the work of the Spirit in regeneration has come to be regarded as spiritual, in the form of the

application of motive and truth to the understanding and the will, rather than creative, transforming the nature, imparting tastes and susceptibilities which did not before exist; and the work of the preacher is no longer a fulfilment of an arbitrary condition, an appeal to ears that cannot hear and to hearts that cannot understand; but it is a presentation of truth and motive adapted to the work to be accomplished, brought to bear upon the soul in the form of inducement and persuasion, arousing the man to renounce the ways of sin and enter at once upon a life of obedience.

I was about to add that the church has advanced to the idea of a probation for every man — a period or condition in which he forms his own character, and determines for himself, under the divine arrangement, his own destiny. Upon further consideration, I am inclined to the idea that the thought of probation was never practically wanting in the church, but we are just awaking to the fact that such a probation is not provided for in our most elaborate systems of theology, which maintain that “mankind had a fair probation in Adam,” and that since the fall the destiny of every man is determined by a sovereign election, and a regeneration effected by the direct power of God. Life and death are not offered to men to be accepted or rejected by their own choice, but are apportioned to men by the sovereign will of God, and the idea of personal probation for every man is but a dream. Let us be thankful to Bishop Butler and his wonderful Analogy for preserving the idea of probation to the church against the mechanical adjustments of an inadequate theology. Let us be more thankful to the great Teacher, who taught Bishop Butler and the universal church that the kingdom of heaven is like unto a householder, who after a long time returns and reckons with his servants to whom he delivered the talents.

In connection with these improved ideas of personal character and responsibility, we have come to believe that the sinner has power to fulfil the conditions of salvation — indeed, that he is able to keep the commandments of God.

because his commandments are not grievous. It may not be difficult to find the old idea of absolute inability in volumes of theology compiled in our own day. Thus Dr. Hodge says, in his *Systematic Theology* (Vol. ii. p. 271): Every man "knows two things as clearly and surely as he knows his own existence: first, that he is bound to be morally perfect, to keep all God's commands, to have all right feelings in constant exercise as the occasion calls for them, and to avoid all sin in feeling as well as in act; and secondly, that he can no more do this than he can raise the dead." Is it a mistake to assume that this is not the theology of the church? that it is not preached, and is not preachable? The church has drifted away from these ideas of a sin which cannot be put away and an obligation which transcends ability.

Such facts as these are indications that there is real and practical progress in theology—a progress which can be marked within a single generation. It may not be easy to determine to whom we are indebted for these improvements, nor how or when they were made. They seem to be the product of the common thought and life of the church, and will soon take their place in our theological systems.

Nor can we suppose that we have reached, or are to reach, a limit to this progress. Undoubtedly there are other particulars in which our theology is marred by our imperfect apprehensions. Pardon me, if I suggest one of which we are beginning to be conscious. It is an overstatement or exaggeration of the doctrine of the Trinity. Said an intelligent young lady to me, not many months ago,—a lady trained up in a Christian family and in an intelligent Christian community,—“My idea of the Trinity is that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three distinct beings, but so perfectly in harmony in their thought and purpose and character, that they act together as one being.” Does not our doctrine of the Trinity need reconstructing, when practically it thus overrides and thrusts out of sight the great scriptural and rational fact of the divine Unity? I suspect that a general inquiry would disclose a general bewilderment on this ques-

tion — a confusion which has arisen greatly from a misapplication of the facts connected with the incarnation. But it is presumptuous to attempt to forecast the direction which theological progress shall take. The most that we can know is, that such progress is before us; and the most that we can do is to welcome the light and the truth, only using all possible precaution that the light which we follow is the light of truth, and not an *ignis fatuus*.

It is a natural inquiry, whether there is any ascertainable limit to these changes in theology? Are we liable to have our entire theological foundation slip out from under us, and new material take its place? It is satisfactory to observe that the grand characteristic elements of our faith are the same to us as they were to Abraham; that his view of a faithful God, "keeping covenant and mercy," "nigh unto all them that call upon him," was as distinct to him as to any generation of believers since his time; that he accepted his privileges as a child of God, a "friend of God," so that he appears in history as the father or great leader of all that believe. These are facts which should allay all anxiety as to any practical changes in the essential teachings of theology. Paul could doubtless have told Abraham many things in reference to the more complete revelation of God and of his ways, but Abraham and Moses could have discoursed to Paul of the eternal God who is our refuge, and whose everlasting arms are underneath his children. The great facts of God and his revelation, of Jesus Christ and his salvation, are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, whatever changes may take place in our theological thinking — our speculative adjustment of these truths and facts to each other. Amid all these fluctuations the foundation of God standeth sure.

These simple, practical, elementary facts of religion maintain their hold upon the soul of every man who is ready to do the will of God, and in the presence of these facts the minuter theological speculations to a great extent disappear. The believer who finds his faith best expressed in the Westminster Confession, and he who rejoices in our newest creed

may be safely sent out together into the dark places of the earth as missionaries. They will alike teach the dark minded that they have a Father in heaven in whom they live and move and have their being ; that they are sinners, and need salvation, and that Jesus Christ has come into the world to save sinners. One of them may hold the satisfaction theory of the atonement, and the other the governmental or even the moral influence theory, they will alike present the Lord Jesus as the Saviour, "the only name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved." The gospel is the sole dependence of both, whatever their differences may be as to the theory of the atonement. If they fall upon a starving man they will feed him with the same bread, however they may differ in their views of physiological chemistry, one holding that it is the gluten, the other the starch that furnishes the nutriment.

These considerations do not show that our theological differences are unimportant in themselves ; they do show that in comparison with the great facts of God and sin and salvation they sink into insignificance ; and as long as our varying speculations leave untouched the grand facts of religion we may go on our way in patience and confidence.

It is not to be expected that our theological progress will be well balanced and symmetrical. The discoverer of a new truth is almost sure to overestimate its relative value ; it fills his vision, and other truths quite as important drop out of sight. Such exaggeration is perhaps inseparable from human progress in any department of thought or life. The world is very busy with its own affairs, and he who will present his commodity in the market must cry aloud and lift up his voice like a trumpet. This he cannot do unless he believes he has something to offer worthy of attention. There will be plenty about him to question the new comer, and to depreciate his wares, so that in the end the supposed discovery will take its proper place. If a hard and mechanical view of the atonement has possessed the church until they have almost ceased to "look upon him whom they have



pierced," who was lifted up to draw all men unto himself, and a Bushnell comes forward with a new vision of the Redeemer of men, it is to be expected that he will somewhat rudely thrust aside the machinery which seemed to hide him from our view. He will forget that there is any divine government but that which beams from the face of Jesus Christ, that there is any law but the eternal righteousness, and any penalty but the immediate pressure of sin upon the sinner's soul. It will be the work of others to adjust the new vision to the old facts; but let us not reject the light because he who brings it is himself somewhat dazzled, or even bewildered. Every new view requires to be tested and adjusted, and it is rare that the man who presents it is capable of doing the double work. One speaks with a new tongue, and another must interpret. Thus the teachers and prophets of the church are divided into two classes, the conservatives and the progressives; and wholesome progress involves the co-operation, actual if not intentional, of both. The *ideal* method would seem to be that each man should be able for himself to present his new idea in its proper relations, to make the needed adjustment before he disturbs the quiet of others with his discovery. But the ideal is never realized in our human life. The next most desirable adjustment would seem to be that the progressives and the conservatives should both apprehend their proper work, each appreciating the work of the other, while admitting his own limitations. Thus a harmonious co-operation would be provided for, and conflicts and divisions would be to a great extent averted. But even this orderly proceeding has not been realized, and is scarcely to be expected. Human limitations are too pressing and radical to admit of these broader views, unless we may at length attain them after ages of tribulation and discipline. We may at least expect such a condition in heaven, where the suspicion of heresy on one side, and of intolerance on the other, shall no longer exist. The best that can now be done is for every man to tell his vision or his dream, and for the rest to apply such tests of its truthfulness as they can bring to bear. The supposed superior light of the seer, or his

“ethico-religious consciousness,” if that is a better name, cannot be taken as our guide. The only ethico-religious consciousness which can ultimately be relied upon is the common judgment of believers, which is only the common sense of mankind informed by the word of God and directed by his Spirit.

Finally, there is a somewhat prevalent view that the faith of the church is endangered by progressive views and tendencies, and that there is special security in clinging to the old. This idea must be a delusion. The thought of the world moves on, and no conservatism can arrest it. We may anchor to the Westminster Confession or to any other ancient symbol; the tide will at length rise so high as to break us from our moorings and drift us toward rocks or sandbars,—a catastrophe for which there was no preparation. The greater the resistance to the movement, the greater will be the calamity. The drifting and floundering of material science in our day afford an illustration. The traditional view of the fixed relations of species to each other, sustained, especially in our own country, by the commanding personal authority of one eminent naturalist, suddenly gave way before the facts, real or apparent, which had accumulated under the hand of a single distinguished observer, and the speculations by which he interpreted the facts. Almost every man of science was suddenly swept from his feet, and Darwinism took the scientific world by storm. It will be the task of a generation of careful scientific work to gather up the scattered fragments, and reconstruct the theories that shall abide. Similar collapses have been experienced, and may still be expected, in our theological systems; and a movement thus precipitated is never safe. The true wisdom must lie in receiving with hospitality every new idea which can properly modify our system, giving it its proper force and place, and thus we are ready for the next new light which may appear. Thus we attain a wholesome, orderly movement, with a true sense of our bearings, and due attention to what is behind and what is before,—the backsight and the foresight,—which is the safe method of advancement.



ARTICLE VII.

CRITICAL NOTES.

ETERNITY AS NON-DURATION: MAURICE, IN AMERICAN THEOLOGY.

THE new attempt to expel the meaning of duration from the terms eternal and eternity is a copy of an English original. The late Rev. F. D. Maurice of London says that the well established signification of these words was imposed upon us by Locke's philosophy.¹ If this be so, if the idea of endless duration is a mere metaphysical fiction, instead of a common thought of plain men, it might be exploded by a counter philosophy. But the attempt was made as long ago as the time of Spinoza, and was never more than a mere attempt. In his Ethics, definition eighth, Spinoza says, "By eternity I understand existence itself (*ipsam existentiam*) in so far as it is conceived necessarily to follow from the sole definition of an eternal thing." Here there is a manifest distinction implied between a thing and its existence, while existence and duration of existence are confounded with each other. How Spinoza could identify these last two as one passes comprehension. He certainly could not have meant by "eternal essence" (a phrase which he elsewhere uses) merely an existing essence, for an essence need only be conceived to be temporary, and then the word eternal could be used to indicate that which is not eternal! Maurice's attempt to vacate the word of its meaning is even more violent than Spinoza's, and has been adopted in some recent American speculations, which cropped out in the discussions respecting the Abbot Professorship at Andover, and in the late Old South Church Council. In his Essays (1853) Mr. Maurice asserts that "Eternity is not a lengthening out or continuation of time"; "they are generically differ-

¹ In Riggs's Modern Anglican Theology it is said, "Herein he follows Coleridge (*Aids to Reflection*, Vol. i. p. 311, English ed.). His notions are Kant-Coleridgean." But on pp. 303, 306 of Shedd's American edition, the proper meaning of eternity is employed: Kant meant "freedom from the *conditions of time*," but not freedom from duration. In the *Kritik of Pure Reason*, he says it "measures the duration of things." The question of objective reality or ideal, transcendental reality, which arises in connection with all such words in the Kantian philosophy, does not at all affect the meaning of the word. What does the word signify? is one question. Is there an objective correlate to this signification, or are we simply impotent in this world to think objects and events as occurring in duration, with or without end (as the case may be)? is entirely another. Granted that duration is merely regulative, real only in thought, its meaning and the meaning of eternity are just what they are. It is a question not of idea, but of its correlate.

ent." Looked at logically, this language means to deny the validity of any such generic idea as duration, of which eternity and time are treated as species, — duration with and without end. If this is correct thinking, then temporal duration is the genus and there is no other species — i.e. no endless duration at all — the terms used by everybody to express this idea meaning something which is another genus possessing no meaning of duration whatever. This is much as if one should say that the genus animal and the species vertebrate are one and the same; that that species is exhaustive of the genus under which it stands; and that invertebrate is "generically different," having no reference whatever to the possession or lack of a spinal column!¹ Whether eternity is a "continuation of time," i.e. whether the one species is composed of the other, as formally conceived,

¹ Canon Mozley's reply, as quoted by Rev. C. F. Thwing (Bib. Sac., April, 1884, p. 308), is conclusive *vs.* Spinoza and *vs.* Maurice, giving to Maurice's words Spinoza's meaning. But are there not three distinct meanings in these violent attempts to change the settled signification of words, all equally removed from the settled one: (1) simple existence; (2) kind of existence; (3) possibility of endless duration of existence, whether it be of one kind or another? The last appears for the first time at the Old South Church Council. It implies the first, but cannot possibly be the same with it. And by what authority there is added to the idea of duration, which it inconsistently admits, the further idea of possibility, one is curious to learn. "Timelessness" — to use the word that was introduced in the Andover controversy — is ambiguous, since it may mean merely the negation of accumulations of time as constituting eternity (without excluding duration), or it may mean independence of duration itself. In giving it this latter meaning, Spinoza does not always ascribe to it that of simple existence. He is not consistent with himself. Probably all thinkers would find *some* meaning to which they could assent in the proposition, — "eternity cannot be defined in terms of time," — while they would not add, "or have any relation to time." For certainly there is, at least, a relation of difference, if time is used in the ordinary correct sense of relative limited duration. Besides existence itself, Spinoza defines eternity to be *necessity* of existence, whether of real beings or of thoughts. The human mind and even the human body, in some sense, is eternal (the pantheism of Spinoza is here to be borne in mind), so that "the mind, in so far as it involves the being of the body under the form of eternity, is eternal; and this manner of its existence cannot be described by time, or explained in terms of duration." So Pollock, interpreting Spinoza, is warranted in saying, "in every act it is eternal, and knows itself as eternal. This eternity is not a persistence," etc. And Martineau is warranted in the representation that duration according to Spinoza, "as opposed to eternity, is a predicate of *non-necessary* existence." For, Spinoza says that all things are in God, and from the necessity of his existence; and this necessity of things is itself the very necessity of the eternal nature of God (here "eternal" is used in the ordinary sense), and so eternity is resolved into necessity of existence. But if the reader should substitute either of Spinoza's definitions for the proper sense of words where he uses "eternity," or "eternal," in this sense, the confusion

or in form of thought, is by no means the new question raised by Mr. Maurice — that was discussed long before his day — but this, whether eternity is duration or something of a different genus altogether? It may not be composed of time, and yet may be composed of duration, as invertebrate is animal as to genus, and not of another genus, the soul.

Mr. Maurice admits that the use of *αἰώνιος* in reference to God “must determine all its other uses”; denounces “the miserable philosophical abstraction of a God who is merely a negative of time, without beginning and without end”; and asks: “If it is a right, if it is a duty, to say that eternity in relation to God has nothing to do with time or duration, are we not bound to say that also in reference to life or to punishment it has nothing to do with time or duration”? Yes, “if”; but “if” so, we have no word in any language to express the endless duration of God’s being, and no assurance in reason or revelation that he may not die to-morrow, unless it be in some other form of scriptural expression whose meaning is “generically different from eternal and eternity.” If God becomes a “miserable philosophical abstraction” by our or his affirming that his being is without beginning and without end, he would seem to become so whatever form of language or thought may be used to express this. All which shows a very singular notion of the meaning of “abstraction,” outrunning even the ordinary well-known superficialness of Mr. Maurice’s thinking. Existence being conceived as concrete, how does the coupling with it the concrete attribute of endless transform it into any abstraction — not to say, a miserable or a philosophical one? But just in this way men utterly removed from abstract or philosophical thinking conceive of God.

What now, is that genus different from duration to which eternity belongs? On this important question which he has himself raised, Mr. Maurice is, as usual, not very clear. Indeed, he is confused in his answers; coupling eternity with life and its opposite; for he answers as a commentator rather than as a philosopher. He says at one time: “Eternal life is the righteousness and truth and love of God manifested in Christ Jesus.” Of this, if it be all personal to God, we can hardly be in any conceivable sense partakers, so it cannot be our eternal life, and we may dismiss it as irrelevant to our inquiry. At another time he says: “Eternal life is the knowledge of that God (instead of his own righteousness, etc.) who is love, and eternal death the loss of that knowledge. What is eternal damnation,

and absurdity produced would quickly convince him that human thought always means something else than simple existence or necessity of existence by them, viz. endless duration of existence. To all who depart from this established meaning, after Spinoza, through Maurice down to controversialists and candidates in New England, the question of Isa. xl. 28 may be pertinently put: “Knowest thou not, and hast thou not heard that Jehovah is an eternal God?” (cf. Deut. xxxii. 40 and Ps. cxxii. 27). His existence is one thing; the necessity of it another, the endless continuance of it a third; and to substitute anything else, e.g. timelessness, for this last is to substitute a vague idea for a distinct one.

but the loss of a good which God has revealed to his creatures?" No matter how long they lose it, or for how short a time, — the adjective eternal adding no meaning of this sort to the noun, — the two words together mean only a certain sort of human experience. Every Christian, then, before his conversion, — being without this knowledge, or revealed good, — suffers eternal death! Every soul that sins, no matter how briefly, is punished eternally! A momentary loss is, in itself, being of the right genus, eternal damnation! Adam in his first sin met with a loss, not that might be thereafter, but that hour was, eternal! An infant sinning once and dying instantly, is, in that experience, eternal in the same sense that God's existence is! Maurice even asserts that "men are in eternal misery, because they are *still* covetous, proud, loveless," though they may cease to be so the next hour. Such contradiction comes from transferring arbitrarily a word that never meant anything else than duration to an entirely different realm.¹ Mr. Maurice's ideas were used before the Old South Church Council with a difference, as he used Spinoza's in his books with a difference. The one thing common to all three is the attempt to decant all meaning of duration out of eternity, eternal. "The words refer primarily," said the candidate, "to a certain kind, to a certain quality of being; in the case of the good, a good kind of existence; in the case of the bad, a bad kind of existence." But no such contradiction in thought can ever be self-consistent; and so the candidate spoke, notwithstanding, of the eternity of sin as proper endlessness, "a state of moral death forever." So had Spinoza, the deep master, and Maurice, the superficial pupil, contradicted themselves. "The question of duration cannot be suppressed." Given, a being, his existence, quality, kind or state of existence, moral life or moral death, we are compelled to ask how long? And if eternal in respect to God has "nothing to do with duration," even a revelation from God cannot frame an answer to such questions. Matt. xxiv. 46, the candidate admitted, touches "only incidentally the question of the everlasting duration of these two states"; but how it could do so at all with the very idea of duration excluded, passes comprehension.²

¹ See Webster and Worcester, From *aeviternus*; *aeuum*, uninterrupted time, and the temporal ending, *ternus*. One might as well speak of galvanism as non-electricity, or water as non-hydrogen, or non-matter, as to attempt to use eternity as a term of non-duration.

² Reply to a question of Rev. Dr. Blagden (Report of Council in Boston Daily Advertiser). A singular notion of punishment was broached, "The consciousness which accompanies a bad spiritual state is its punishment." If so, the consciousness accompanying a single momentary bad act, say an instantaneous wicked feeling, is *its* punishment. Eternity being nothing more or other than quality, — momentary, instantaneous consciousness is eternal punishment! There can hardly be a "consciousness" of this *reductio ad absurdum* in men who ventilate such things for thought, or no more fitting "punishment" of it could fall upon them!

Here appears the Spinoza-Maurice idea with another difference. When pressed by one of his clearer-headed predecessors in the pastorate with such an expression as "the fire shall not be quenched," — in which (it would seem to plain readers of the Bible) "shall not be" could hardly be tortured into signifying "a kind, a quality of being," kind or state of existence, or experience, — the candidate admitted still other meanings; "the *possibility* of eternal punishment" (using eternal in the sense he had rejected and denied, viz. that of duration); "the *possibility* of eternal estrangement from God." A consistent, not to say a profound, thinker asks himself at once: What then, is the eternal God only a possibly eternal being? or, if αἰώνιος cannot be made to bear two significations, (1) that of quality or kind, (2) that of possibility of quality or kind (of existence or state), does one who suggests this strangely bizarre interpretation, add a meaning to the content of Scripture on his own authority? What divine warrant is there for the possibility of God's existence, or of the saint's blessedness, or of the sinner's doom throughout endless duration as its meaning, save in the imagination of him who takes such liberties with language, if God has not revealed either?

It is painful to think that interpretations of Scripture so arbitrary, and attempts at thought so slight as these, can gain currency in intelligent religious circles. When they went out of the professorship of divinity in King's College, London, it might have been reasonably expected that they would go out of men's memories altogether. It is singular that notions so lacking in depth and clearness should be revived in this country, but perhaps not more so than that others should be which accompany them.

G. F. MAGOUN.

Διδαχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. —

DOCTRINAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL TEACHINGS.

The newly discovered manuscript has a higher value for archaeologists than for theologians. It interests all readers by simplicity of style, and directness of method; but throws little light on the doctrinal views of the early church, and scarcely touches the spiritual truth by which the divine life is nurtured. It presents a marked contrast in this respect to the writings of the apostolic fathers, and especially to the epistles of Clement and Polycarp and Ignatius.

Its first chapters are simply ethical, and give a lofty ideal of Christian life. They contain a brief summary of the Sermon on the Mount, an explanation of the second table of the Decalogue, and an analysis of the subtle passions of the heart, and of the inward sins from which the transgressions of the life are born. But they can hardly be called *Christian* ethics, for they are not made to rest on the authority of Christ, nor are they brought into relation with his atoning work, or with the Holy Spirit as the author of the new life. They might be taught by Zoroaster or Buddha or Confucius.

The fifth chapter, on "The way of death," is less satisfactory than the first four, on "The way of life." It comprehends all common sins, and perhaps all possible vices; but they are thrown together in a conglomerate way, and follow no law of unity. If the life of early Christians was conformed to this high standard of ethics, the church must have been a light shining in thick darkness. In the social corruption of the Roman empire, and the general decay of personal and family virtue, the purity of Christian homes and the uprightness of Christian lives must have drawn attention to the new religion, out of which they grew.

The breadth and force of the ethical teaching increase the surprise of the reader at the singular absence of all doctrinal teaching. One would suppose that the chapter on baptism would naturally contain some allusion to the burial of the old life of sin and the resurrection to the new life of holiness, which it symbolizes. But the Teaching is silent on the great spiritual change of which baptism is at once the type and the public profession, and deals only with the nature of the water used, and the form of administration, and the fasting which must precede it.

The absence of doctrinal allusion is more conspicuous in chapters ninth and tenth, which treat of the eucharist. There is no recognition of the passion of Christ, by which human redemption was accomplished, nor of the deity of the victim, which, incarnated in a human body, gave to the passion an infinite worth. The prayers which precede and follow the sacrament of the supper are beautiful in simplicity and sweetness, but they fail of bringing into communion with Christ or of suggesting his great love and sacrificial death. The only remote allusion is to "the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant." Jesus as a *servant*, and as the channel through which spiritual life is *made known* to men, seems a different character from the Jesus of Paul and John in the New Testament, or the Jesus of Polycarp and Justin Martyr in the second century.

Any clear statement of the doctrine of justification by faith could hardly be looked for in this early period, as we fail to find it either in Athanasius or Augustine, the great theologians of the Eastern and Western churches. But single expressions here and there through the document are suggestive of an undue reliance on works as a ground of divine favor. They are not clear enough to be decisive, but exalt the merit of obedience to ethical law. "If thou turn to him the other also, thou shalt be *perfect*" (line 18). "Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment, for he shall be *guiltless*" (line 25). "If thou hast anything, by thy hands thou shalt give a *ransom for thy sins*" (line 89). "If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be *perfect*." Such expressions may be easily explained in harmony with the doctrines of grace; but in a treatise composed so largely of ethical precepts they seem to imply a belief in human merit before God.



There are definite teachings on baptism and the supper and the officers of the church, which have a peculiar value if the document belongs to the early part of the second century.

No reference is made to infant baptism, and the writer is apparently acquainted only with the baptism of adults. Both administrator and candidate were to fast before the ordinance. It was to be administered if possible in running water (out of doors?), or in cold or warm water (in doors?), if running water was not accessible. If sufficient water could not be found, then pouring was to be substituted. This latter direction is the first allusion in Christian literature to a lawful departure from the original mode of baptism. The first case of pouring on record is that of Novatian, in the early part of the third century, who received it on a sick bed. The validity of his ordination was subsequently questioned, whether from doubts of the validity of a sick-bed conversion or a sick-bed baptism is not altogether clear. But if this document is authentic, it is evident that under certain specified conditions pouring was accepted by the early church in place of immersion.¹

By the Teaching the supper is restricted to those who have been baptized; and this law, which has prevailed in the church, with few exceptions, for many centuries, is found in force soon after the apostolic age.

The Teaching differs widely from the letters of Ignatius in regard to church officers. It knows nothing of any distinction between bishop and presbyter, on which Ignatius insists so strongly, or of any peculiar sacredness investing the office of bishop. Bishops and deacons are the officers of the local church, chosen by the members for eminent Christian character and gifts. Teachers and prophets are of higher dignity, sustaining relations to the church at large, rather than to any local body. But if they wish to settle over a local church, they are to receive a liberal support and to be held in high honor, provided they "teach righteousness and knowledge of the Lord." The reference to apostles is curious, and indicates that the term had lost its original dignity, and become a synonyme for travelling evangelists, who were often looked upon with suspicion as religious tramps. Imagine verses like the following in one of Paul's Epistles: "And every apostle who cometh to you, let him be received as the Lord; but he shall not remain more than one day; if, however, there be need, then the next day; but if he remain three days he is a false

¹ Baptists will naturally suspect, from the occurrence of this passage, either a later date for the document, or the interpolation of this passage at a later day. They cannot understand Cyprian's letter to Magnus (Epistle 76) if the Teaching had ever circulated in North Africa. Cyprian was asked if the imperfect baptism of a cleric by pouring were valid, in case the sick man recovered. He argues the question at length, and concludes that the act is valid though imperfect, on the ground of right intention. If he had known the Teaching, his argument would have been needless.

prophet. But when the apostle departeth let him take nothing except bread enough till he lodge again; but if he ask money he is a false prophet." Apostles must have been in bad odor in the churches when such arbitrary rules for their treatment were imposed or obeyed. Indeed, this whole chapter (xi.) is unworthy of a place in a document so full of wise counsel and broad charity.

Light is shed on many minor details of religious life. Fasting was to be observed on Wednesday and Friday, instead of Monday and Thursday as with the Jews. The Lord's day was given to worship, and the eucharist formed a part of the regular service. Public confession is mentioned also as a Christian duty and a preparation for the holy supper; but no hint is given of the nature or scope of the confession to be made. All alienations between Christian brethren were to be ended by mutual acknowledgments before entering on public worship. Without reconciliation the worship would not be pure nor acceptable. If any refused it, they were under ban, and the commonest tokens of friendship were withheld until repentance. This personal ostracism of offenders, instead of a public withdrawal of fellowship, is a possible key to Paul's meaning when he enjoins a withdrawal from unruly members even in social courtesies,—“with such a one, no, not to eat.”

It is evident that the relation of master and slave had not yet been dissolved by Christian teaching; but mutual duties are enjoined, which lighten the burdens of the bondmen and put a new spirit into the master.

It is interesting to notice the care taken to guard against impositions on Christian beneficence. Universal charity was made a cardinal duty. Without it one had no title to the Christian name. But there was no community of goods, which the author of the recent *Life of Arius* represents as the general custom of the early church. Nor were the charities indiscriminate, as described with such caustic humor by Lucian in his *Life of Peregrinus*. We have already alluded to the precautions against apostles or prophets who sought to live on Christian hospitality. Similar precautions were enjoined against occasional travellers: “He shall not remain with you, unless for two or three days if there be necessity. But if he will take up his abode among you, being an artisan, let him work, and so eat; but if he have no trade, provide according to your understanding, that no idler live with you as a Christian.”

The Teaching closes with a solemn reference to the second advent of the Lord—the only approach to doctrinal teaching in the whole document. But the exception in this case is only nominal; for it is impossible to decide with certainty whether it makes the advent pre-millennial or post-millennial. “The resurrection of the dead, yet not of all,” seems to imply the former; and this is in harmony with the general views of the early church. But the description is not sufficiently full nor clear to be decisive.

This brief analysis of the teachings of the manuscript would be incom-

plete without an allusion to the limited range of quotations from the canonical books of Scripture. The exact language of inspiration is rarely used, except in references to the Sermon on the Mount. The quotations are evidently from memory, and are often vague and inaccurate. The undoubted references to the Old Testament are only seven in number, and four of these to the apocryphal books Tobit and Sirach. There are numerous references to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, but none to the other Gospels, and no certain allusions to the other books in the New Testament canon, though three or four such allusions are possible, from similarity of language.

The document, therefore, is of more interest for its great antiquity than for its doctrinal worth. Its author was probably a Jewish Christian, who did not sympathize with the broad views of Paul or John, and had not penetrated into the true spirit of the new religion. He had a broad comprehension of its superior ethics, but little insight into its distinctive doctrines of the incarnation and atonement and the new birth. We are surprised that it has not kindled enthusiasm among scholarly Unitarians, who hold that the ante-Nicene church had little to say of the Deity of the Son or of the vicarious nature of the atonement. There is little in the Teaching to which a conservative Unitarian could not heartily subscribe. It is orthodox not because it affirms or even implies the cardinal truths of the Christian system, but only because it does not deny them.

HEMAN LINCOLN.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

I. AMERICAN.

THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for April prints the new Congregational Creed, and, by means of the pen of Professor A. A. Hodge, offers upon this statement of doctrine these comments: "The appearance of this creed, under all the circumstances, and with the array of representative names which we find attached, is, in spite of its great inferiority to many of the old confessions, decidedly reassuring. We are unfeignedly glad that the representatives of the New Departure can cordially unite with the advocates of the old theology in declaring their personal faith in so much of the precious truth of God as revealed in his word, and as always held by his church. It positively states all that is essential to the being of the church and to the salvation of souls. It positively asserts no heresy. All its shortcomings, as compared with the old confessions, are to be found in its omissions and in its vague and general statements. Nevertheless, it is plain that every such effort after comprehension must

result in the sacrifice of fulness and accuracy on the part of the conservative believers for the more meagre and vague statements admitted by those who believe the least. The defect of this confession is chiefly conspicuous in the department of eschatology, in which it is silent as to the state of the souls of men after death and before the judgment, and as to the questions whether the soul in that state will be asleep or conscious? whether there is a future probation for the wicked, or of purgatory for the believer? and whether the present body is to be raised from the dead, or another to be substituted in its place, or the soul left bodiless forever! All this in the present state of controversy is very significant, and amounts to a decided victory upon the side of those who depart, on these points, from the immemorial faith of the Christian church; and this is especially true in respect to the points in which this new confession explicitly abandons the ground so long affirmed by the whole church in the language of the Apostles' Creed, where it substitutes 'the resurrection of the dead' for 'the resurrection of the body.' But there are abundant evidences that all this sacrifice will be unavailing. Already parts of this abated creed have been repudiated as untrue or as going beyond the limits of a church confession, e.g. the clauses which teach that the children of believers ought to be baptized, and that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is either a seal of a covenant, or in any sense a special means of grace. Thus the work of concession will be alternately demanded and conceded until there is nothing left either to contest or to yield. It is, nevertheless, under all the circumstances, a good creed, which states nothing false, and affirms much precious truth. Its appearance for the present disappoints fears and encourages hope. In comparison, however, with the law of growth exhibited by all the creeds of the past when studied in their historical relations, the advent of this creed suggests curious reflections as to the true nature of a progress in theology which holds this to be superior either for matter or form to the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly."

The Presbyterian Review also presents a comprehensive and critical notice of Professor Ladd's *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*. It is written by the chief editor, Professor Charles A. Briggs. The critic praises several qualities of the author: his "calm temper, his scholarly candor, the patient, persistent plodding of the exact student, the supreme love for the truth, and the determination to follow it wherever it may lead. . . . The style of the book is admirably suited to the plan. It is heavy, monotonous, wearisome. The argument moves on in its stately course in its extended sweep as if time and space were of no importance in view of the grand achievement in contemplation. The author had made years of preparation for his work. He was determined to accomplish it thoroughly. He has endeavored to be exhaustive and as complete as human work can be." Exceptions, however, many and grave, are taken

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to certain positions and methods of the work. "Dr. Ladd is correct in his view of inspiration as *dynamic*, and in attaching it to persons rather than things, and in representing it as extending immediately only to the inner word as apprehended and conceived by the human person, and representing that it extends only mediately to the spoken or written word; but he is in error in limiting it to the matter of revelation, the essential substance, the imminent and invariable facts of the organism of revelation. He is also in error in representing inspiration as a common experience of the community of believers in their communion with God, and distinguishing the latter receive divine communication of the permanent truths of the kingdom of redemption in an organic way. . . . Dr. Ladd's historical part is the weakest part of the work. Dr. Ladd has leaned too heavily upon his German authorities. He has verified their references, but he does not exhibit the traits of an original and independent study of the sources themselves. He seems not to have used the valuable *History of Hermeneutics* by the Dane Klausen, which ought to have opened his eyes to Augustine's merits with reference to the doctrine of Holy Scripture. He makes no use of Kihn's *Theodore of Mopsuestia* and *Junilius Africanus* as exegetes, which would have taught him some important matters relating to the Syrian biblical school and its influence upon the Orient and Occident also. He has not discerned the important advance made by Wickliff in stating, 'The Holy Spirit teaches us the sense of Scripture as Christ opened the Scriptures to his apostles.' He agrees with the Germans in entirely ignoring the Puritan doctrine of the Bible, and its important doctrines of the canon and of interpretation as expressed in our Westminster standards and the Puritan and Presbyterian divines of the period, from which the Puritan churches have declined, and to which they must be brought back in order to successfully meet the issues of our day." The review concludes with these remarks: "There are fifty pages of indexes which will greatly help the student to use it [the work] for a book of reference. Indeed, this will undoubtedly be its chief use. Only, we are persuaded that no one can use it safely or to advantage as a reference book who has not first waded and swum in the deep waters of its investigations. To all such it will prove a life-long treasure."

II. ENGLISH.

The *CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW* of the current quarter also has a notice of Professor Ladd's volumes. The critic says: "The 'inductive theory' which the writer feels himself at length enabled to construct, is a singular mixture of tyrannous logic and apparently sincere and conservative faith. 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hand of Esau'; and while the uniform stream of his reasoning is directed towards the destruction of the special claims of inspiration and infallit

teaching made on behalf of the Scripture, his faith seems again and again to snatch back this or that fragment of the surrendered wreck, as if by some irresistible yearning to conserve at all events a part of the ancient sacredness with which the piety of ages had endued the Bible. Why, however, having gone so far with the destructive school, he has not gone farther, we confess ourselves unable to say. His working hypothesis appears to be very similar to that made only too well known by the writings of Mr. Matthew Arnold. He will see in the Bible but the signs of the working of the religious consciousness of a portion of the human race — a 'something working for righteousness' persistently, through age after age; gradually clearing itself of false conceptions, and taking up higher ones in a 'progress of the ages,' similar to and parallel with human growth in the arts and sciences, or in the social expedients that constitute civilization. It is a divine gift, because all human endowments are divine gifts; but it has no monopoly of divineness, no unique or private audience of the Creator, in which it hears and answers and reports to the world what it alone has heard. It has its share of the primal impulse of life, and that will not let it rest."

The BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW contains a sort of symposium on "Nonconformity and the Universities. Free Churches and a Theological Faculty." Its participants are Professor A. M. Fairbairn and Professor James Bryce. The combined papers form both an argument and an appeal for the free churches to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the two great universities. Young men, members of these churches, and especially those having in view the clerical profession, are urged to make use of the great opportunities thus presented. "The place," remarks Professor Fairbairn, "where theology can best be studied is in the presence of our old universities. The very atmosphere is stimulating; all the more that the mind works outside, yet in the face of, the ancient political and sacerdotal corporation that calls itself the Church of England. From that church theology has nothing to expect; it is too rigorously disciplined to allow freedom to exist within it. All its thought, though distributed through various schools, is of one type, and the type is growing every year narrower and more exclusive. . . . She discountenances or censures independent investigation in the field of history, for it is not favorable to her historical theory and pretensions. The church is religion; men must accept it as such, or, so far as she is concerned, go without religion altogether; and where church and religion are so identified, to touch any part of the church system is to be guilty of the worst heresy. Now, it is this which constitutes so splendid an opportunity for the free churches. They can have theology from the church, and make it stand up before the age like the free and articulate truth of God. And nowhere can it do this so well as in an ancient seat of learning, which is also the home of our choicest and brightest spirits." The effect of this movement on

the university would be no less beneficial than upon the free churches. "The university herself," remarks Professor Bryce, "called by all the best historic memories to be free and comprehensive, will gain by having a new spring of life, a new element of force, added to those she possesses, and will become more and more a power in England when she bears her part in the training of those whose ministrations serve and guide so large a part of the English people."

Apropos of the issue of a popular and condensed edition of *Literature and Dogma*, Matthew Arnold's religious views receive attention from journals so diverse as the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* and the *WESTMINSTER*. But both journals agree in a condemnation of these views. The writer in the *Contemporary*, H. D. Traill, says: Surely the truth is, that Mr. Arnold's Neo-Christianity is essentially a religion for the cultivated and comfortable, for those who are removed from the grosser temptations, who have learned by experience that the exercise of virtue under those conditions on the whole increases the sum of their comforts, and who feel that the touch of emotion which elevates morality into religion will give the finishing requirement to their happiness. They can find that emotion nearly everywhere—in Buddhism, in pantheism, in positivism, in almost any 'ism'; but whenever they have to look about for it, as Mr. Arnold has had to do in his own case, and now recommends them to do,—whenever they have to invent their religion, instead of its forcing itself on them, they may depend upon it that it is an article *de luze*, suitable only for consumption by them and their like, and no more fit to serve those who need religion for their support in poverty, in sickness, and under deadly temptations, than whipped cream is fit to stay the stomach of a hungry man." The *Westminster*, commenting on Mr. Arnold's opinions relative to "reason and experience" as factors in the interpretation of the Bible, says: "Orthodoxy we know to our cost; heterodoxy we also know, we hope; but this sort of thing is neither; it is (let the word be granted) paradox." From the critic of no school does either Mr. Arnold's conception or defence of the faith receive commendation.

III. FRENCH.

LA REVUE DE THEOLOGIE ET DE PHILOSOPHIE (Lausanne) for April contains a scholarly and exhaustive examination of "Le Sanhedrin de Jérusalem au Premier Siècle" (The Sanhedrim at Jerusalem in the First Century), by Edmond Stapfer. The functions of the Sanhedrim have always been a question, and all new light upon the subject is welcome. To the general reader that part of the article, doubtless, will be of the most interest which discusses the authority of this tribunal in cases of life and death. That its functions were numerous no room exists for doubt. It enacted laws; it exercised judgment and possessed extended judicial powers; it treated of doctrines,—forming a true council,—and had at one time the right to condemn to death. But had this power been taken

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A PLAIN INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, for the use of Biblical Students. By F. H. A. Scrivener, Prebendary of Exeter, Vicar of Hendon. Third Edition, thoroughly revised, enlarged, and brought down to the present date. 8vo. pp. xxxix, 712, with fourteen plates. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1883.

The services which Dr. Scrivener has rendered to biblical criticism in his almost forty years of devotion to its study have won him a place in the memory and gratitude of scholars which must always remain green. His "Plain Introduction," in particular, has been for a quarter of a century *the* book on its subject. The first edition (1861) was nothing less than an astonishing performance, when the circumstances under which it was compiled are taken into account. Von Gebhardt in 1881 knew nothing more comprehensive or better to which to direct German scholars than the second edition. The third edition is a marked improvement on the second. It contains one hundred and twenty-five more pages, and these are simply packed with new matter. It catalogues more than three hundred new manuscripts. And the revising as well as adding hand is everywhere visible. It easily remains the most complete work in the field, and as such indispensable to scholars.

Less than this could not be said without distinct injustice. But it is the function of critics to find fault. And we feel bound to add that the volume before us is far from what it should be and might have been,—is, indeed, no less than a great disappointment to all who have either the science of criticism or the reputation of Dr. Scrivener at heart. The truth must be sorrowfully confessed that the science has outrun the book, and that the remarkable youth of 1861 has developed into a far less noteworthy man in 1883. Readers need to be specially warned against three distinct faults: an affluence of petty errors of fact; a strange neglect of the recent literature of the subject, and uncritical choice and use of what is noted; and a painful wavering of judgment and inconsistency of statement that leave the reader in doubt as to what is really intended to be taught.

It is no part of our plan to attempt a catalogue of these errors and inconsistencies. Our space would scarcely contain them, and the task is not congenial to our taste. Our duty to the reader is performed in putting him duly on his guard against them. Some of them are suffi-

ciently curious, however, to invite attention. For instance, let us suppose the unwary reader to turn to this volume in order to learn the relative values of the various versions for critical use. He reads on pp. 308-9, "The Peshito Syriac and Old Latin translations must be placed in the very first rank as authorities and aids for the critical revision of the text. In a class apart from and next below the Peshito Syriac and Old Latin we may group together the Egyptian, the Curetonian Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, the Gothic, the Armenian, and Aethiopic versions, which we name in what seems to be their order in respect to value." This is direct and plain, though far from true. What is the student to think, however, when he reaches p. 360, and reads, "Both as a translation and as an aid to the criticism of the text of the New Testament the Vulgate is far superior to the Old Latin"; to say nothing now of Bishop Lightfoot's words (which are left unexplained to the mystification of the learner) on pp. 392 and 400, "Of all the versions the Memphitic is perhaps the most important for the textual critic" and "[The Thebaic version's] textual value is perhaps only second to the Memphitic among the early versions." Perhaps the most particularly confused statements are made as to the Beza editions. We cannot refrain from hoping that some explanation may be possible for some of these misstatements; but at present Dr. Scrivener seems to apologize for having here counted as Beza's first edition the work that was really his first; to count now as his first edition a work that has no Greek text in it at all, and to profess to have drawn in 1860 his quotations from a copy of an edition which nobody else appears to have ever seen. Dr. Scrivener certainly owes it to bibliographical science, as well as to his own credit, to print the full title and a thoroughly unambiguous description of the London Beza of 1565. It is a puzzle to his readers that seems to demand clearing up.

It is pleasanter to point out the most important improvements of this edition. One of these is, of course, found in the list of cursive mss., a field which Dr. Scrivener has made particularly his own, and in which he has had the efficient aid of Dean Burgon. Diligent research has enabled the author to correct many previous mistakes here, and fill in many previous blanks; while, chiefly owing to Dean Burgon's investigations, a long list of mss. not hitherto catalogued has been added. The section on the Latin versions has been very greatly improved, and brought, indeed, fairly up to date. The section on the Egyptian versions in its revised form remains quite the best accessible. Over the account of the Syriac versions, on the other hand, one would like to draw a veil of silence. A totally erroneous view of the history of the Syriac versions is taken; old errors are repeated and new ones made; while in his zeal to demonstrate the post-Peshito origin of the Curetonian Dr. Scrivener's uncritical use of recent literature reaches its culmination in his four-fold serious appeal to the authority of the admirable hoax with which the

Abbé Martin, in a freak of lunacy or in a flash of satire (at all events it is good satire), astonished the learned world last year.

No portion of the volume will be turned to with more interest than the polemic against the principles of Drs. Westcott and Hort (pp. 530-542). This is brief, much briefer than was to be expected, and moves too much on the surface to be of real value. Indeed, nearly half of it is devoted rather to the pamphlet of "Two members of the New Testament company of Revisers" on the Revision and the Greek Text of the New Testament, whose brief and semi-popular arguments it was no doubt more convenient to handle. There is evidence nowhere that Dr. Hort's methods have been seriously studied, or indeed even entirely understood, much less subjected to any thorough testing. It is clear that Dr. Scrivener means to be fair; but no student could obtain the faintest conception of Dr. Hort's principles from him. Even such diverse processes as genealogical evidence and internal evidence of groups are jumbled hopelessly together in the exposition, with the most grossly unfair effect. Results obtained by Dr. Hort by internal evidence of groups—which it must be emphasized is a method of criticism totally independent of and different in kind from genealogical evidence, and which will stand as a valid and necessary method of dealing with the evidence, no matter what becomes of his theory of "recensions"—are presented by Dr. Scrivener as if obtained by the genealogical method; and his reader, when he lays aside the volume, may truly profess not to have so much as heard whether there be any internal evidence of groups. We are obliged to say that we cannot find Dr. Hort at all in the eight pages of professed exposition of his methods. Dr. Scrivener's neglect to familiarize himself with his methods leads him to do them injustice also elsewhere than in this formal account of them; as, for instance, on p. 604, where he tells us that Dr. Hort has omitted Luke xxiii. 34, "chiefly because D is considered specially weighty in its omissions and B has to be held up, in practice if not in profession, as virtually almost impeccable." This "virtually almost" spiteful language is difficult to explain or pardon. Dr. Hort gives a long note on the passage and assigns quite other reasons. And any knowledge of Dr. Hort's general method would suggest two very good grounds for assigning much more weight to BD in the Gospels than can be represented by B+D. Genealogically they are representatives of two totally different classes, and the combination is therefore the union of the classes. By internal evidence of groups, too, the combination proves itself excellent.

When we turn from Dr. Scrivener's exposition of the principles of others and ask after his own we are thrown into considerable perplexity. He does, indeed, give us, on p. 557, four practical rules which he tells us, with some pride, have been commended by Canon Kennedy. "(1) That the true readings of the Greek New Testament cannot safely be derived

from any one set of authorities, whether manuscripts, versions, or fathers but ought to be the result of a patient comparison and careful estimation of the evidence supplied by them all. (2) That where there is a res agreement between all documents containing the Gospels up to the sixth century, and in other parts of the New Testament up to the ninth, the testimony of later manuscripts and versions, though not to be rejected unheard, must be regarded with great suspicion; and, **UNLESS UPHELD BY STRONG INTERNAL EVIDENCE**, can hardly be adopted. (3) That where the more ancient documents are at variance with each other, the later uncials and cursive copies, especially those of approved merit, are of real importance, as being the surviving representatives of other codices, very probably as early, perhaps even earlier, than any now extant. (4) That in weighing conflicting evidence we must assign the highest value not to those readings that are attested by the greatest number of witnesses, but to those which come to us from several remote and independent sources and which bear the least likeness to each other in respect to genius and general character." These, however, do not carry us very far, and what are not truisms are for the most part not true. The first is universally accepted and acted upon. The second, down to 'suspicion' is a solemn platitude, and fixes the dates arbitrarily and without the shadow of reason; while after that word it simply legitimatizes the pure conjecture with the emphasis of small capitals. The third is meaningless and unsound. No one will deny that the cursive type of text is as old as the fourth century, but that will hardly prove that a witness who has been shown to be a mere repeater can be profitably called in to settle every dispute. The fourth is sound or unsound according to the sense given to the phrase "remote and independent sources." Dr. Scrivener means *geographically*, in which case the rule is neither applicable nor true, as he himself elsewhere admits, telling us truly enough, at p. 577, that the united testimony of the Old Latin, of the Curetonian Syriac, and of Codex Bezae are quite insufficient in themselves to prove any more than that the reading they exhibit is ancient." Yet geographically North Africa and Syria are about as far apart as documents can get. For that matter however, Dr. Scrivener does not honor any one of his four rules with uniform allowance.

It is a somewhat interesting task, in fact, to pick out from chapter ix where examples of the application of criticism are given, the real principles which Dr. Scrivener arrives at. How, for instance, do these three rules sound together? "We cannot resist the five great uncials when they are in harmony" (p. 618); "The chief uncials sometimes conspire in readings which are unquestionably false, and can hardly have arisen independently of each other" (p. 644); "The great uncials seldom or never conspire in exhibiting a really valuable departure from the late codices unless supported by some of the best of the cursives themselves

(p. 645). All three cannot be true; but Dr. Scrivener treats them impartially enough. He does resist the five great uncials, as e.g. in 2 Cor. iii. 3, where he rejects *καρδίας*, although it is read by *κ*BACD EGLP and most cursives; or in Phil. ii. 1, where he refuses *τς*, although it is read by all uncials and nearly all cursives. He does follow the great uncials without the support of some of the best cursives, as e.g. not only in Acts xiii. 32, but also in Mark v. 36 and elsewhere. He does not, on the other hand, always follow the great uncials, even when supported by the best cursives, as e.g. in John i. 18; Luke vi. 1; Acts xiii. 18; 1 Cor. xi. 24; 1 Thess. ii. 7, etc.

Clearly these are not the rules which give the hinge on which Dr. Scrivener's criticism turns. We think we come nearer to it in the following: "We do not hesitate to receive a variation supported by only a few first-rate authorities where internal evidence pleads powerfully in its favor" (p. 581); and more significantly still: "Internal evidence being equiponderant, we must decide by the weight of documentary proof" (p. 625). We speak subject to correction, but apparently this represents his actual practice; it is only when internal evidence is "equiponderant" that he appears to trouble himself much over the "documentary proof." It is thus that he is able to adopt readings against any and every combination of documents, even, as in Phil. ii. 1, against all uncials and nearly all cursives combined. It is quite consistent for him to assign as the reason for a change of opinion since edition second (at Mark vi. 20) that the other reading "now appears to him to afford an excellent sense." He is able, no doubt, to say very truly at p. 553: "The study of grouping has been recently and not untruly said to be the foundation of all enduring criticism." But very little fruit is reaped from the admission. The foundation and hinge, almost the totality of Dr. Scrivener's criticism, practically sums itself up in internal evidence of readings. In this we find explanation enough of the infirmity and waveringness of his conclusions.

The extent to which the inconsistency of his treatment of the external evidence might be illustrated is limited only by the number of passages on which he has passed judgment. *κ*BDZ 1. 17 + *Memph.*, *Vulg.*, most Old Latin codices, are resisted in Matt. vi. 13; and *κ*BDL 1. 22. 604. *Memph.*, *Vulg.*, most Old Latin codices, Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac are followed at Matt. xix. 17 (in ed. 2; in ed. 3 Dr. Scrivener is more doubtful). Again *κ*BL *Memph.* are rejected in Mark vi. 20, and *κ*BLΔ accepted in v. 36; *κ*BAC 17. 67** are rejected in 1 Cor. xi. 24, and *κ*ABC* 17 (67**) accepted in 1 Cor. xi. 29. In the Apocalypse A, three mss. of the *Vulg.* and one of the Slavics are followed at xiii. 1, while AC 38** 48. 90, best mss. of the *Vulg.*, are rejected at xv. 6; or *A*** 38, Irenaeus's Latin, are followed at xxi. 6, while *κ*ABC 95 + *Memph.* are rejected at xviii. 3. Dr. Scrivener strangely speaks of conjectures on p. 490 as if it were agreed that they never should be resorted to;

but himself comes perilously near resorting to them in more instances than one. He finds it at times most necessary to assume two authoritative editions of the New Testament books in order to ease his difficulties! (See p. 608, 610 *et al.*)

It will be observed, then, that Dr. Scrivener's book cannot be depended on to teach either the science or the art of textual criticism. We can congratulate ourselves that he has not thought it his duty to edit the continuous text. It is as a collection of the materials for criticism, a hand-book of the sources, that it is valuable. Here, despite its many defects, it has no real rival in comprehensiveness and completeness. But even here its short-comings are sufficiently numerous and serious to demand a fourth edition, thoroughly revised and brought really up to date. It seems to us that we ought to have this at once.

THE THEORY OF MORALS. By Paul Janet, Member of the Institute, Author of "Final Causes," etc. Translated from the latest French edition by Miss Mary Chapman, under the supervision of President Noah Porter of Yale College. 8vo. pp. 490. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This volume is refreshing to a reader who finds something more in obligation and duty than mere instincts and sentiments developed in a sentient being by the reaction of his environment. The work treats of ethics from a rational or intuitional standpoint, assuming the validity of necessary truths, and provides a distinct and vital meaning for such words as duty, desert, conscience, and the like.

As is usual with French philosophical writers, the style of the author is decidedly luminous, and does not become obscure or involved even in the most abstruse discussions. He does not seem at any time bewildered with the profundity of other writers, and, what is more rare, not often even with his own. There is abundant illustration and repetition; more, perhaps, than would be expected in a distinctively scientific treatise; but for the general reader this rather adds to the interest than detracts from it. To one interested in the questions of which it treats it is a very enjoyable book to read. The work of translation has been done so successfully that the usual traces of the process rarely appear.

The author has a facility of putting himself in the place of others while presenting their views, to such a degree that the reader is sometimes left in doubt for a half page or more whether the idea presented is finally to be accepted by the author or controverted. He appreciates whatever he sees of value in the views of others, and gives them a fair statement.

The problem which the author proposes to solve is the one which has faced every writer on morals since the earliest ages; viz. How does obligation arise? What is its foundation? This problem the author resolves into three, as follows (p. 2): "What is good? What is duty? What is

virtue?" The question "what is good?" comes first, because in his view all duty must terminate on something; there must be an end toward which it is directed. There must be something in view of which duty arises, some "natural good" which is a reason for the obligation, something to be chosen for its own sake. Thus at the outset he parts company with Kant and all other advocates of an absolute duty or an absolute right from which the good is derived (pp. 25-44). On this point the reasoning seems clear and conclusive.

In his search for this antecedent good, in the presence of which obligation arises, the author will seem to many to be less successful. He distinctly announces that the good which the agent must respect is found in himself, in his own personal excellence or perfection. He says (p. 64): "Rightly occupied with combating the doctrine of personal interest, modern philosophers have too often forgotten that *good* in general cannot be an end for us except on condition of being *our* good; for it is inadmissible that a being should be held to anything for the sake of a good which would be wholly foreign to him. . . . This is why I owe my service to the good of humanity, because the good of other men is my own good; it is because what is good for the hive is good for the bee." Again (p. 75), he says: "Listen to the words of Descartes,— words which express with absolute exactitude my own theory: 'The supreme good [he says] consists in the exercise of virtue, or what amounts to the same thing, in the possession of all the perfections whose acquisition depends upon our own free will. Felicity is the mental satisfaction which follows this acquisition. . . . Beatitude is not the supreme good, but it presupposes its presence.'" The supreme good is personal excellence or perfection, and happiness is the necessary result. "The perfection of being cannot be acquired without gaining also the feeling of this perfection, the joy of possessing it. Now this feeling, this joy, is what we should call happiness, inseparable, as we have seen, from perfection itself. Good, then, is indissolubly composed of perfection and of happiness" (p. 72). At times the author seems to feel the difficulty of holding to this complex conception of good, and drops out entirely the element of happiness. Thus (p. 170) he says: "According to my view moral obligation is based upon the following principle: Every being owes it to himself that he should attain to the highest degree of excellence and of perfection of which his nature is capable." This simplification of the good is inevitable, because the responsibility of the moral being must end with the effort or purpose to seek his own perfection. The resultant happiness is not his concern. If that perfection brought suffering, as the author admits it might (p. 123), still the perfection of one's personal being must be pursued.

But when we come to inquire more carefully as to the nature of this excellence or perfection of personal being which every one must pursue, there is lack of clear definition. By the theory this excellence is the

natural good which is the foundation of all virtue. It is perplexing, then, to find it described as embracing such attributes as honor, magnanimity, sincerity, generosity, veracity, purity, holiness. These are moral attributes, good in the sense that they are virtuous. It is not admissible to treat these as natural good upon which duty and virtue are to be founded. If so then we have virtue in advance of good and without any foundation, which is contrary to the theory of the author. But, again, these attributes must be moral to have that authority with the conscience which the author claims for them. I am bound to sacrifice all other goods to honor, because honor is righteousness, not simply a higher form of natural good.

The author gives us an interesting chapter on Conflict of Duties (p. 242), but its philosophical value is essentially lost by this confusion of the natural and the moral in human excellence. He asks the question, is it right to slay an enemy *treacherously*? without observing that he assumes the wrongfulness of the act in that mysterious adverb. The absurdity would be more patent, but not more real, if the question were, is it *right* to slay an enemy *wrongfully*?

In carrying out the view that all obligation is due to one's own personal perfection, the author seems at times to shrink from the consequences of his theory. The abstract principle is stated with sufficient clearness, but the application is made with misgiving. Thus (p. 239) we read: "We have already seen that the fundamental principle of morals is to exalt the human personality within us to the highest point of excellence of which it is capable. We have in reality no other duty to perform than that of fulfilling the ideal of humanity as completely as possible within ourselves. From this standpoint all duties, even the most exalted, are so only because they enter into the ideal of the perfect man, toward which all our actions should tend. Thus, as we have already shown, if religious or social virtue did not enter into the ideal of our own good, these virtues, being absolutely foreign to us, and nowhere coming into contact with us, could not be obligatory upon us; for I can be under no obligation to that which does not concern me. But since the ideas of religion and society form an essential part of human nature I cannot be entirely a man — that is, I cannot fulfil my whole destiny — nor can I accomplish all the good of which I am capable, if I neglect the actions which accompany those two sentiments. Hence all my duties may be ultimately resolved into that of perfecting myself."

The author applies this principle without hesitation in the case of our duties to animals. He says (pp. 234, 235): "While admitting the existence of these duties [toward animals], as we have shown, let us grant that this part of morals belongs either to personal morality (man owes it to himself not to be cruel) or to social morality (each of us owes it to other men that we should not needlessly destroy what may be useful to society at large) or to religious morality (man should not needlessly destroy the

work of the Creator)." Thus the brute has no rights on his own account; but there is a recoil from a similar application of the principle to the duties we owe to God and to man. The author maintains that we are to respect God and our fellow-men for their own sake, and not simply because such regard will enhance our own perfection. "The true idea of the perfect man implies that we should love and respect men for their sakes, not for our own" (p. 240). This is good morality, but it does not grow out of his philosophy; and the author fails to see that it is utterly subversive of his cardinal principle. Personal perfection requires that we regard our fellow-men on their own account, because personal perfection requires righteousness. Our fellow-men have an interest and value of their own, a well-being which is a real good, which we apprehend and are bound to regard. My neighbor's well-being or perfection has a value equal to my own, not on account of its relation to my perfection, but on its own account; and I am worthy of respect or approbation only as I give it the place in my regard which belongs to it in the nature of the case. But this involves the fact that the true good, that on which obligation rests, is not merely subjective, personal to the agent, but embraces all well-being, is as broad as the conscious universe. Such a view of the good would have saved the author from many uncertainties and inconsistencies. But the practical spirit and tone of the book are far higher and more satisfactory than the theory which it sets forth.

KADISH-BARNEA. Its Importance and Probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt for it; including Studies of the Route of the Exodus and the Southern Boundary of the Holy Land. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D., Editor of the Sunday-School Times. 8vo. pp. 478. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

In the appendix to a work by Canon Williams, entitled *The Holy City*, published in 1845, which was largely an attack on Dr. Robinson's theory of the site of the holy sepulchre, appeared a letter from the author's friend, Rev. John Rowlands, an English clergyman, in which he claims to have recovered the site of the long lost Kadesh-Barnea on the southern border of Palestine. The claim was received with general incredulity, not diminished by the discoverer's enthusiasm and excitement over it. The search for biblical sites is a most fascinating pursuit to a biblical scholar, and nothing is easier than for a sanguine temperament to detect resemblances and plausibilities in support of an ardent theory. Dr. Robinson, the prince of Palestinian explorers and discoverers, had decided on a different site, and given his reasons for it (*Biblical Researches*, ii. 582-584); and in a few paragraphs in 1849 (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, vi. 377-381) he reaffirmed his view, and apparently demolished Mr. Rowlands' claim.

The book before us champions this alleged discovery of Kadesh-Barnea.

Its four hundred and seventy-eight large octavo pages are devoted (including a general discussion of the route of the exodus) to the examination of this single point of biblical topography. The proportion may not seem excessive, viewed with reference to the importance of the point; though it does at first seem large, viewed with reference to the historical materials which the case offers. We have given it a thorough perusal, and it has fairly won our assent to its leading positions. It is an exhaustive treatment of the topic, and is a monument of industry and of learning. To readers who are not interested in topographical discussions much of it will seem dry, but the style is clear and lively; the account, especially, of the re-discovery of the lost site (pp. 237-299) is more than interesting, it is absolutely thrilling. The theory involves the removal of Mount Hor from the site with which immemorial tradition has associated it, and its transfer to a summit for which it is not known that this claim has before been advanced. We are somewhat surprised, moreover, to find that the Rev. F. W. Holland of England, to whose memory in part this work is dedicated, and who is credited as "having no peer in familiarity with the peninsula of Sinai as a whole, having made five visits to that region" (p. 77), rejects Rowlands' claim equally with Robinson's. He had not, however, seen the arguments detailed in this volume. There is no decisive feature in the case, no absolute demonstration; but if the facts are correctly reported our author will be likely to enlist both the popular support, and that of scholars as well, in favor of the views which he offers.

The attitude in which Dr. Edward Robinson is presented in this work does injustice to his memory. The reader would naturally infer that he was a man who rashly committed himself to a mistaken theory, and then defended it with blind obstinacy from pride of consistency. He was not at all that sort of a man; he was at the farthest possible remove from all that. He was simply incapable of a "gratuitous misstatement" (p. 231). A more diligent and intelligent spirit of research, more painstaking accuracy, a more impartial and judicial temper than he brought to all questions of archaeology and topography, we can hardly conceive of. He sought to look at everything in the clear white light of fact, and his delight was in simple truth and its calm utterance. The position of great influence, of almost final authority, on biblical questions, which is freely accorded to him in this work, could not have been won had he not been exempt from the above qualities. And if the arguments which are here grouped are justly convincing, as they seem to us to be, we know of no person, living or dead, who would hail them with more sincere satisfaction than he who is represented as decrying this identification because he was a bigoted partisan.

The nomenclature of the work is somewhat perplexing to one who is familiar with the system proposed by Robinson and Smith, which has been widely accepted by scholars, and to whom Dr. Trumbull's is neither good English nor Arabic.

The finest impression which the work makes is the more welcome because it did not apparently enter into the author's conscious plan. It heightens our reverence for the inspired word of God, and confirms our faith in it as a reliable historical record, as well as the charter of our immortal hopes. Had it been written with the express design of counteracting the destructive criticism of the day,—which would have been in the line of the author's special life-work,—it could not have been more effective than in its way it is now.

The letter-press of the volume is admirable, and it has all needful appliances of maps and copious indexes.

KANT'S CRITIQUE OF PURE REASON. A Critical Exposition. By George S. Morris, Ph.D. 7×4½ inches. pp. xvi and 272. Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Co. 1882.

This is a thoroughly good book. Professor Morris is master of his theme, and possesses to a very high degree the power of making an obscure and difficult subject easy and plain. His style is animated, his sentences clear. He knows when to expatiate and when to condense. He understands the bearings of every part of his author upon every other, and upon the general problems of philosophy. And it may be said, he has explained Kant vastly better than Kant did himself.

A German would say that the exposition is not "objective," and would point, among other passages, to the first few pages of Chapter I., where the position of Kant is explained not from the point of view held by Kant himself, but from the Hegelian position of the expositor. It is true that Kant would never have stated himself as Professor Morris does, for the latter is trying to expound Kant as the history of philosophy before and since unfold his true significance. But the reader is never confused by this attempt, or led to ascribe to Kant what belongs only to Professor Morris. If the exposition is not "objective," it lacks only that wooden objectiveness, dear to pedants, which thinks itself faithful to an author when it produces his very words, whether it catches his spirit or not. But Professor Morris is truly objective, as Kuno Fischer is, because he has comprehended his author, and reproduces freely in words suited to our day, the thoughts of the philosopher.

Among the great merits of this book, it is not the least that the relation of Kant to Hume is so fully brought out. We have given us to a certain extent the history of this whole period of thought. Hume did not merely give Kant the shock that "awoke him from his dogmatic slumbers," but, as Professor Morris shows, the mechanical view of psychology which Kant learned from him modified the entire course of the Critique. Thus, while most strenuously combating him, Kant coincides strangely in many of his ultimate results with Hume. Hume is no more ignorant of the substantial soul than Kant himself. Another great merit is, that the true nature of

Kant's doctrine of causality is so plainly stated. Ernst Laas has clearly shown how entirely Kant's doctrine agrees with that agnostic doctrine which sees in causation only "invariable sequence." Professor Morris develops this thought very fully (p. 94 ff.), and shows how Kant himself held his category for the complete statement of causality.

We could wish that Professor Morris had brought out a little more clearly than he has done the involuntary use of genuine efficient causation, by which, compelled, as Herbert says, "by a necessity concealed from himself," Kant advanced from the phenomenal "objects" to the nominal "things." This is exhibited in the passage on the "Refutation of Idealism," which Professor Morris dismisses with too brief notice (p. 178). Kant here declares that the existence of "things-in-themselves" is absolutely necessary to account for my presentations, and particularly for "the something permanent in my perceptions." His meaning is this: My consciousness is indissolubly connected with time. I cannot pass from unconsciousness to consciousness by a voluntary act. Accordingly, I am brought into consciousness by the operation of some other being upon me. This other being is necessary as the *cause* to explain my consciousness. In many other passages Kant especially designates the "thing" as the "cause" of the phenomena. The whole conception of a "causality through freedom," so admirably sketched by Professor Morris (p. 244 ff.), is only another example of the forced use of the true category of causality by Kant. Hence the easiest and best answer to Kant's objections to the arguments for the existence of God that they are transcendent use of the categories, is that they are *not* transcendent use of *his* category, but of the true category of causation, which not only allows but necessitates such a use.

We do not know, however, that Professor Morris would like this last statement, for he is a Hegelian, — and yet, we suspect, something such of a Hegelian as a Kantian, for, after all, he un-Hegels Hegel. We do not find much in Professor Morris to object to, but we should hardly accept the *ipsissima verba* of the Hegelians, that Thought is Being, — that the "activity of the Concepts" is the Understanding. And yet, just here lies another great practical advantage of Professor Morris's book, in that he has developed in outline, as he has advanced, a spiritual philosophy, so that this little book becomes not only an introduction to Kant, a history of the passage of philosophy over from sensationalism to spiritualism, but also an outline of philosophy itself.

We will venture to suggest that when a second edition is prepared, notes be introduced giving the German terms employed by Kant, and referring to the striking passages of the Critique in some standard edition (e.g. Erdmann's) of the original, so as to fit it better for the use of those who propose to pursue their study of Kant in the German text. The lack of an index is also a great defect of the book.

DAS LEBEN JESU, von Bernhard Weiss. In zwei Bänden. 8vo. pp. xiii, 565 and iv, 686. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz. 1882.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By Dr. Bernhard Weiss, Councillor of the Consistory and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by John Walter Hope, M.A. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1883.

Dr. Weiss's studies have for decades been concentrated on the problems of the New Testament; and the English-speaking theological world has been very generous in according him appreciation and recognition for his indefatigable labors. His numerous exegetical works, both original contributions and new editions of standard works, but chiefly his *Theology of the New Testament*, have proved him a scholar who has a right to speak with some authority in the field of New Testament studies. In the volumes before us the fruits of his former special studies are gathered, and we have here the results of his theological work. The *Life of Christ*, like nearly all of his earlier publications, has met with so hearty a welcome in Germany that at the present time a second (pamphlet) edition is already being issued. The problem discussed, the greatest that theological science offers, the author's ripe and thorough scholarship, and the popularity of his book, all contribute to make the latter worthy of patient study and careful criticism.

The work is divided into seven books; of which the first, treating of the sources, and the second, treating of the preparation, are the most important, as they are fundamental for both principles and facts to all that follows. When the first volume of the German appeared, Professor F. H. Foster, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1882, pp. 774-777, gave a fair *resumé* of the greater portion of book I., as far as contents and results are concerned, and these need not be repeated here. It will suffice to say a few words concerning the spirit and animus of the discussion. As it is the author's aim to present a life of Christ on a purely historical basis, he must naturally at first discuss and arrange the sources of information according to historical principles. The first book leads us into the labyrinth of the synoptic problems. It is a chapter of results, and not of processes. For the latter he refers the reader to his other works and to the notes. This fact makes it somewhat difficult to pass a judgment as to the full merits of this part of the book; but we doubt whether Weiss has found the Ariadne thread to lead us out of this labyrinth. The synoptic problem is indeed more fortunate than the Pentateuchal question, since there is at least a general agreement among the critics as to both method and results of investigation; but in its general aspects, as well as in the peculiar views of Weiss, there is a strangeness in the analysis and composition of the Gospels as proposed that scarcely beseems God's word, and needs stronger arguments than have so far been adduced to make them acceptable to conservative scholars.

The stratification of Gospel documents proposed by Weiss is at best only an hypothesis inviting further investigation.

The method pursued by Weiss in reaching these results is claimed by him to be purely historical. His effort is to explain the origin of our Gospels from purely historical and psychological grounds, and they are thus for him products that naturally grew out of the development of the early Christian communion. They originated as did, *mutatis mutandis*, the histories of an Herodotus, a Thucydides, or a Xenophon. If he recognizes to any extent whatever the influence of the divine factor, of an inspiration, in the origin of the Gospels, he manages to conceal this very thoroughly. Without granting a deciding voice to the testimonies of the Scriptures themselves as to their origin, a philosophical idea of historical growth becomes the governing principle of his researches, and to this Procrustean bed everything must conform. It is true that in this investigation he strikes right and left, attacking with considerable vigor both the "Apologists," i.e. the adherents of the conservative views, and the "Critics," i.e. the representatives of destructive criticism; but a candid judgment must place Weiss, as far as method and spirit are concerned, in the ranks of the latter. Between him and them there is a difference rather of degree than of kind. To us it seems that Weiss's great and good work in the field of gospel analysis does not consist in the discovery of new and better ways than those proposed by the "criticism" which he so strongly antagonizes, but rather in this, that, while standing on their own grounds, he shows from their own standpoint how irrational and silly their conclusions are. That such is in reality Weiss's position is plainly told him by Professor Weizsäcker, of Tübingen, than whom there is no one more mild-mannered but acute among the critics, in a review of the second volume of the *Leben Jesu* in the *Leipzig Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1883, No. 1, Col. 3. He there says:

"It is to be regretted that in this second volume also 'criticism' is bitterly accused, especially when miracles are spoken of. Certainly nobody has a right to do this who nearly always at decisive points adopts the so-called natural [critical or rationalistic] explanation, although in a milder and more careful form, and who, notwithstanding his repeated rejection of the legend-formation theory, still at every step finds himself compelled to acknowledge that the eye-witnesses at a later period imagined the events different from what they were."

These words are equally applicable to Weiss's researches as to the sources as well as to his picture of Christ. His aim being to draw from the critically arranged sources the earthly and human (*irdisch-menschlich*) development of the soul and consciousness of Christ, and thus present an "historical" picture of the Lord, his efforts result in a one-sided view. In his zeal for the human and natural development of Christ, he — notwithstanding he recognizes to some extent a higher nature in him, and

employs good orthodox terms in describing his person — loses sight of the divine nature in the Lord, and recognizes in Christ only a perfect man, endowed indeed with extraordinary gifts, but nevertheless in reality purely human, capable of human development, with human weaknesses and inabilities. In endeavoring to trace this development and growth of Christ's consciousness on the basis of the synoptic Gospels (as though these really furnished the data for such a biography), Weiss has exhibited an ingenious analysis that is sometimes wonderful, and his endeavor to draw such a portrait complete, and not in mere outline, is as interesting as it is new. But we doubt whether he will be able to convert many readers to his views; they will admire the critical shrewdness of the author rather than trust the historical correctness of his portrait of Christ. For the one-sided view of the person of Christ will, of course, also have a most detrimental effect upon the work of Christ, and thinking Christians will ask what becomes of the saving work of Christ if he was such a being as Weiss paints him.

The strong features of the book are easily apparent. The author in many instances succeeds in giving the records of our Gospels such an historical background and setting that they appear in clearer and more definite outlines than ever before; his paraphrases and running commentary on the evangelists, especially on the parables, are often masterpieces, while the rich rhetoric, incisive and clear-cut method of expression, cannot fail to awaken a deep interest in the reader. Although as a whole the work cannot be called a success, no conscientious student of God's word will regret having read or studied it. Its strength lies chiefly in its minor features and in the suggestiveness and thoughtfulness of the whole.

The two volumes of the translation so far published cover about two thirds of the original. Translating German theological works into English is not an easy task, for German theology has a world of technical terms of its own, for which other modern languages, which have not passed through the same abstract theological schooling, can scarcely find equivalents. A few of these terms, such as "evangelical tradition," "mediating theology," and the like, are beginning to find a home in the English, but the great mass of them has not as yet. The translator has not only had considerable difficulty and indifferent success with such terms, but throughout this work has been unfortunate — the chief fault of the rendition being a want of accuracy, which is evidently as much the result of haste as of ignorance. The translation is not up to some of the more recent issues of the Clark series. For the critical student it will still be necessary to refer to the original.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN Church. Vol. II. Ante Nicene Christianity. By Philip Schaff, D.D. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 inches. pp. xiv, 877. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This volume, like that which preceded it, is described on the title-page

as a "New Edition, thoroughly Revised and Enlarged." In the Preface the author states the reasons which have led him to make this revision and the manner in which the work has been done. Within the twenty-five years which have passed since the first edition of this work appeared there has been a remarkable enrichment of the sources of information for the period (A.D. 100-325) covered by this volume. Among these are named the Syriac Ignatius, the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus, the Greek Hermas, a new Greek ms. of the First Epistle of Clement of Rome, fragments of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the only complete uncial ms. of the Greek New Testament. Important monumental discoveries have also shed additional light upon certain aspects of the Christian life of this age. The scholarship of the present generation has been busily employed in searching out the facts of this period and in putting them before us in learned and attractive forms.

It is in view of these facts that the author has been led to revise and enlarge his work; and it has been his aim "to bring this volume up to the present advanced state of knowledge," and "to make the results of the best scholarship of the age available and useful to the rising generation." We have thus an entire reconstruction of the corresponding parts of the first edition, and the addition of three chapters and many sections of wholly new matter. The value and interest of this portion of the author's *Church History* are thus greatly increased, both to the special student and to the general reader.

Dr. Schaff wields a very facile pen, and enters into the various parts of the Christian life of this Ante-Nicene age with ready sympathy and appreciative insight. The style is full almost to redundancy and highly ornate; and narrative, inference, summary, and discussion are alike attractive in dress and treatment. The discussions are, perhaps, somewhat out of proportion to the other matter, and unduly swell the bulk of the volume.

The added sections upon Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Plutarch, and those upon Eschatology, and the whole thirteenth chapter on the Literature of the Ante-Nicene age and Sketches of the Church Fathers, are particularly interesting and valuable. Minor inaccuracies and omissions occur, of which a more extended review might take further notice. But the excellences of the work are so many and so great that we give it a most hearty welcome, and commend it to our readers as the best *Church History* for the period it covers which is to be found in the English language.

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Edward Reuss, Professor in the University of Strasbourg. Translated from the Second French Edition, with the Author's own Corrections and Revision, by David Hunter, B.D., Late Scholar and Fellow in the University of Glasgow. 8vo. pp. xii, 404. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1884.

In this learned work the reader will find the facts bearing on the history

of the canon in the Christian church stated in full detail, and woven into a narrative very attractive both in form and style. On this account the book is of permanent value. To us the volume is interesting, also, as illustrating of how little account learning is in attaining the truth except the scholar have also some knowledge of mental philosophy and inductive logic. For example, our author's grand conclusion is, to quote his own words: "The question of the canon no longer consists in the problem of drawing up a list of books; that conception has had its day" (p. 404). But if that is not the question, what is the question, and what is all his discussion about?

It is time such mysterious vagueness ceased to be regarded as the height of wisdom. On the face of the whole volume it is clear enough that the aim of Dr. Reuss is to show that there is *no* list of canonical books which has ever been approved by proper authority, and that it is impossible to draw "an absolute distinction between the inspiration of all Christians and that of the sacred writers. . . . For theology to believe in the Bible means before all else to believe that it is revealed directly to heart and conscience" (p. 403). But how are the historical portions of the Bible, or such positive doctrines as that of the incarnation, direct revelations to the heart and conscience of men? Not long ago we heard a lecturer (who is also a voluminous writer on theological subjects) say that he was conscious of the truth of Christianity! Such use of language could not occur if the writers were well trained in mental philosophy. The aforesaid lecturer was not conscious of the truth of Christianity, but only that the complex evidence of its truth satisfied the demands of his reason. The revelation of God's plan of salvation is not directly to each man's heart and conscience, but indirect, through the Bible and the concurrent circumstances which commend it to our consideration. It is easier to prove the truthfulness of the Bible as a witness, than to prove independently of it the truth of its several statements and doctrines.

Dr. Reuss is also in error in saying that there is no scientific method in the ordinary proof of the canon. "We first accept," he says, "the Bible because we believe in the church that gives it to us, then we shall accept the church, because we believe in the Bible." But this is not reasoning in a circle, as the author supposes. We accept the testimony of the early church to the genuineness and authenticity of the various books of the New Testament because those were facts concerning which they were peculiarly fitted to bear testimony. One witness may know the handwriting of another without knowing all that the other would write. When the document is thus authenticated we draw information from the document itself rather than from the witness who transmits it to us. Nor is this an appeal from Scripture to tradition, but simply an appeal to an essential class of the evidences by which the truth of the Bible is established. All this, however, is merely to put the inexperienced on their guard. The facts

concerning the History of the Canon in the Christian Church are all in this volume of Dr. Reuss, but the reader should draw his *own* inferences from them rather than trust those of the author.

LIFE OF LUTHER. By Julius Köstlin. Translated from the German. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. pp. xv, 587. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

American readers are to be congratulated upon the numerous and valuable additions to the literature of Luther and the Reformation which have been made in connection with the Four Hundredth Anniversary of Luther's birth. It is to be hoped that we have seen as yet only the beginning of these added facilities. Especially do we desire soon to see in attractive English dress the larger work of Dr. Köstlin, in two volumes, on Martin Luther: his Life and Writings, published in 1875. The volume placed at the head of this notice is a popular sketch of the life of Luther, addressed "to the wide circle of what are called educated German readers." It uses the same materials as the larger work contains, but is an independent work, complete in itself. In a lively and clear narrative the personal life of the great Reformer is here presented in its successive stages. The numerous illustrations with which the volume is embellished add materially to its interest and value. Two things are especially to be noted in this work. In the first place we find here many new incidents in Luther's life, and a deeper realistic coloring attaches to every principal portion of his career as we follow this minute and perspicuous sketch. This is the chief and sufficient merit of the work. In the second place we find nothing here to change in any considerable degree that judgment respecting Luther's character and work and influence which has been forming through the centuries, and has become an integral part of our thoughts about the Reformation. We may thus conclude that there will be no occasion to recast our estimate of this great man, or materially to alter the supreme place that has been accorded to him among the forces of that stirring age. And it is a great satisfaction, amid the many rehabilitations of historic characters which our age is witnessing, to be assured that this great leader of the Reformation, in the full light of exhaustive biography, stands forth as high and majestic as the traditions of four centuries have sketched him to the thoughts of men.

The style of this work is charmingly simple and clear; and the translation is happily done, so as to yield us pure English, instead of the nameless hybrid which disfigures and obscures so many translations of German works.

A POPULAR COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 4 Vols. Vol. IV. The Catholic Epistles and Revelation. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 495. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The maps and illustrations promised in this series seem all to have come.

in the first three volumes; for there are none in this. As to matter, it is well adapted to the capacity of English readers, and is in the main judiciously prepared. Dr. Angus defends with more spirit, we think, than wisdom the Pauline authorship of Hebrews; as does Dr. Milligan of Aberdeen the late date (A.D. 95 or 96) of the Apocalypse, interpreting all the symbols as relating to principles rather than events, and regarding the book as taking no note of time whatsoever. "The book thus becomes to us not a history of either early, or mediæval, or last events written of before they happened, but a solemn warning to Christians that in every age they have to consider the signs of their own time; and that, if they are true to their profession, they will find themselves in one way or another in their Master's position, and needing to be animated and comforted by the thought that as he passed through suffering to glory, so shall they. In this sense the Apocalypse was most strictly applicable to St. John's own day, but it has been not less applicable in every age since then, and it will continue to apply with equal force to all ages that may be yet to come before the end" (Introduction to the Revelation of John, p. 25).

CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL HANDBOOK TO THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. By Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, Ph.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hanover. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German by Rev. John C. Moore, B.A., and Rev. Edwin Johnson, B.A. The Translation revised and edited by William P. Dickson, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. With a Preface and Supplementary Notes to the American Edition by Timothy Dwight, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches. pp. xxiii, 588. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1884.

The American publishers have conferred a great favor upon the public in offering them this work. First, because it is cheaper than the Edinburgh edition. Second, it contains all of that edition and considerable additions by Professor Dwight, which many readers will doubtless think the best part of the work. The influence of recent discussion in America is seen on page 106, where the editor goes out of his way to try to prove that Rom. ii. 6 is not fatal to the theory of a probation after death for the heathen.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW, TRANSLATED OUT OF THE GREEK: Being the Version set forth A.D. 1611, Compared with the most Ancient Authorities, and Revised A.D. 1881. Phonetic Edition. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. p. 69, xvi. St. Louis: T. R. Vickroy. 1883.

It seems to be agreed among philologists that our language is badly spelled. Professor Max Müller testifies that the present system of spelling is "corrupt, effete, and utterly irrational"; and Professor W. D. Whitney adds that "every theoretical and practical consideration makes in favor"

of reform. What gives practical importance to the matter is the claim that experiment has shown that half the time now required for learning to read might be saved could a scientific spelling be introduced. For with all that we are now doing in an educational way the flood of illiteracy is rising upon us. There were one million one hundred and sixty-seven thousand voters who could not read and write in the late slave-holding states in 1870, and in 1880 this number was found to have actually increased by two hundred thousand.

In these circumstances we may expect to see an increasing number of schemes for the phonetic representation of the English language offered to the public. The little book before us presents a system the fruit of many years of enthusiastic study on the part of its author, Professor T. R. Vickroy, Ph.D., of St. Louis. The forms of the new letters proposed are in general pleasing, the page clear and attractive, and many of the chief difficulties of the problem seem ingeniously and successfully met. An appendix of sixteen pages explains the system.

THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Dr. Gustav Friedrich Oehler, late Professor Ordinarius of Theology, and Ephorus of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Tübingen. A Revision of the Translation in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, with the Additions of the Second German Edition, an Introduction and Notes, by George E. Day, Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature and Biblical Theology in Yale College. 7×4½ inches. pp. xix, 593. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1883.

When public attention is concentrated upon the Old Testament, and when so much that is ill-considered and certain to shipwreck the faith of many is daily printed and read, the appearance of a new and greatly improved edition of this learned, profound, and judicious work is most timely. A comprehensive view of the Old Testament reduces to their proper insignificance those difficulties which, when placed in the foreground of investigation, appear so large. Dr. Schaff has not spoken too strongly in pronouncing Oehler's work the best in this department. While not always able to accept the author's views (e.g. in recognizing a deutero-Isaiah), we heartily commend the work as a whole to all students of the Old Testament.

CHRIST PREACHING TO SPIRITS IN PRISON: or Christ's Preaching to the Dead explained by the Change from the Inferior to the Celestial Paradise. By William DeLoss Love. 5½×3½ inches. pp. 167. Boston: Published for the author by the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, Congregational House. 1883.

The theory defended by Dr. Love is: 1. That the state of the righteous dead under the old dispensation, was less blessed than that into which

the righteous enter at death in the new, — in fact, that before Christ's death the righteous dead were in a condition of actual gloom. The Old Testament saints never contemplate death with that exultation characteristic of New Testament saints like Stephen and Paul. 2. That some of the antediluvians to whom Noah preached repented before death, and that Christ after his crucifixion found them in the inferior paradise (not Gehenna), and proclaimed to them, in company with all the Old Testament saints, the character and completion of his work. Dr. Love does not suppose it was preaching the gospel in the ordinary sense.

Dr. Love's argument is drawn out with great care and with attention to all subsidiary points. While we are not convinced of the correctness of the author's main position, we recommend the book as containing a satisfactory and complete answer to all attempts to draw out of this celebrated passage the doctrine of future probation.

THE LORD'S PRAYER: A Practical Meditation. By Newman Hall. pp. xii, 463. New York: Scribner and Welford. 1883.

This comely volume is one of the best treatises we have ever seen upon the subject. It is devout in spirit, suggestive, quickening, practical. The fact that the theme is an old one, upon which a multitude of volumes have been written, makes it none the worse, but all the better, since by reason of it the author has been able to enrich his book with more ample fruits of learning. It is like a hive filled with sweets gathered from many different fields. "My theme is old," the author says, "but so comprehensive and important that its interest is ever new. The quarry, however diligently worked, is inexhaustible; but its most valuable treasures are most readily found, and are public property. . . . Every age is enriched by inheritance. The stream becomes fuller the farther it flows. Thus, to compensate the lack of novelty in the theme, I have not hesitated to profit by the labors of predecessors, both by quotation (in every case indicated), and by suggestion."

The introductory chapter, which discusses the reasonableness, the benefits, and the method of prayer is particularly valuable. So, likewise, is the chapter upon the Divine Fatherhood, and that upon the Kingdom of God. The style of the author is clear, precise, and well adorned with illustrations, without being too ornate. The book is printed in large, clear type, and is a good specimen of the book-maker's art.

CERTITUDE, PROVIDENCE, AND PRAYER. By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., D.L., President of Princeton College. Philosophic Series, No. IV. Paper covers. 6 × 3½ inches. pp. 46. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The portion of this tract relating to prayer appeared in a weekly paper some years ago. It seems to us an unsatisfactory solution of the mystery

of prayer to say, as the author does, that the petition and the answer have both been predestined from eternity.

THINGS NEW AND OLD. Discourses of Christian Truth and Life. By Washington Gladden, LL.D. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. 228. Columbus: A. H. Smythe. 1883.

Here are nineteen sermons, covering a wide range of topics, and fairly exhibiting the author's method of treatment, literary style, and conceptions of religious faith and doctrine. These discourses are all very readable, well calculated to arrest and hold one's interest, and pervaded in a high degree by that cast of thought and warmth of sentiment which mark excellence in public address. Illustrations abound, drawn from many sources, with an obvious preference for the scenes and facts of nature and the physical world. The moral impression of every discourse is good, and in some cases it rises to great beauty and power.

The theological bent of the author is neither thrust before the reader nor studiously concealed. The best kind of liberal thought on doctrinal points, touched and restrained by natural conservatism, is present everywhere; and doctrine is rigidly made subordinate to practical ends. The sermons must have been impressive from the pulpit, as they are edifying in the perusal.

THE GUIDING HAND: or Providential Direction illustrated by Authentic Instances. Recorded and collected by H. L. Hastings, Editor of *The Christian*. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. 382. London: S. Bagster and Sons; Boston: H. L. Hastings. 1883.

EBENEZERS: or Records of Prevailing Prayer. Written and selected by H. L. Hastings, Editor of *The Christian*. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. 382. London: S. Bagster and Sons; Boston: H. L. Hastings. 1883.

These two volumes are made up from short articles which have appeared from time to time in *The Christian* — a weekly paper of which Mr. Hastings is editor. The incidents are striking, and will doubtless remind every reader of many half-forgotten critical periods in his own history where infinitesimal influences have determined his destiny. He who disbelieves in prayer because he thinks answers to it involve extravagant changes in the course of nature is a poor philosopher. Man disturbs the course of nature more by digging and planting than he is ever supposed in these last days to do by praying. There is no scientific objection to the efficiency of prayer that does not apply equally to the efficiency of free-will in disturbing nature.

BEYOND THE GATES. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. 196. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1884.

This little volume bears the well-known marks of its author's genius in the originality of its conceptions and in the felicity of its style. The plot

is very simple. The spirit of an invalid, in a trance, is conceived to pass through death into the spiritual world, and to enter into the varied realities of that invisible sphere. Upon awaking out of the trance, this record of the things there seen and heard and felt is given.

The subject is so difficult, the ground so uncertain, as to deter any but the most courageous from attempting it. The result is as satisfactory as any such effort of the pure fancy could well be; and readers will enjoy the work very much in proportion to their natural relish for the products of the fancy. We doubt not that to some this sketch will afford positive comfort and reassuring hope. Probably a greater number will peruse it with an amused interest, and will lay it aside with doubts as to the influence of all such discussions.

ELEMENTS OF HEBREW by an Inductive Method. By Wm. R. Harper, Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages, Chicago Baptist Union Theological Seminary. Fourth Edition, enlarged and revised. Chicago: American Publication Society of Hebrew.

This manual has been prepared for his own classes by an enthusiastic teacher, who is doing a unique and remarkably extensive work in promoting the study of Hebrew. It embodies the results of a wide and successful experience in teaching the language.

BIBLICAL LIGHTS AND SIDE-LIGHTS. A Cyclopaedia of Ten Thousand Illustrations and Thirty Thousand Cross-References. By Rev. Charles E. Little. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ inches. pp. iv, 632. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1883.

THIRTY THOUSAND THOUGHTS. Edited by Rev. Canon Spence, Rev. J. S. Exell, Rev. C. Neill, and Rev. J. Stevenson. With an Introduction by Dr. Howson, Dean of Chester. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. xii, 539. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1884.

The full titles of these works sufficiently define their character. The execution of the plans is good, and examination of the books has done much to overcome a standing prejudice we have had against the class to which they belong. The one thing lacking in the *Thirty Thousand Thoughts* is, distinct references to the volumes and pages from which the numerous quotations are taken.

A DAY IN ATHENS WITH SOCRATES: Translations from the *Protagoras* and the *Republic* of Plato. 16mo. pp. 145. Paper Covers. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

These dialogues are brought together to present, through the medium of Plato's marvellous dramatic power, a vivid picture "of the age in which Socrates and Plato lived and taught." The selections are well suited to the purpose. A charming preface prepares the reader's mind.

The Greek is faithfully rendered in an English style which is clear and expressive and decidedly Platonic. A careful comparison of this translation with the original Greek and with the standard versions will suggest many a reason for retaining the study of Greek as a means of culture. The volume, though so cheap, is very tasteful.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

In the Series of volumes devoted to *American Men of Letters*, we have received the Memoir of WASHINGTON IRVING. By Charles Dudley Warner. 12mo. pp. vi and 304. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1881; of NOAH WEBSTER. By Horace E. Scudder. 12mo. pp. vi and 302. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1882; of HENRY D. THOREAU. By F. B. Sanborn. 12mo. pp. 324, from the same Publishers and Press; also from the same, the Memoir of JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. 12mo. pp. 306. 1883.

In the Series of volumes devoted to *American Statesmen*, we have received the Memoir of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By John P. Morse, Jr. 12mo. pp. 315. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1882.

All these volumes are fitted to exert an excellent influence. We could wish to see in the Memoirs of Mr. Webster and Mr. Adams a fuller account of their religious character. The record of Thoreau is the record of a genius. Allowance is to be made for his eccentricities.

THE RIVERSIDE SHAKESPEARE. The Text newly Edited with Glossarial, Historical, and Explanatory Notes. By Richard Grant White. 3 vols. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. pp. xlvii, 884, 928, 1027. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1883.

OREGON. The Struggle for Possession. By William Barrows, D.D. American Commonwealths. Edited by Horace E. Scudder. $3 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. viii, 363. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1884.

HISTORY OF PRUSSIA. To the Accession of Frederic the Great, 1134-1740. By Herbert Tuttle, Professor in Cornell University. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. pp. xv, 498. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1884.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY IN ITS THREE GREAT PERIODS. Third Period, Modern Phases. By Joseph Henry Allen, late Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. pp. vii, 319. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883.

PREPARATORY LATIN COURSE IN ENGLISH. The After-School Series. By William Cleaver Wilkinson. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. New York: Phillips and Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden and Stowe. 1883.

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LIFE OF CHRIST The Life of our Lord in the Words of the Gospels. By Frederic Gardiner, D.D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School. 16mo. pp. 256. \$1.00.

"It is well adapted to the convenience of pastors, to the needs of teachers in the Bible-class and Sabbath-school, to the religious instruction of families. It bids fair to introduce improvements into the style of teaching the Bible to the young." — *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

"This little volume will not only answer as a Harmony of the Gospels for the use of those who only can have results, but it will be an excellent book to read at family prayers, or to study with a Bible-class." — *Christian Union*.

Books Published by W. F. Draper.

WINER'S N. T. GRAMMAR. A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament; prepared as a Solid Basis for the Interpretation of the New Testament. By DR. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Seventh Edition, enlarged and improved. By DR. GOTTLIEB LÜNEMANN, Professor of Theology at the University of Göttingen. Revised and authorized Translation. 8vo. pp. 744. Cloth, \$4.00; sheep, \$5.00; half goat, \$6.75.

"Prof. Thayer exhibits the most scholarly and pains-taking accuracy in all his work, especial attention being given to references and Indexes, on which the value of such a work so much depends. The Indexes alone fill eighty-six pages. The publisher's work is handsomely done, and we cannot conceive that a better Winer should be for many years to come accessible to American scholars."—*Princeton Review*.

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ARTICLE I.

UNITY AND GENUINENESS OF DEUTERONOMY.

BY PROF. EDWIN C. BISSELL, D.D., HARTFORD, CT.

THE surprise awakened by recent archaeological discoveries in Assyria and Egypt has left, as yet, little opportunity for gauging their proper scientific and religious value. That they are to be accorded a place of increasing prominence in the province of biblical criticism there can be no doubt. To have, in addition to Moses and the prophets, the testimony of such as have risen from the dead is a favor not granted to every age. The tone of assumption might well grow milder and the hand of violence less hasty in the presence of witnesses like these.

We read with less patience an hypothetical history of Israel dating simply from the period of the judges, with the store-houses of Pithom and their Exodus product, of bricks with straw and bricks without straw, just rising from the dust before us. We spare ourselves the strained attention needful to follow a fine-spun argument designed to prove the barbarity of the Mosaic period, with a voluminous literature in hand reaching back to the patriarch Noah, and representing in developed form every species of composition known to the Bible. We have something tangible with which to resolve, at least to make credible, many a so-called myth of Genesis in the diluvian slabs of our museums, covered with a contemporaneous literature, and artistic seals before us

which were worn by gentlemen of Ur of the Chaldees before the days of Abraham. We rise up, in short, from the reading of such a book as Sayce's *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*,¹ Schrader's "*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,"² or Hommel's volumes on "*Die Semiten und ihre Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte*,"³ or the works of Brugsch-Bey and Ebers on Egypt, with the feeling that notwithstanding the scholarly equipment and stubborn confidence of those assailing the historical genuineness of the Pentateuch, its defenders have no occasion to be daunted. As often before, the earth is helping the woman.⁴ Deductions have been based on a far from complete induction. The goddess Isis is represented on the Egyptian monuments with the *cruz ansata*, or sign of life, in her right hand, and in her left, as a wand, a papyrus stem.⁵ And who shall say to what honor the humble papyrus leaf and its companion witnesses may yet come in the hands of that Providence which began with the beginning, and will go on with its great purposes to the end of human history?

Moreover, if the course of Old Testament criticism be followed from its inception to the present time a similar impression will be made by no small part of it of inconsequent claims and preposterous conclusions. And to this characterization the Book of Deuteronomy offers no exception. It was English deism that first set afloat the theory that the work was the product of the seventh century, an

¹ The Religious Tract Society (London, 1884). This author remarks (Preface, p. 3): "The same spirit of scepticism which had rejected the early legends of Greece and Rome had laid its hands on the Old Testament, and had determined that the sacred histories themselves were but a collection of myths and fables. But suddenly, as with the wand of a magician, the ancient eastern world has been re-awakened to life by the spade of the explorer and the patient skill of the decipherer, and now we find ourselves in the presence of monuments which bear the names or recount the deeds of the heroes of Scripture. One by one these 'stones crying out' have been examined or more perfectly explained, while others of equal importance are being continually added to them."

² Leipsic, 1881, 2^{te} Aufl., 1883.

³ Leipsic, from 1881.

⁴ Rev. xii. 16.

⁵ Wilson, *The Egypt of the Past* (London, 1881), p. 15.

essential forgery of the subtle priest Hilkiah.¹ And for more than a century since there is scarcely an hypothesis from A to Z that has not been inquisitively tried upon it; but only to leave the criticism of to-day as widely divergent as ever in its opinions.

At the beginning of the present century Vater assigned the book to the period of the Exile.² De Wette, the several editions of whose Introduction to the Old Testament are a literary curiosity in the variety of views they have from time to time represented, finally, like his English predecessor, fixed upon the period of king Josiah as the date of its completion and surreptitious introduction, excepting some minor portions thought to be products of the Assyrian period.³ Stähelin held that the author of Deuteronomy was the same person who worked over the fundamental Elohim document — now called the Priest's Code — extending through the first four books of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and that he brought the whole Hexateuch to its present state during the reign of Saul.⁴ Bleek⁵ advocated somewhat similar views, but maintained that Deuteronomy was composed by a later independent editor — not the Jehovist — who closed up his labors with this production about the time of Manasseh. The Song of Moses (xxxii.) was written, he claimed, by some poet of the time of Ahaz or Hezekiah. There was nothing whatever in the book, he averred, or in any part of the Pentateuch, to justify the theory of its composition as late as the Exile. It was, in fact, the whole Hexateuch that was found in the temple by the priest Hilkiah. Movers,⁶ in an exhaustive monograph, demonstrated the utter groundlessness of the supposition that Deuteronomy was a forgery of king Josiah's time. Ewald⁷ was of the opinion that the first thirty

¹ Parvish, *Inquiry into the Jewish and Christian Revelation* (London, 1739), p. 324.

² *Com. über den Pent.* (1805), Vol. iii. pp. 391–728.

³ *Einleit.*, Achte Ausgabe, p. 323.

⁴ *Studien und Kritiken* (1835), p. 462 f.; *Specielle Einleit.* (1862), pp. 22–34.

⁵ *Einleit.* (1878), p. 105 f.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1834, 1835.

⁷ *Geschichte d. Volkes Is.* (1843, 3^{te} Aufl. 1864), i. 96 f. et passim.

chapters of the work were written by some person in the time of Manasseh ; the remaining chapters being a composite, but of not much later date. Knobel¹ adopted the theory that the author of Deuteronomy (i.-xxxi. 14) was the one who wrote also a large part of Joshua, and brought the whole Hexateuch to its present state not earlier than the reign of Josiah.

It will be noticed that up to this point the drift of sentiment — a drift it should be called — is almost altogether in the direction of making Deuteronomy the youngest portion of the Pentateuch. It is well represented by Bleek, who says:² "It may be held as certain that the Deuteronomic laws, together with the addresses they contain, as, indeed, the whole of Deuteronomy from the beginning, was written with reference to the preceding history of the people and the legislation of Moses, and to continue and supplement it. And it is decidedly false to hold with Vater, von Bohlen, Vatke, and George that Deuteronomy with the laws it contains is older than the foregoing books with their legislation." And yet, to-day, this camp of Bleek and his illustrious compeers — DeWette, Ewald, and others — is confronted by a large body of scholars, marshalled by the latest editor of Bleek's Introduction, who confidently assert the direct opposite of that so confidently asseverated by these acknowledged masters of Old Testament criticism.

Re-enforced by Graf, Kuenen, Kayser, Wellhausen, and many more, the condemned theory of Vater and Vatke is now in the ascendant. And while the hypothesis of the origin of the Deuteronomic legislation a great while after the age of Moses is retained, it is made, with a slight exception, the introduction to, and not the conclusion of, the Pentateuchal codes ; while its historical portions are relegated to that convenient limbo of all otherwise unorganized material, the time of the Exile. Is it a better scholarship, or a sharper critical acumen that has brought about so radical and revolu-

¹ *Commentar* (Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zum A.T., 1861), p. 579 f.

² *Einleit.*, *ibid.*, p. 107.

tionary a change of front? We venture to suggest that it is the growing influence of the doctrine of naturalistic development. The fathers of Old Testament criticism held in no mean estimation the sacred Scriptures themselves as something to be considered, reverently studied, deferred to.¹ Their sons, it would almost seem, carried away by the subtle but imperious spirit of their time can see nothing, venerate nothing, save their Procrustean hypothesis of historical evolution.

Moreover, we find just as little essential harmony among the later scholars as among the earlier; perhaps there is even less of it. They are not agreed on the question whether Deuteronomy is a priestly or a prophetic document; whether it was forged in the time of the early kings or only found then; whether it is essentially a unit in its history and laws, or the historical portions were framed about the laws by some Exilian expert in literary appropriations and adaptations; whether its laws, as now extant, came from one hand or have been considerably modified in their transmission; whether some of the book is Mosaic, by way of oral tradition, or none of it; whether it claims to be from the lawgiver of the Exodus, or makes no such claim; whether, if it be not what it purports to be, it is to be regarded as a gross offence against morality, or one to be readily condoned as simply a *legal* fiction, in the sense of Roman jurisprudence, and, as we suppose, of Roman morals. In such a state of things there is clearly, as yet, no logical obligation laid upon us to leave the old moorings. There is one thing to be dreaded even more than conservatism, and that is chaos. We accordingly proceed to inquire whether it be not possible on other principles, lying near at hand and scientific in their nature,—using that word in its truest sense and not as a shibboleth,—to reach results before which a candid judgment will readily bow.

First, then, there are abundant, and abundantly satisfac-

¹ De Wette's remark (as quoted by Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 3): "I did not begin the criticism. Now that it has begun its dangerous game, it must be played through; for only that is good which is perfect of its kind," is reverence itself compared with some of Wellhausen's utterances.

tory, grounds for maintaining the literary and material unity of the Book of Deuteronomy. It is a remarkable example of it in its outward form. One might be safely challenged to point to another book of the Bible that is more so. The few verses of introduction are singularly appropriate (i. 1-5) and so detailed as it respects dates and places, amounting almost to a species of literary triangulation, that it scarcely offers a choice between a theory of honest history and egregious, not to say impossible, invention. It tells just where the Israelites were when these addresses were uttered, fixing the spot, as I have said, with little less than geometric exactitude by references to half a dozen other places in the neighborhood. It gives the year of the wilderness wanderings, the month, and even the day of the month, in noticeable, though clearly undesigned, coincidence with other important chronological data of the history. The crossing of the Jordan was on the tenth of Abib of the following year (Josh. iv. 19). The previous month had been spent in mourning for the departed chief (Deut. xxxiv. 8). Hence ten, full, solemn days are left for the delivery of the great discourses of our book. The whole is popular, hortatory, retrospective, and spiritually elevating, nowhere falling below the key struck in the opening announcement: "These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel."

The first address (i. 6-iv. 43) is a pertinent review of the salient points in the history of the preceding forty years, especially in its bearing on the present emergency. It looks and points directly forward to the following section, and is logically and indissolubly bound to it by continual and emphatic reference under the title of "this law," "these statutes" (i. 5; iv. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 14, 44) although being itself, in this part, solely a *résumé* of well-known historical events. It ends with Moses' selection of the three trans-Jordanic refuge cities, serving at once as the fulfilment of a promise (Ex. xxi. 13) and a pledge of heroic faith that their counterparts beyond the flood would also be achieved (Deut. xix. 1-13). The entire discourse in its present form might easily have been spoken in half an hour.

The second address (iv. 44–xxvi.), forming the kernel of the book and a little more than three times as long as the first, occupies itself mostly with a free recapitulation, in popular form, of earlier enactments, but with such modifications and timely additions as prove the hand of the Master.¹

The third discourse (xxvii.–xxx.) forms as naturally the conclusion of the second as the first had formed its introduction. There the choice of the refuge cities witnessed to the heroic faith of Moses. Here the imposing ceremonial appointed for Ebal and Gerizim proves his moral earnestness and high prerogative as the lawgiver of his people. Seconded now by the elders, and again by the priests and Levites, he sets forth in words that echo and re-echo in every subsequent period of Jewish history the fact that God's laws have a reverse as well as an obverse side; that the divine covenant was, indeed, a hope and an encouragement, but was also a responsibility and a warning.

Then, in the following chapter (xxxi.), this grand old man, with a touching allusion to his infirmities and approaching death, in the presence of the people impressively passes over into the hands of his successor his great trust, and at the same time delivers with suitable instructions to the priests a copy of what he calls "this law." Up to this point what could be more obvious than a complete oneness of design and representation throughout our book. The beginning (i. 3, 5) looks forward to the end; and the end while taking up the very epithets and phrases of the beginning carries on its thought to the only possible climax. It is, in short, the unity of nature, of inward logical dependence and sequence, and no uniformity forced upon it from without. And to this unity the two following chapters (xxxii., xxxiii.) containing Moses' Song, and Moses' Blessing, make certainly no inter-

¹ Delitzsch (Curtiss, *Levitical Priests*, Preface, p. 9) with his usual sagacity has noted this fact, and speaks of the "psychological truth" of these "testamentary addresses, the freshness and richness of the Egyptian reminiscences, the freedom with which the author reproduces historical incidents, laws, and above all, the Decalogue, a freedom which is scarcely conceivable except on the supposition that the speaker was the lawgiver himself."

ruption. They rather grow out of the circumstances that go before, as the flower from its bud. They are strictly Deuteronomic in the best sense of the word, and fittingly crown the work. And both are documentarily claimed as utterances of Moses just prior to his climbing of Nebo on his way to the better Canaan. And finally, the closing sections of the book (xxxiv.) by some other sympathetic hand, that tell how Moses died and was buried according to the word of the Lord, and how the people mourned for him, and what they thought of him, form a conclusion for the whole that is as fitting as it is moving and beautiful.

But no less than in its literary structure the Book of Deuteronomy is a unit in its language and style. I am aware how uncertain arguments based on the mere coloring of language have come to be regarded. Undoubtedly too much weight has sometimes been attributed to them. But, in the present case, the fact is so patent that the scholar has little advantage over the unlearned, if he be an observant, reader. Still, the testimony of acknowledged masters in biblical criticism may serve to strengthen the impression which even a cursory reading of the book cannot fail to make.

Of these authorities Bleek deservedly stands among the foremost for candor and scholarship. And it is with a refreshing confidence of tone that he expresses himself on this point: ¹ "This book in general," he says, "offers unmistakably a greater unity of representation and of substance than the foregoing. This is true especially of the longer addresses, the didactic, as well as the legislative portions (i.-iv. 40; iv. 44-xxvi.; xxviii. xxx.). These parts are so much alike in language and all characteristic features that we may accept it as certain—and, moreover, there is scarcely any dispute about it—that they were, generally speaking, composed in the form in which they now lie before us by one and the same writer."

So Dillmann,² with no less assurance and directness, al-

¹ Einleit., p. 106.

² Die Bücher Ex. u. Levit (Kurzgefasstes Handbuch), Vorwort, pp. vii, viii.

though writing twenty years later, and from a different point of view : "Deuteronomy is anything rather than an original book of the law. On the contrary, it is a new didactic recommendation and explanation of the old law for the people. Nothing is gained by sundering chaps. xii.-xxvi. from the rest of the book ; for here, too, there is everywhere manifest the same spirit, the same language, and the same purpose as throughout."

Delitzsch,¹ likewise, while still holding, notwithstanding the separate conclusions that have been drawn from it, the hypothesis of desperate, determinable documents in the Pentateuch, considers that "the style of Deuteronomy marks it off indubitably as something unique and entire in itself." "Deuteronomy," he says, "to its close is cast in one mould. The historical connections, conclusions, transitions, statements have the same coloring as the addresses. The addresses are freely reproduced, and the reproducer is identical in person with him who composed the historical framework and the intermediate historical portions. In a similar manner, if in a less degree, this unity of coloring extends through Deuteronomy proper, that is, chaps. xii.-xxvi., containing the repetition of the law. All the constituent parts of the book, not excepting the legislative, are interwoven with expressions favorite with the work and peculiar to it."

And Kleinert, in his well-known monograph on our book,² remarks : "The literary peculiarities of the law in Deuteronomy are at the same time peculiarities of the [historical] framework ; and precisely the same literary individuality that confronts us in chaps. v.-xxvi. makes itself felt as well in chap. i.-iv., as also in parts subsequent to chap. xxvii. The same didactic tone, there as here, pervades the discourse." It is true that Kleinert and the others mentioned support no one view of the origin and date of the work. It is true that their opinions are not uniform as respects its concluding portions. But as against the *ipse dixit* of current theorists,

¹ Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft, etc. (1880), p. 504

² Das Deuteronomium, p. 160.

who have come to assume it as proved that Deuteronomy is simply block-work throughout, where sandstone from the Exile is found side by side with the granite and gneiss of earlier periods, it should be decisive. As well in the strikingly logical arrangement of its everywhere harmonious material as in the confessed coloring of vocabulary and style, the work, in its main features, is a demonstrable unity.

In the second place, it can be confidently maintained that, whoever penned the Book of Deuteronomy as amanuensis or historiographer, if its own clear and continually repeated testimony is to be accepted, Moses is responsible both for its substance and literary form. It does not simply belong to his time; it actually originated with him. It is essentially the product of his divinely illuminated mind, is thoroughly penetrated by his spirit, and in outward arrangement still carries throughout the peculiar individual impression he left upon it. It would surprise one unacquainted with the subject to know how large a portion of the book is put directly into the mouth of the lawgiver, and is represented to be spoken by him. By actual enumeration of verses, it makes fifteen sixteenths of the whole matter. Out of nearly a thousand verses, there are but about sixty that are not in the form of direct address, that is, that do not purport to be the word-for-word utterances of Moses himself. If the first thirty chapters be taken by themselves, the relative disproportion is much more marked; the average of introductory or explanatory material to what remains being only about that of a single verse to a chapter. All of the rest might be included in quotation marks.

It is by no means assumed that Moses was not also the author of a part at least of this subsidiary material. But the attention is now invited to the extraordinary form in which almost the whole book appears. The space required for introducing the speaker, stating the circumstances under which his series of addresses took place, and what occurred after they were over is the least possible, it would seem, for perspicuity. The rest comes under the simple rubric:

"These are the words which Moses spake to all Israel" (i. 1), or something of that nature. The name of the law-giver is found thirty seven times in the book, and in the great majority of cases it is introduced with the special purpose of connecting him authoritatively with its matter. The strictly legislative portion (xii.-xxvi.) shares this peculiarity equally with the historical; the first person being used without exception. Omitting the last chapter, describing what took place after Moses relinquished his leadership, there are less than half a dozen exceptions to this uniform classification of the contents. Everything else is stamped and sealed, as it were, by such words as, "Moses spoke," "Moses commanded," "The Lord said to Moses." It is a remarkable circumstance, and one which cannot be overlooked or evaded in any worthy discussion of the genuineness of Deuteronomy. If the person to whom we are indebted for the book as we now have it, whoever he may have been, had deliberately set out to place beyond all dispute the question of Mosaic responsibility for its contents, it would be hard to say how he could have stated it more carefully or wisely.

But this is not all. Not only is Moses made responsible for the substance of the book of Deuteronomy, he is equally so for its literary construction and expression. It is declared that he wrote it (xxxi. 9, 24), and wrote it "to the end" — an addition of no slight importance. It is true that the term employed is "this law," "this book of the law." Still, there ought to be no uncertainty on that account, considering the form in which the work is cast, its own usage as it respects this very term, and the admitted unity of language and style throughout. The whole book up to this point is meant. Moreover, the so-called "Song of Moses" (xxxii.) cannot be excluded. Of this, too, it is said that Moses wrote it at God's command, and taught it to the children of Israel (xxxi. 22). Of the blessing with which it is declared that "Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death," it is nowhere specifically announced, indeed, that he also composed it and left it in a written form. The cir-

cumstances, however, leave scarcely any other inference open. He was not a man to recite another's composition on such an occasion. And if he thought it needful permanently to shape and fix the foregoing historical and legislative records, and was concerned not to leave them to the uncertainties of oral tradition, he would not think it less needful to do it with this series of predictions, whose fine shading of thought might be still more easily obscured and lost.

In saying now, however, that we have the authority of Deuteronomy that Moses composed and wrote Deuteronomy, we do not say, necessarily, that it teaches that it is actually his autograph; it may or may not be that. The Epistles ascribed to Paul are no less truly his, and were no less certainly written by him, because his own hand was not mechanically employed on many of them. It is simply meant that the Book of Deuteronomy makes the claim that it is Mosaic in its present literary plan and structure; but *this is* meant. And it is more, and is clearly intended to be more, than saying that the book is substantially Mosaic, gets its authority, under God, from Moses. It means that it *was* written under his eye, and received his approval as correctly reporting his utterances, which make up almost the whole of it. And it is not without significance that after authoritatively connecting the lawgiver so many times by name with the general contents of the work, and then ascribing to him the writing of it to the end, it is further stated that the book thus completed was by him formally committed to the custody of the Levites for preservation beside the ark (xxxi. 24 f.). How in the face of all this circumstantial detail, whose truthfulness as a whole or in any particular there is not the slightest historical ground for questioning, one can still say that Deuteronomy makes no claim to be the work of Moses, it is not easy to understand. Or, admitting that such a claim is made, and so made, as well by implication as direct statement, over and over, in every part, conspicuously, emphatically, one can hold that it is simply for effect, and *was* never intended to represent a fact, is quite as inexplicable.

Why, it may be asked, if this were the case, is there nowhere discoverable in earlier or later Jewish history the shadow of a tradition that language is here used with so unheard of a license? Is it credible that the whole Jewish race from Moses to Jesus Christ can have conspired to pose before the world in so false a character, and that too in the face of a statute for which mankind is confessedly their debtor: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor"? Is it likely that any small portion of it colluded to hoodwink the rest, and succeeded in doing it so far as to make them believe that they themselves had been eye-witnesses of various great events during a long period of years of which they were as ignorant as the man in the moon? "We saw," says the speaker,—you as well as I,—"the sons of the Anakim" (i. 28). "In the wilderness thou didst see how the Lord did bare thee as a man doth bear his son (i. 31). "And I instructed Joshua at that time" [mark! Joshua, the man who succeeded Moses], "saying, Thine eyes have seen all that the Lord did to these two kings" (iii. 21). Again, alluding to specific circumstances, "Your eyes have seen all that the Lord did because of Baal-Peor" (iv. 3; cf. Num. xxv. 3). And not only does the writer assume and affirm, but he denies the opposite: "I speak not to your children, who have not known and who have not seen the chastisement of the Lord your God, his greatness, his mighty hand, and his outstretched arm" (xi. 2). And near the end of the book, as well (xxix. 3-5): "Ye have seen all that the Lord did before your eyes, the great temptations, the signs, and those great miracles. . . . And I have led you forty years in the wilderness." Four times, and in each of the three leading sections (ii. 7; viii. 4; xxix. 4), the length of time spent by Israel in the eventful journey from Egypt is alluded to.¹ If this be invention, it matters not in what

¹ It is true that elsewhere a whole generation is said to have fallen in the wilderness (cf. Num. xxvi. 64, 65). It was, however, only the males over twenty years of age who had been put under the ban (Num. i. 3, 45, 49). The Levites had been exempt as well as the women and youth. So that the congregation was still identical with that which left Egypt.

king's reign, or under what prophetic or priestly sanction it was concocted; its impudence and dishonesty are only equalled by the stupidity of the people that did not discover that it was so, or discovering and knowing it, have never made a sign that they accepted it otherwise than as literal fact.

It is claimed, however, that there are indubitable marks of a later origin stamped on the book itself — anachronisms, contradictions, incidental remarks, geographical, ethnographical, or explanatory — that, whatever else may appear to favor a Mosaic origin, point to a period long subsequent to his day for its composition; at least, for the form in which it now appears. It may be well to consider here these objections, as far as they relate to the historical portions of Deuteronomy,¹ before adducing additional reasons in support of Mosaic authorship. Still, let it be understood that it is not regarded as a matter of superlative importance. The fly on the elephant's back does not detract from the majesty of the elephant.

It may be acknowledged at the outset, without yielding an iota as it concerns the main point at issue, that our book has some scraps of supplementary material; as, for example, to mention the principal one, the twelve verses of the closing chapter. And here and there a remark is thrown in, possibly editorial, or of the nature of what might originally have been a gloss, which, because there was no other place to put it, has found its way into the text. But every such case bears unmistakable witness to itself. There is just as little danger, in our book, of confounding this subsidiary matter with the body of the work as there would be if it appeared in another character, or was printed in a different color. As already noticed, fifteen sixteenths of Deuteronomy is in the form of direct address; the name of the speaker being in every instance given, and being in every instance the same. To cite these exceptions, therefore, as evidence that a fictitious writer of a later day has unwittingly betrayed himself, is to make a simpleton of the writer. Either he meant to conceal

¹ The laws have been examined in previous articles. See *Bibliotheca Sacra* for Oct. 1883, and for January of this year.

his identity, or he did not. If he did, and carelessly dropped into this method of speaking, it was an example of imbecility wholly unworthy of the author of a book like this. If he did not mean to conceal his identity, but to have it understood that he was some writer subsequent to Moses, then he just as certainly meant to have it understood that only for the occasional remarks appearing as such to the dullest intellect is he responsible, and that they are in no sense or degree intended to touch the question of the proper authorship of the book, which in more than a score of cases is directly imputed to Moses.

This supplementary matter, however, it is to be carefully noticed, insignificant as it is in amount, — making up, if we omit the concluding sections, but two per cent of the whole, — is far from being of one character. The most of it is in the form of introductory statements or historical reminiscences, quite pertinent to the context, and differing from it only in the one circumstance that it is expressed in the third person, instead of the first. If it did not originate with Moses, there is no intimation or proof that it did not. The mere fact that he is represented as one spoken of, instead of speaking, — the analogy of other biblical books being the standard, — is wholly unimportant. What is actually given out as spoken by Moses *in propria persona* could not be so represented without some such narrative portions. It is not the handle of the knife that cuts; but the handle is no unnecessary means in the process. Whether, therefore, Moses is to be directly chargeable with such prefatory remarks as “These are the words which Moses spake (i. 1 f.); “This is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel” (iv. 44); “Moses called unto all Israel, and said unto them” (v. 1), and some other like things, is only of the slightest consequence in its bearing on the question of the genuineness of Deuteronomy. He surely may have been the author of them for all that anybody knows to the contrary. Inherent improbability arising from their contents and form there is none. But when these parts are subtracted from the one sixteenth of the book not included

in addresses positively ascribed to Moses, the residuum is scarcely worth disputing about. It cannot, as already intimated, fairly be made a ground of dispute, if it be agreed that it is of the nature of later editorial additions, but only as it is understood to represent the writer of the book. And then we have the question to settle, Is it of such a character as to misrepresent a Moses of the Exodus?

In the first chapter, for example, the remark in verse 2, "There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea"; and in verse 11, "The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times as many as ye are, and bless you as he hath promised you," are obviously parenthetical. The latter may have been uttered by the author of the work; the former is somewhat less likely to have been. Still, even such a remark would not have been without its force on his lips, as showing that a journey of eleven days, about one hundred and sixty-five miles, had been prolonged on account of Israel's intractableness, to one of many toilsome years. But if any one is disposed to object to such an explanation as forced, let it pass. There is really too little involved to require a discussion. Let it be supposed — it is as fair a supposition as any other — that some later hand, some editor, even as late a one as Ezra, made the addition, as he would no doubt feel that he had a perfect right to do; it would not prove the Book of Deuteronomy Exilian; it would not cast so much as a shadow on its essential authority or genuineness.

Again, at ii. 10–12 (cf. vs. 29) the narrative is similarly interrupted by a remark concerning the peoples who had dwelt in Moab before Lot obtained possession, and in vs. 20–23 of those who had previously occupied the land of the Ammonites. These passages, also, may be editorial notes. Their form encourages such an hypothesis. They are quite unique, and even in our English version are put in parenthesis. In that case they offer direct evidence that the work as a whole has, and by even the cursory reader is assumed to have, a point of view and a course of thought that is peculiarly

its own. In other words, as thus regarded, they could not be used as marks for determining the age of the work in which they are found, since they form no real part of it. But there is no imperative necessity for holding them to be later additions.¹ Very late additions, it is clear, they cannot be; they imply too exact a geographical knowledge, and the other circumstances are too detailed. Besides, they have an immediate bearing on the thought of the context. If God had driven out many and strong nations before the descendants of Lot, and given them now a permanent possession which was not to be disturbed, would he do less for the descendants of Abraham and Jacob? Whoever wrote these verses had the intention of making the most of a fact encouraging to the Israelites on the eve of the Conquest. Nothing, consequently, could be in closer harmony with the spirit of our book. And then, further, it is not to be forgotten that if Moses had wished to introduce such incidental matter, he was shut up to this method of doing it. Foot-notes were out of the question. Other ancient writers, and those not so ancient as he, like Herodotus, have written in the same way.²

The note in iii. 9, "Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir," has not the same clear motive underlying it, and may be said to be logically unnecessary to.

¹ The perfects in the last part of verse 12 may easily enough be prophetic perfects, and there is no inappropriateness in the way of speaking in verse 22 of the children of Esau in Moses' time as dwelling in Seir, כִּדְרֵי הַרְיִים הַזֶּה. Sime offers another explanation, referring the "land of his possession" to the conquests that had already been made east of the Jordan. "The contexts proves the accuracy of this rendering. 'Behold,' it is said a few lines afterwards (Deut. ii. 24), 'I have given into thine hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land, begin, possess.' The beginning of the conquest is the point insisted on by the writer of Deuteronomy, not its completion, of which he could have known nothing."—The Kingdom of All Israel, p. 438.

² In Chap. cxxv. Book 1 (See Rawlinson's Herod., Vol. i. p. 248 f.), for example, a case quite similar to ours is found, where a narrative concerning Cyrus is broken in upon by a description of the different tribes that made up the Persian nation. "Now the Persian nation is made up of many tribes. Those which Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the principal ones on which all the others depended. These are the Pasargadae, the Maraphians, and the Maspians, of whom the Pasargadae are the noblest."

the thought of the context. But when the importance of this mountain as a landmark in Palestine is considered, such a specification of its several names cannot be regarded as altogether superfluous. The question how Moses could have been informed of the facts here stated has been mooted. Since it has come to light, however, that both of these foreign designations of Hermon were well known in the cognate Assyrian tongue,¹ it can no longer be regarded as serious. It is also worthy of attention that both of these alternative names for the mountain appear in the later Hebrew literature (Ps. xxix. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 5; Cant. iv. 8; 1 Chron. v. 23).

And so, still further, in the immediate context (vs. 11), what is said of Og's bedstead or sarcophagus; and, again, of the son of Manasseh (vs. 14), that he called the land he had obtained possession of by his own name "unto this day," one may explain as he will, the coloring of the passages is most emphatically not such as might have been expected in a work written as late as the seventh century B.C. A critic must be hard pushed to take refuge in such a position. It has, indeed, been objected that there would have been no occasion for calling the attention of Moses' contemporaries to such particulars concerning the land of Bashan, its king of gigantic stature, and the like. But that is not the point. It was not enough that they already knew these things. Deuteronomy contains, it is to be observed, an important addition beyond the account in Numbers (xxxii. 41). It cites the circumstance in order to draw an important lesson from it, as in the case just considered. The sixty so-called cities that had been captured were no easy prey for any marauding bands; they were fortified towns (see vs. 4, 5), "fenced with high walls, gates, and bars."² The victories

¹ Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, etc., p. 158 f.

² In view of what modern research has brought to light concerning these giant cities of Bashan, we are not only not surprised at such a reminiscence from the lips of Moses, but rather that he passes over the matter with *only* a slight reminiscence. Cf. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus* (London, 1855); *Giant Cities of Bashan and Syria's Holy Places* (London, 1860); Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* (London, 1872). The difficulty that in Deuteronomy,

had been signal ones. Should not the memory of what God had then wrought on their behalf inspire hope now, when they confronted the problem of conquering a home for themselves beyond the river. Such an allusion, therefore, is no inadvertence. It precisely represents and voices the main purpose of the book.

Nor is there anything in the concluding words "unto this day" that necessitates a different conclusion. It means no more than "so far," "until now." Some months, at least, had elapsed since these heroic tasks had been so thoroughly accomplished by the son of Manasseh; and that was time enough to justify this familiar phrase. It is similarly used by contemporaneous writers. "Ye have not left your brethren these many days, unto this day," said Joshua to the two tribes and a half tribe that had assisted their brethren in their earlier military occupation of Canaan (Josh. xxii. 3). And subsequently, in reviewing his own life, this second great captain of Israel says to the people whom he had so often led to victory: "But you, no man hath been able to stand before you unto this day" (Josh. xxiii. 9). There is no room for uncertainty in these passages as to the length of time meant to be covered by the words "unto this day." It is illogical, consequently, to base upon them as used in Deuteronomy an argument for the post-Mosaic origin of the book, even supposing them to be an original and constituent part of it.

Again, it is claimed that the writer of Deuteronomy betrays himself as one impersonating Moses by his peculiar use of the Hebrew words *בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן*, rendered "beyond Jordan," showing that he writes from the point of view of Palestine proper, and not of the plains of Moab. We submit that it is not the writer of Deuteronomy who betrays himself, but the objector, who puts a quibble in the place of a reason. This expression occurs ten times in our book (i. 1, 5; iii. 8, 20,

Jair alone is mentioned as the conqueror and possessor of Bashan, while in Numbers Nobah is made to share it with him, and the apparent discrepancy in the number of cities are explained, among other things, by Kurtz, — *History of the Old Covenant* (Phila. 1859), iii. 467.

25; iv. 41, 46, 47, 49; xi. 30). There is not one case among them that without positive violence and a false exegesis will permit the inference that has been drawn from it. The words mean, taken by themselves, "at the crossing of the Jordan." Used alone they point neither to the east or the west side. Just what is meant in any given instance is a matter which can be determined only by the context. The writer of this book, in fact, employs the words in the very same passage, intelligibly and with clear intention, to mean now the east and again the west side of the Jordan (iii. 8, 20). Conscious of the ambiguity of the phrase, he uses it in no single case where misunderstanding might arise that he has not himself guarded against it. He says, "on this side Jordan in the plain over against the Red Sea"; or, "on this side Jordan in the land of Moab"; or, "toward the sun-rising"; or, "by the way where the sun goeth down." Every passage of the ten is thus rigorously insured against the possibility of error by means of an added explanation, excepting one (iii. 20), which does not need it. How absurd, in these circumstances, the ado that has been made, and continues to be made, over these words by critics, learned and unlearned, who seem never to have thoroughly examined the connection in which they stand.

Once more, the thread of direct address which prevails in the book is singularly dropped in the tenth chapter (vs. 6, 7). Moses is represented as discoursing of what took place at Sinai. The first tables of the law had been broken, the second prepared, and the ten commandments written upon them by the finger of God. "And I turned about," he says, "and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they are, as the Lord commanded me." Upon this follow two verses in the narrative form, relating to certain journeys of the Israelites in the wilderness and Aaron's death,—events that occurred many years later, the latter nearly forty years afterward,—from which the speaker just as suddenly goes back to the first person again, and to what happened at Sinai. The thought

is as closely connected in verses five and eight as though there had been no diversion. It looks like what would be called in geology a fault, a displacement of material. Still, it may not be so. Reasons of more or less pertinence have been given why Moses himself might have intentionally digressed in this way. But for our purpose it is enough to notice that the digression does not reach beyond the Mosaic age. There is nothing in it to suggest the tampering of a later hand. If it be out of place, it is not out of character. If it be a fragment, it is to all appearance a fragment of Deuteronomy, and bears the marks of the period of the Exodus.¹

Finally, the so-called "Blessing of Moses" (xxxiii. 1-29), although introduced as from him, as we have already noticed, is denied to be his, because Moses, it is said, would never have styled himself the "man of God," as the title designates him. This, however, is not so certain. He surely might have done so without presumption. It is simply the name of an office, and the very same that elsewhere in this book Moses claims for himself, when he says: "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like to me" (xviii. 15). Still, suppose that Moses did not write the title of the poem, it would not follow that the poem is not his, as somebody in the ancient time — everybody, as far as we know — affirms that it is. There is nothing that appears from the simple reading of it that should lead an unbiassed mind to a contrary conclusion. And Volck, one of the editors of the later editions of Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon, who has written an exhaustive and masterly monograph of nearly two hundred octavo pages on its less than thirty verses, reaches the conclusion that there is nothing in the poem itself to justify the calling in question the correctness of its title.²

¹ The list of places to and from which the journeyings are here said to have been made are, in general, the same as those found in Numbers (xxxiii. 30-33); but they differ somewhat in their spelling, and are given in a different order. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the Israelites traversed the same ground more than once, and in different directions.

² *Der Segen Mose's Untersucht und Ausgelegt* (Erlangen, 1873). Cf. pp. 154-160.

These, now, are the anachronisms, contradictions, geographical and ethnographical remarks which, as far as the historical portions of Deuteronomy are concerned, have been so much magnified by recent critics as furnishing positive evidence of the post-Mosaic origin of the book. I am not aware that there are others of any significance. How far from overpowering in quantity do they appear beside the thirty chapters of solid matter in the midst of which they stand! And in quality they are even more disappointing. They are admitted to be exceptions to the ruling form of the book; but they do not give the response to adequate tests which they have been said to give and been counted on to give. We fail to find in one of them any indications, open or covert, that the book of which they form a part is the product of Hezekiah's reforms or Hilkiah's finesse. Most of them are but loosely attached to the text at best. If they were taken bodily out of it, the book would be still left complete in all its essential features. Let them be looked upon either as instances where the writer forgot himself, and unconsciously assumed his real character, — a supposition totally out of harmony with their nature, — or as later editorial supplements and superfluities, there is nothing in either case to justify the enormous conclusions that have been drawn from them. They are quite of the same stock as the body of the book. The writer or writers of them move in the same circle of ideas that rule throughout, wear the rough garments of the Israelitish wanderers, speak the dialect of the recent slaves of Egypt. Whatever, in short, any supposed later writer or compiler may be thought to have overlooked in the form of the book to make it appear outwardly other than Mosaic gives no shred of encouragement to the theory that it belongs to a later age, after Joshua, after Samuel, after David, after the earthquake throes that divided the kingdom, after the reforms of an Asa or the pestilential wickedness of an Ahaz or a Manasseh. The positive evidence, as far as any exists, points uniformly in one direction; and the negative evidence, if so it may be called, does not disprove, but confirms it.

Suppose the book were a composition of the royal period, as it has become largely the mode to affirm, or a mosaic out of different periods, none of them as early as David, and that the ecclesiastical enthusiast who wrote it or edited it actually sometimes forgot his *rôle*, as it has been asserted the Deuteronomist has done. Would he have left the traces of it that we find in our work? What strange threads of history rather, what bits of experience unknown to the beginnings of national life, what reminiscences of sacred places, what possible and every way probable coloring of sentiment, like that which makes the Psalter a mirror of Israel's inner being, might have been confidently expected in place of the limited range and uniform tenor of the matter we actually find? ¹

Let us select, for example, a single prominent feature of Deuteronomy. If it have one, it is the emphasis it lays on the place of worship for Israel — that it is to be *one, the one* which the Lord their God should choose for them. Nearly twenty times within the space of a few chapters this matter is insisted on, without deviation in form or relaxation from its iron firmness of command. "Unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither shalt thou come" (xii. 5). The cultus of God was to be confined to a central shrine. The idolatrous and deadly worship on the "heights" was to

¹ "Vast changes took place in Israel during the eight centuries which preceded the supposed forgery. A fugitive host of foemen entered and conquered Palestine, divided the country among them, and then for four centuries fought for existence as separate warring tribes. From being a republic, Israel became a limited monarchy. Kings took the place of judges, and one of them made the Hebrew State the first empire of his age. Under another, the kingdom so painfully raised to greatness was split in two, weakened by civil strife, and preyed on by powerful neighbors. At last the larger of the two fragments, after losing towns and provinces to Damascus, Moab, and Ammon, was itself repeatedly wasted, and then overwhelmed by the power of Assyria. Literature was cultivated among the Hebrews during these eight centuries. Changes, very striking to the imagination, took place in their worship and in their art of war. But of all these things there is not one word or one hint in Deuteronomy. If it be a true history, it could not contain references to them. If it be a forgery, no man could have written it without in some way or another showing his hand." — Sime, *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 416.

be relentlessly rooted out. The writer, it is claimed now, had his eye on Jerusalem. He must have had, if he were Hilkiah or any *protégé* of Hezekiah. Not only was his eye upon it, but his heart was full of it, and a leading purpose of his work was to discourage worship at any other point; nay, to brand it as a positive transgression of a reiterated law of Jehovah by the mouth of his greatest legislator. And yet he never gets beyond this form of words, "unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes." He uses it with the history of the Israelitish cultus for more than half a millennium before him. He knew of the sad degeneracy of the times next succeeding Joshua; of the falseness of Eli's anointed sons; of Samuel's heroic breasting of an evil tide; the full story of the ark in its wanderings from Gilgal to Shiloh and from Shiloh to Kirjath-jearim, its honors and its neglect, until David brought it, with psalms of rejoicing, to its present place on Mount Zion. He knew of the temple of Solomon and its memorable dedication in the presence of a united and happy people. He knew — the writer of a Deuteronomy of the seventh century must have known — of the civil conflicts that succeeded Solomon's reign; of the divisive efforts of a Jeroboam the son of Nebat; of the high-handed idolatry at Bethel and Beersheba; of the luxurious Samaria of Jeroboam II.; of Asa's reforms, and Elijah's challenge to Baal's priests, and Jezebel's cruelty, and the heathenish Syrian altar of Ahaz in the temple court. And knowing it, we can judge from the spirit that rules in his work what he thought about it all — how keenly sensitive it made him to the desperate woes of his countrymen and the dishonor to his God. And still it is claimed that he wrote so repeatedly and so tamely, "unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes shall ye seek." It is neither the sentiment nor the form of sentiment that we might have expected in view of such a history. It is quite too general and too lax. The evil Jeroboam might have claimed it as meaning his altar, as well as the good Jehosaphat. It is conceived in far too calm and too

colorless a spirit. It implies a unity where there is already hot dissension and every sign of wild anarchy for the time to come. It is psychologically impossible, in short, that a man in the midst of the antagonisms of the later day, given a priest or prophet of whatever unparalleled nerve or adroitness, could have expressed himself in the manner the writer of Deuteronomy has done on the subject of divine worship.

Moreover, let it be remembered that, according to the theory, the book is to no slight extent an invention. The writer was bound to no method, was at liberty to manipulate material or manufacture it to suit his purpose. Why, then, is there nowhere a hint of such a place as Jerusalem, much less of its already historic sanctuary? His chief object, it is alleged, was to give the temple cultus the advantage of the oldest and the highest authority. How is it conceivable, in these circumstances, that he should not only use so equivocal an expression as "the place which the Lord your God shall choose," but keep the precise place he meant, the cynosure of mind and heart, so completely out of view? More than this, his representations are misleading, on any such hypothesis, and Jerusalem is the last place that would be thought of. One would rather think of Jericho, where the first great victory in the promised land was won; or Mount Nebo, where the "man of God" was buried, distant and inaccessible though it might have been regarded at any time after the division of Canaan; above all, of Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, now within the domain of the dreaded Sargon, who had captured Samaria. These mountains occupied the geographical centre of the land. The region had long before been honored in patriarchal, as it has long since in Christian, story. It is also represented as about to be the scene of a public celebration and attestation of this very Deuteronomic code, otherwise unexampled in the annals of the people. I submit that, if the writer of this so-called Fifth Book of Moses had Mount Zion in his secret thought, he would never have so hallowed and glorified the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, and made them as conspicuous in his work as they are in



the landscape of the Holy Land. It would prove a clumsiness of literary execution with which so deft a hand cannot be charged.

In this connection, too, attention should be called to another quite as serious oversight of our critics in their hunt for evidence of the late origin of Deuteronomy. It is the freshness of the peculiar character of its Egyptian reminiscences, together with the entire absence of allusion, near or remote, to the Assyrian power. It might, indeed, be said to be designed—the chosen covering under which a clever hand wrought to accomplish the highest moral ends. But if it be a covering, it is one which a really clever hand would not at all have needed, and which a devout hand would never have chosen or allowed. It is obvious here, too, that there are psychological grounds, reasons existing in the nature of things, making the authorship of such a work after the recovery of Assyria (B.C. 900) and the accession of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 858), wholly incomprehensible. If it be difficult to conceive of a writer under the shadow of the temple, and for the sake of it, ignoring Jerusalem while making prominent Ebal and its altar, it is no less so to think of one making everything of Egypt, when, were he a real son of his time, in sympathy with what Hebrew poets and seers are saying, he should be making everything of Assyria; at least, should find it impossible to be so completely oblivious of the empire before which Micah saw Zion “ploughed as a field,” Jerusalem “become heaps,” and the “mountain of the house as the heights of the wood” (iii. 12). Egypt was politically a nonentity in the period between the middle of the tenth and the close of the eighth century B.C. Sunk in corruptions, it fell an easy prey to the hordes of the Ethiopian conqueror Shabak, the So of the biblical books (2 Kings xix. 9; cf. Isa. xxxvii. 9). Under Psammetichus I., in the seventh century (B.C. 664), it reached again a moderate pitch of commercial prosperity, but never regained its former military strength. In fact, after the time of Rehoboam the successor of Solomon, when Shishak successfully besieged Jerusalem (1 Kings xiv.

25), the kingdoms of Judah and Israel had as little to hope as to fear from the once formidable neighbor of the south. Sentinels on their watch-towers were facing in quite another direction.

It is the Egypt of Sethos I., Rameses I. and II., and of Menephthes that has left its indelible impression on the Pentateuch. The nearly twoscore references to it by name in the Book of Deuteronomy alone are of unmistakable significance. In eleven only of the thirty-four chapters do we fail to find them. They abound equally in every part—laws as well as history. More than half the references are to Israel's deliverance and the signal manner of it. The next largest number are to the wonders wrought upon Pharaoh. Others are to the fact of the hard servitude, the homelessness, and the oppression of Israel. Four make mention of what kind of a land Egypt had been found, its evil diseases, and its methods of agriculture. Could anything, for example, be more true to nature or more picturesque than this: "For the land of which thou goest to take possession is not like the land of Egypt, whence ye are come out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot as a garden of herbs" (xi. 10)? Two passages make tender allusion to the circumstances that attended the going of Jacob into Egypt, and two contain terrifying ones to a possible future thralldom there. How abundant this testimony, and how inexplicable on the supposition that our book was written at any time between the reign of Jeroboam the son of Nebat and the reforms of king Josiah? Moreover, it is of one uniform character. Selected out, a shred here and a shred there, from the entire web, there is no dissimilarity of color or texture. It is a Shemitic fabric, woven thick with threads of Egyptian memories.

Suppose that this book, now, or any considerable part of it, had been written at the time when Hezekiah took away the high places with their altars, and commanded that worship should be paid at one altar (2 Chron. xxxii. 12), or when the more marked reforms that synchronize with the beginning

of Jeremiah's prophecies were begun. Not only would such incidental references to Egypt, in their numerousness and in their coloring of by-gone days, surprise and baffle us, but, as we have said, not less the seeming utter obliviousness of the empire of the North. The monuments fully confirm what the biblical books had long ago more than led us to infer, that for the children of Israel in Palestine, at least after the beginning of the tenth century, the antagonistic world-empire lay no longer on the Nile, but on the Tigris and the Euphrates. There is scarcely a king from Ahab down who did not find himself harassed with problems that concerned Assyria or its no less mighty successor at Babylon. Whatever reforms of the cultus or the civil polity were called for in all this period we may be sure got somewhat of their motive from the hope that thus a successful barrier might be raised against this dreaded despotism. Jehu's ambassadors bearing gifts figure on the marble obelisks of Shalmaneser (B.C. 810-781). Uzziah was punished and fined by Tiglath Pileser II. (B.C. 723) for his temerity in joining the Syrians against him. Ahaz, at first an ally, afterwards became an obsequious slave of the same power. Samaria was reduced, and its king and people led away to exile (B.C. 722). Hezekiah, like his father, paid the hated tax which purchased him immunity from worse inflictions. Next to the escape from Egypt there was, perhaps, no event that made a deeper impression on the Hebrew mind and literature than the precipitous retreat of Sennacherib, in this same king's reign, mysteriously smitten by the Providence he had defied. So too Esar-haddon (B.C. 670), Assurbanipal (B.C. 668), and Esar-haddon II., whose reigns reach to the utmost limit of the period that by the wildest criticism could be assigned to the essential portions of Deuteronomy, were all of them more or less concerned with the now broken and scattered Israel and the ever waning political fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem. In the mean time Tyre and Sidon, Phoenicia, Philistia, and Edom had been successively subjugated, the whole of the Nile region overrun; and the lordly potentate of the North

added to his other titles, "king of the kings of Egypt and Cush."

What vestige of all this do we find in Deuteronomy? What one word of Assyria and its influence to offset the nearly forty references to the Egypt of Joseph and Moses and the Exodus? Judging from the confidence with which our book is assigned to this or that era of reform among the kings of the Assyrian period, one might reasonably expect some definite evidence that it knew of these mighty monarchs and their overwhelming influence on the people of Palestine and adjacent lands—that the Assyria of the prophets and historical books really came into its field of vision. There is no such evidence. There is a single allusion, at the close of the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. xxvi. 5), to the Shemitic origin of Israel, sufficient to show that the author was not blind in one eye, that the country that had been the early home of his people was not a total blank in his mind; but in other respects it is of a nature to show that he was wholly ignorant of the sweeping changes that between the period of the Exodus and the fall of Samaria had there occurred: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt and sojourned there with a few." How differently must he have spoken if his vision had been filled with the scenes that floated before the prophetic eye of an Hosea or Isaiah! The human mind, indeed, is capable of abstracting itself from its surroundings. Rapt enthusiasts in science or art have sometimes been known to pursue apparently undisturbed the objects of their devotion, while sword and flame were wasting about them. But such a man the tender and sympathetic writer of Deuteronomy was not. The highest patriotism burns in his every utterance. His country's illumined history, her divinely sanctioned laws, her past, and still more inviting future—these are his undeviating theme. The book before us, in short, as the product of a patriotic Jewish pen in the midst of the political convulsions of the Assyrian period would be a literary *monstrum*, a psychological contradiction. The elements are wanting that could have produced it; the ele-



ments are present that, as surely as the action of chemical contrarieties, would have made it impossible.

And this leads, in conclusion, to some reflections on the spirit that rules in Deuteronomy and other outstanding, characteristic moral features that are as universal as they are apparently undesigned. There is nothing that witnesses more directly or cogently to its genuineness; they precisely fit the theory of Mosaic origin; they are practically inexplicable on any other. And first, it is noticeable that the spirit of our book is at the farthest remove from one of reserve. It is as ingenuous and open as the day. It moves unembarrassed and with an appearance of the greatest familiarity amongst the grandest factors and forces of the early Israelitish history. It follows no beaten track. It knows the story of Exodus and Numbers; but it is independent of it, shaping the rich material in a way peculiar to itself. It puts its hand upon the sacred code of Sinai, even that central portion and glory of it which was written in stone by the finger of God; assuming the right and claiming the prerogative of giving it an altered form. A bold spirit it must be acknowledged to be. If it were not Moses, it could not have acted with more supremacy of knowledge or apparent consciousness of authority if it had been he. Things are taken for granted which a romancer would have been careful to fortify with arguments. Statements are volunteered which prudence would have led him to keep back. Matters are passed over in silence which a secret anxiety must have led him to divulge and expatiate upon. Infinitely touching things are said, and in a manner that is no less touching. Solemn judgments, promises of unheard of good are uttered in the character of one who spoke from God and with God. Prophets there were many in Israel. If this representation be correct, here was the prophet of the old economy. Others saw visions and dreamed dreams; he spoke face to face with God, and was deemed worthy of honors never claimed for an Amos or an Isaiah. Somebody adds, in the closing section of the book, "There arose not a

prophet since in Israel like unto Moses." On its face it is a later addition, like the rest of the chapter. But it is the "amen" that confirms the letter of the history or the self-praise that seals the counterfeit.

The countenance of Moses, it is said, shone with the radiance of the divine presence. He had great privileges; but he had also great responsibilities and trying ordeals. Heaven honored his intercessions with signal deliverances; but Heaven punished his sin with a visitation so severe that nothing could better serve to magnify the law and make it honorable. The promised land he might not set his foot upon; and yet God comforted him, and God buried him. A paradox truly, but only on the hypothesis of unreality? Without an army, without the restraints of established customs and regular occupations, by the sheer force of his goodness, his disinterestedness, his supreme patience, and the favor of God, he led, as a father, for forty years, the most intractable and obstinate of peoples. The intrigues of his own family neither disheartened nor angered him.

Alive as few others to the demands of even-handed justice, having for his great task the training of a people in the arts of war as well as of peace in a rude age, it is still the law of love to God as a rule of conduct on which he everywhere chiefly insists. Five several times he returns to it (Deut. vi. 4 f.; x. 12; xi. 13; xxx. 6, 20) with emphatic reiteration; and the aged John, who of all the apostles perhaps drank in most of the spirit of the gospel, but echoes in his farewell letter the farewell message of the great lawgiver of the wilderness, "He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him" (1 John iv. 16). Strangers, widows, and the fatherless were his especial charge (x. 18; xiv. 29; xvi. 11; xxiv. 17, 19; xxvi. 12), another Israel within Israel. Recognizing that higher truth of Paul, that the written law is not made for a righteous man (1 Tim. i. 9), his point of view throughout is superior to the code he so rigorously lays down. He commands, for example, that the poor brother shall be relieved. "Thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thy

hand," he says, "from thy poor brother." But beyond this point, where mere human law must stop short, he goes on to say: "And thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him" (Deut. xv. 10). He enjoins upon masters that they load their departing slaves with gifts and rewards: "Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock and out of thy floor and out of thy wine-press." But it is no injunction, it is a moving entreaty, when he adds: "It shall not seem hard unto thee when thou sendest him away free from thee" (Deut. xv. 10, 18). If this be invention, the inventor meant it should be received as fact, as indeed it was, and ever gratefully has been. It is that alone which has given the book all the authority and all the power for good it has ever had. But if it be invention, the effrontery and real falseness of the invention is only equalled by its spiritual beauty and ideal truth. If it be invention, the discovery to the world of the mysterious inventor, who combined within himself qualities so exceptionally excellent with those so exceptionally otherwise, might be some compensation for the loss from sacred history of such a character and career as that of the Moses of the Exodus.

The Book of Deuteronomy is distinctly based on the presumption that the man whom it makes its hero has an important history behind him. It everywhere implies, in fact, something answering to what we learn of Moses in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Without this previous history the representation of him is not simply a torso, it is the barest fragment of a full-sized figure. The period that the narrative covers is only the few hurried days preceding the passage of the Jordan. Moses appears upon the scene as already an old man whose work is virtually over. He wears, indeed, accustomed honors; exercises still, with undiminished zeal, a shepherd's care for his people; but we are never suffered to forget that we are listening to parting words, and looking upon one of the most solemn of farewells.

The book opens with a significant reference to the fortieth year, expecting the reader, without explanation, to under-

stand what is meant by it. The entire matter, unlike that of any other book of the five, is of a purely subjective cast. The ecclesiastical and theocratical nomenclature of Leviticus and Numbers has disappeared along with the topics on which it was employed. It is the people who are addressed, and on civil and social themes; but a people called of God, and all whose institutions are to be fashioned with chief reference to his claim. Ethical precepts are those chiefly emphasized. The Lord their God is God of gods and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty and a terrible, who regardeth not persons nor taketh reward. He executeth judgment for the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, giving him food and raiment (x. 17, 18).

The ten commandments furnish the key-note and starting-point of all the Deuteronomic laws. Their affinity is naturally with the Sinaitic code, rather than with the priestly regulations of the middle books. Of both Moses professes to have been the mediator (iv. 5, 10). He is apparently not insensible to the difficulties that such a claim involves, and is equally ready to confess his limitations, infirmities, and sins. He does not hesitate to set in the boldest relief the miraculous nature of Jehovah's dealings with his covenant people. "Did ever a people," he asks, "hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?" But he hesitates just as little, with all his brooding tenderness of feeling, to charge that favored people to their faces with rebellion, with weak defection, and despicable cowardice, with stiff-neckedness and hard-heartedness since he had known them (i. 26, 31, 43; vi. 16; ix. 6, 22, 24). Not for their sakes, but for the fathers' sakes were they chosen (x. 15), and in all that "great and terrible wilderness" had there been folded about them the everlasting arms.

Would such sentiments have been calculated to recommend a book calling for the sweeping reforms of this to the men of the later day? The sudden lapse from efforts at betterment when the outward pressure ceased shows in the midst

of what a fearful current of opposition the revivals of Hezekiah and Josiah had been begun.

Lessons from the past alternate throughout with solemn admonitions for the future. The Bible furnishes few examples of warnings which in melting pathos or awful power equal those of this book (cf. xxviii.). It does not surprise us that the rabbins of a later day named it the "Book of Admonitions." The possibility and fear, rising in some places to prophetic conviction, that the Israel of Red Sea deliverances and of Sinai would yet one day lapse from its high privilege, and lose sight for a time of its predestined goal, dominate like a trumpet-tone beginning, middle, and end of this series of discourses. It is for this reason, among others, that the fourteen chapters of legislation, whose faithful observance was meant to prevent the day of calamity, are flanked by Ebal and Gerizim. That imposing ceremonial should be forever afterward a solemn and restraining memory (xi. 29; xxvii.).

For this reason, too, the heroic leader desires to be with his people as long as possible. How much of the Book of Deuteronomy might have been unknown to us, or have appeared in quite another form, had he been able to complete in person the conquests of which the forty years of seemingly aimless wanderings and his sin had robbed him! His wish in the matter he makes no effort to conceal. Again and again he speaks of it in words that tremble with suppressed emotion. It had been made the subject of earnest petition (vii. 23-29). "I must die," he says, "in this land. I may not go over Jordan. But ye will go over to possess that good land" (iv. 22). Moreover, there is but one sole reason given for the deprivation. The Lord was angry with him because he had failed to be as patient with them, his people, as he might have been (iv. 21). At the close of the book the subject is introduced in connection with Moses' age and infirmities: "He said unto them, I am a hundred and twenty years old this day. I can no more go out and come in. Also the Lord hath said unto me, Thou shalt not go over this

diligence, only to become persuaded of the unsatisfactory character of all his attainments, and to be fired with the determination to seek truth for himself.

It was his principles, then, that doubtless gave birth to constructive criticism. Its three representatives felt constrained, with one exception, to admit the accuracy of Hobbes's Peyrere's, and Spinoza's conclusions in denying the Mosaic authorship; but they were not satisfied to rest with this negative result. Following the example of Des Cartes, they sought to secure a more positive conclusion. They tore down the old edifice of tradition that they might rebuild it in accordance with the demands of the scientific criticism of that time, and that they might still present nothing to the theological world which, in their opinion, should be subversive of the Christian faith. Although the medium of this criticism was the French language, we can hardly speak of it as constituting a French school, as we now speak of a German and Dutch school of Old Testament critics. Three men appeared between 1638 and 1766 who wrote in the French language; but they do not seem to have left any appreciable impress upon the theological thinking of France.

1. *Simon* (b. 1638; d. 1712).

The most marked critic of the century, who is sometimes called the father of biblical introduction, is Richard Simon, who was born at Dieppe.¹ There were two things which doubtless had a very decided influence in giving direction to the natural tendency of his mind. One was the Cartesian Philosophy, to which we have already alluded, and the other was the Oratory (*Oratoire*), where that philosophy found a

¹ Interesting and valuable materials from many sources concerning his life and times have been gathered together by Bernus, *Richard Simon et son Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, La Critique Biblique au Siècle de Louis XIV.*, Lausanne, 1869, pp. 142. There is also a pleasant sketch of his life by Masson in the *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, London, 1866, Vol. ix. pp. 249-274. One of the best discussions of his life and critical opinions is said to be by Graf in *Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften*, Jena, 1851, Vol. i. pp. 158-242. To this latter work I have not had access.

home. The congregation of the Oratory was founded at Paris in 1611. The object of this foundation was to elevate the intellectual and religious character of the priesthood, and thus interpose a barrier to the continuous and disquieting progress of Protestantism. The Oratory was composed of pious priests, who were especially devoted to a conscientious performance of the duties of the sacerdotal life, and who were to cultivate science less for science's sake than for the services which it would enable them to render to their fellow-creatures."¹

Richard Simon began his studies at Dieppe, in the college of his native city, under the direction of the fathers of the Oratory, who were connected with a branch of the main congregation of Paris. Subsequently he spent one year in study under the Jesuit fathers in Rouen, but was compelled to leave for lack of means. Later he attended the Sorbonne in Paris, where he devoted himself especially to the study of the Sacred Scriptures. At the same time he pursued Hebrew and Syriac with great diligence.

When he was twenty-four years of age he entered the Oratory at Paris. Here he had access to a magnificent library. Here he studied the Bible in the original languages with one of the fathers. Here he read the commentaries of the principal church fathers and the works of the abler critics. Here he devoted himself to the Arabic language. Even in such a liberal congregation as the Oratory the un-

¹ Bernus in his *Richard Simon, etc.*, just quoted, gives the following passage from Perraud, *L'Oratoire de France au xvii^e et au xix^e siècle*, Paris, 1866, p. 39, taken from the papal bull of Paul V, which states the aim of this community: "L'Oratoire devait se composer 'de prêtres pieux, spécialement appliqués à remplir avec toute la perfection possible les devoirs de la vie sacerdotale et se dévouant à toutes les fonctions qui appartiennent en propre à l'état de la prêtrise. . . . Vivre ensemble dans une société soumise à des règles, et dans un esprit de continuelle humilité, se conduire comme les serviteurs du Tout-Puissant, en cherchant par-dessus tout à réaliser dans toutes leurs actions la perfection de l'état sacerdotal, demeurer soumis aux évêques pour les travaux du saint ministère, s'appliquer à la formation des clercs et leur faire cultiver la science, moins pour la science elle-même que pour les services qu'elle permet de rendre aux prochains.'"

usual character of his studies provoked criticism, and he was accused to the father Senault, who was the general superior, of reading heretical books, such as Walton's *Polyglott*¹ and the *Critici Sacri*, but, thanks to his friend, father Berthard, he was soon cleared.

After a comparatively brief absence as a Professor of Philosophy in the college of Juilly, he was recalled by Senault to make a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts in the chief house of the order in Paris. He spent several years on this work, and improved the opportunity to read most of the Oriental and rabbinical works in the library. But he did not only devote himself to books, he also made the acquaintance of Malebranche, to whom he gave lessons in the Oriental languages; and of the famous Jew, Raphael Levy, who was known after his conversion as Louis de Bysance, to whom he gave religious instruction, that he might prepare him for Christian baptism.

In 1670 he became a priest. Six years later the project was formed for a new version of the Bible by the Protestants. He was by far the best qualified to make a translation of the Old Testament. At this time he prepared a plan for a translation of the Bible, with some notes which could serve for Protestants and Catholics. This plan was to exclude all dogmatic and edifying notes. While he did not execute this design, yet the way was thus prepared for his *Critical History of the Old Testament*. This book was in press two years afterwards, and had been approved by the official censor. The publisher, who was waiting for the king's consent that the volume might be dedicated to him, although Simon had received the assurance from the royal confessor that he should obtain permission, had sent out the preface and the table of contents to some foreign booksellers. An enemy of Simon's sent a copy of these to Bossuet, the tutor of the Dauphin. He was thunderstruck when he read: "Moses

¹ For a description of this admirable work, in which nine languages are used, see Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, London, 1869 (12th ed.), Vol. iv. pp. 715-717.

cannot be the author of all which is in the books [of the Pentateuch] that are attributed to him."¹ He at once ordered the publisher to do nothing further with the book until it had been carefully examined. The final result of this examination was an order that the whole edition should be destroyed. This order was carried into effect, although at least six copies, two of which had been sent to England, were rescued. Meanwhile the learned world was very curious to see this work. The celebrated publisher Elzevier sought to secure a reprint; but Simon, who was considering a proposition from Bossuet to print an edition of the work from which the objectionable matter should be excluded, would not consent. Nevertheless, Elzevier secured a written copy of one of the books which was sent to England, and made a reprint from that.² This was translated into Latin and English, but was full of errors. The proposition which Bossuet made, that Simon should prepare an expurgated edition of his Critical History of the Old Testament, although the author cheerfully professed his readiness to carry it out, was never realized. In 1685 Leers of Rotterdam reprinted the work³ from one of the remaining copies of the French edition. It was furnished

¹ "Chap. v. Preuve des additions et autres changemens qui ont été faits dans l'Ecriture, et en particulier dans le Pentateuch. Moïse ne peut être l'Auteur de tout ce qui est dans les Livres qui lui sont attribués. Divers exemples."

² In order to secure entrance for it into France, several copies were also published by Elzevier under the following fictitious title: *Histoire de la religion des Juifs et de leur établissement en Espagne et autres parties de l'Europe, ou ils se sont retirés après la destruction de Jérusalem, par Rabbi Moses Levy, Amsterdam, P. de la Faille, 1680.*

³ My copy, which is 10×8 inches, pp. xl+667+xliv+48, and thus has 667 pages, not including the index, the table of contents, etc., which are not paged, has the following title-page: *HISTOIRE CRITIQUE DU VIEUX TESTAMENT, Par Le R. P. RICHARD SIMON Prêtre de la Congregation de l'Oratoire. Nouvelle Edition, et qui est la premiere imprimée sur la Copie de Paris, augmentée d'une Apologie generale et de plusieurs Remarques Critiques. On a de plus ajouté à cette Edition une Table des matieres, et tout ce qui a été imprimé jusqu'à present à l'occasion de cette HISTOIRE CRITIQUE. A AMSTERDAM, Pour la COMPAGNIE DES LIBRAIRES. MDCLXXXV. Quérand, La France Littéraire, ou Dictionnaire Bibliographique, Tome Neuvième, Paris, 1838, p. 159, says very truly: "Cette édition doit être la même que celle que Nicéron cite sous la rubrique, Amsterdam, 1685, avec un titre un peu différent, on ne sait pourquoi."*

with a special preface, besides that of the author, and also with additional notes. Although Simon did not acknowledge that they were from his hand, yet there was no mistaking that they were by him. While it might be of interest to consider other events in his career, let us turn to his special views respecting the Pentateuch.

1. We find him holding in regard to it, as well as with reference to the rest of the Bible, that "the truths contained in the Sacred Scriptures are infallible and of divine authority, since they have come directly from God."¹ We are at once reminded by the form of this statement of a distinction which is now commonly made by those who hold that the Scriptures are the infallible rule, as distinguished from such as affirm that they contain the infallible rule, of faith and practice. But it is certain that Simon has no such distinction in mind; for he holds that a theologian of the faculty of Paris occupies dangerous ground when he affirms that "all that is in the Bible is not equally divine and canonical." He says: "This theologian has maintained that the writers of the sacred books have not really been inspired by God, except in that which appertains to faith, or which has some relation or necessary connection with it. In regard to other things which are contained in these same books, he holds that we ought not to recognize a more particular inspiration of God than in all the other works which have been composed by persons of piety. But aside from the fact that this sentiment can have very dangerous consequences, it is entirely opposed to the doctrine of the New Testament, which does not recognize anything that is not prophetic and veritably inspired in all Scripture. This is why I have thought that I ought to establish principles which attribute to prophets or to persons directed by the Spirit of God all that is contained in the sacred books, even to changes, only excepting those which

¹ *Histoire Critique*, p. 1: "On ne peut pas douter, que les veritez contenuës dans l'Ecriture Sainte ne soient infallibles et d'une autorité divine, puis qu'elles viennent immédiatement de Dieu, qui ne s'est servi en cela du ministère des hommes, que pour être ses Interprètes."

have arisen through the length of time or the negligence of the copyists.”¹

2. It was not to be expected that Simon should accept the traditional view of the Jews as to the Pentateuch. They not only held that the five books of the law were entirely by Moses,—some of them even maintaining that he wrote the account of his own death, while he wept, by a spirit of prophecy,²—but also that God dictated the things contained in the Pentateuch to Moses, not even allowing him to write by his own authority a single verse of the law. So rigid was their adherence to this belief, that they excluded from Paradise any one who presumed to hold the contrary.³

3. This theory had been essentially shattered for him even by Roman Catholic scholars. While he did not admit that the Jews had maliciously corrupted the Scriptures,⁴ he felt that he was shielded by the example of the Roman Catholic scholar Morinus, who was also a member of the Oratory, and who had shown the great number of readings, and the numerous errors which had slipped into the Bible by means of the copyist.⁵ This, of course, was a terrible shock to those who maintained that even the accents were inspired,⁶ and that the Scriptures were written in the finest forms of literary

¹ *Histoire Critique*, Preface de L'Auteur, pp. [3-4].

² Cf. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. xli. p. 8, note 1.

³ *Histoire Critique*, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Johannis Buxtorfi, P[ater], Tiberias Sive Commentarius Masorethicus Triplex Historicus, Didacticus, Criticus, ad illustrationem Operis Biblici*, p. 17f., where he gives quotations from the Rabbins referring the vowels and the accents back to Moses, e.g. “Sed puncta et accentus et vocales soni, sunt doctrina Mosis à monte Sinai,” etc.—*Johannis Buxtorfi Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae*, Basilea, 1609, pp. 59-69. This theory received its death blow from Cappelus (b. 1585; d. 1658), *Arcanum Punctuationis*, Amstelodami, 1698, pp. 1-979. The first edition, however, was published at Leyden in 1624. In this he is said to have held against Buxtorf senior (b. 1564; d. 1629) that the vowel-points and the accents were not an integral part of the Hebrew language, and that they were added to the text of the books of the Old Testament by Jewish grammarians, at a time when the language had long since ceased to be spoken. Buxtorf junior (b. 1599; d. 1664) answered this in his *Tractatus de Punctorum Vocalium, et Accentuum*, in *Libris Veteris Testamenti Hebraicis, Origine Antiquitate, et Autoritate: oppositus Arcano Punctuationis Revelatio*, Basileae, 1648, pp. 1-437, and was moved by a subsequent work of Cappelus to

excellence by virtue of their inspiration.¹ Now the most conservative critics, who hold to a kind of verbal inspiration, cease to make any such claims for the text of the Scriptures. While holding to a divine original, they admit the errors of copyists and the human element with respect to style.

4. But Simon went farther than this, and advanced a principle which is urged with great force by the critics against those apologists for the Sacred Scriptures who deny that there can be any real discrepancies or mistakes in the Bible. He says, after quoting such passages as Deut. xxxiv. ; Gen. xii. 6 ; xxxvi. 31, "I know that replies can be made respecting most of these passages and certain others which it would be useless to adduce ; but a little reflection will show that these replies are more subtile than true."² Simon here indicates the weakness of all replies to the objections of the critics made on the basis of the method which meets each objection singly as it arises, until all are disposed of, instead of refuting the philosophical generalizations which have been made by the observance and classification of many phenomena. Hence systems of objections are to be refuted, rather than single ones.

5. Simon clearly and definitely holds that Moses could not have been the author of the Pentateuch. The reasons assigned are not dissimilar to those now urged, although they

publish his *Anticritica seu Vindiciae Veritatis Hebraicae: adversus Ludovici Cappelli Criticam quam vocat Sacram, ejusque Defensionem: quibus Sacrosanctae Editionis Bibliorum Hebraicae auctoritas, integritas, et sinceritas, a varis ejus strophis, et sophismatis, etc.*, Basiliae, 1653, pp. 1-1026. For the complete literature of the subject, cf. Siegfried in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1876, vol. iii. pp. 668-676.

¹ See Glassii *Philologia Sacra*, Lipsiae, 1713, where (in the preface, p. 17) he quotes Gerhard, as expressing his own views as follows: "Forma externa Scripturae sacrae (inquis) est, tum idioma linguae Hebraicae, quo vetus; et Graccae, quo novum perscriptum est Instrumentum: tum sermonis ac styli, quo in Scriptura Spiritus S. utitur, proprietas, imo singularitas, simplicitatem et majestatem, miraculo vere divino, conjunctam habens. Sermonis genus, quo Scriptura est exarata, est simplex, nullam redolens humanam et fucatam eloquentiam, interim tamen est augustum, et ad percellendos hominum animos maxime efficax," etc.

² *Histoire Critique*, p. 32.

are not so elaborately stated. (1) It is nowhere asserted in the Pentateuch that Moses wrote the five books. Since the term "law" is not equivalent to Pentateuch, the passages which affirm that Moses wrote this law do not necessarily involve anything more than that Moses wrote certain parts of the Pentateuch. This he establishes by an analysis of the passages bearing on the subject. He says that Ex. xxiv. 12 cannot indicate the whole Pentateuch, because the Israelites were forty years after this time in the desert, and Moses could not yet have written an account of the events which occurred during those forty years. He maintains that we cannot conclude anything else from this passage than that Moses received from God upon the mountain the tables of the law, the ordinances, and the commandments. It is not said, here or anywhere else, that God dictated to Moses the history of creation, the genealogies, or anything related in Genesis. He therefore limits the reference in this passage to the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xix.-xxiii.). The next passage which is applied by the Jews to the entire Pentateuch is Deut. xxvii. 2, 3. Simon says that this does not indicate anything more than the twelve curses; for it is not affirmed generally, "Thou shalt write all the words of the law," but "Thou shalt write all the words of *this* law," and at the beginning of the same chapter Moses and the elders are ordered to observe exactly all which is commanded them this day, and this is called the law in the following verses. With reference to Deut. xxxi. 9 he argues that it cannot be quoted to prove that Moses wrote the entire Pentateuch, but simply the Book of Deuteronomy, which is a repetition of the other books of the law. He adds that it is not even true that Moses wrote all of Deuteronomy, since there are facts and certain expressions which cannot be attributed to him:¹

(2) "The diversity of style which we find in the books of Moses seems also to prove that the same writer is not the author. We sometimes see there a style that is very abrupt, and sometimes very expanded, although the diversity of the

¹ Histoire Critique, p. 41 ff.

subject does not require it.”¹ How this opinion, which probably rested on critical sensibility rather than on critical analysis, was wrought out by a subsequent critic we shall see a little farther on. (3) Leading the way for more modern critics, he finds many repetitions which render it unquestionable to his mind that Moses could not have been the author of the Pentateuch. Making all allowance for the great number of passages where the order is reversed, because the Hebrews are not particular about order, he says: “Can we imagine that one historian has written the history of the creation of man, with the little order which exists in the first chapters of Genesis, where the same things are repeated many times, without any method, and as a digression?”² He speaks of the repetition, in the second chapter of Genesis, of the creation of woman, and adduces the deluge, which is so often quoted by critics, where he remarks that the length of the time that the waters were upon the earth is given differently.³ (4) The manner in which the history is there composed is different than that which we should expect from Moses. He says that he does not refer to those passages, which some quote, where Moses is mentioned in the third person and his praises are recounted, because Caesar speaks of himself in the third person,⁴ as well as Josephus,⁵ who even utters his own eulogy.⁶ But he says, if one regards with any degree of attention the whole body of the Pentateuch, he will recognize this diversity of writers.

6. Simon’s theory of the composition of the Pentateuch is as follows:⁷ “In well regulated states, principally in the

¹ *Histoire Critique*, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34: “L’Histoire du Deluge, par exemple, est embarrassée, principalement dans ce qui regarde le tems que les eaux demeurèrent sur la terre.”

⁴ See his Commentaries, where he speaks of himself constantly in the third person.

⁵ *De Bello Jud.*, Lib. ii. Cap. xx. sq.

⁶ Simon has perhaps in mind such passages as the following: Vita 2, ἔτι δ’ ἔρα παῖς ὢν, περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον ἔτος, διὰ τὸ φιλογράμματος ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπιδόμην, συνιόντων αἰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρώτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ’ ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γινῶναι. Cf. *De Bello Jud.*, Lib. iii. 7 and 8.

⁷ *Histoire Critique*, pp. 15, 16; cf. Preface p. [2].

Orient, there were always certain persons who took care to put in writing the more important affairs of the republic, and to preserve the acts in the archives destined for this purpose. We learn from the books of Esther [vi. 1], Ezra [vi. 1], Josephus, and Diodorus Siculus [Lib. ii. xxxii. 4], that this custom was formerly observed among the Persians. The Egyptians, among whom Moses had been educated, had priests, to whom they gave the name of scribes, or writers of sacred things, because their principal business consisted in writing out that which had respect to the state of religion, and then of publishing what was necessary.”¹

And now comes the weak point in the armor, against which, as we shall see, the next critic directs a well-aimed shaft: “It would appear that Moses, who had been trained at the court of Egypt, as we have said, and who united in himself all the qualities of a perfect legislator, established from the first commencement of the republic this kind of scribes, whom we may call public or divine writers to distinguish them from the particular writers, who did not ordinarily engage in writing the history of their times, except from motives of interest.”² He calls these writers prophets, because they were directed by the Spirit of God, and because Peter calls all Scripture prophecy (2 Pet. i. 21), and adds: “In supposing these public writers, we attribute to them those things which have respect to the history of those books, and to Moses everything which pertains to the law and the ordinances, and this is that which the Scriptures call the law of Moses. So we can say, in this sense, that all the Pentateuch is truly from Moses, because those who made the collection lived in his time, and what they did was by his order.”³ Assuming that there were such prophets or scribes all through the Old Testament history, and that we should not inquire too narrowly who the author of any given book was,⁴ he finds

¹ Diodorus Siculus, i. 44: *περὶ δὲ πάντων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶχον ἀναγραφὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἀεὶ τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδεδομένας.*

² Histoire Critique, p. 16.

³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴ Histoire Critique, p. 2: “C’est pourquoi on ne doit pas rechercher avec trop de curiosité, qui ont été les Auteurs particuliers de chaque Livre de la Bible. Il

the following advantages in this theory with respect to the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament: (1) "By this principle we can give a solid reason for the additions and changes which are found in the sacred books, without diminishing their authority, since the authors of these additions and changes were veritable prophets, directed by the Spirit of God. This is why these changes which they were able to introduce into the ancient acts have the same authority as the rest of the Bible."¹ He holds, however, that we should be on our guard against multiplying these additions or amendments, as Spinoza and others have done. On the other hand, he says that we ought not to deny them absolutely, or explain them away in too subtle a manner and in one which is not consistent with good sense, because it is necessary that these additions should have the same authority as the rest of the Scriptures; otherwise we should be obliged to say that all that is in the Bible is not equally divine and canonical.² (2) "The same principle touching the public writers or prophets serves to afford a reason for the many expressions which are found in the books of Moses, and seems to indicate, at the same time, that he was not the author. The scribes or public writers who were of his time, and who described those ancient events, have spoken of Moses in the third person, and have employed many other similar expressions, which cannot indeed have been by Moses, but which have no less authority, because they can only be attributed to some persons whom Moses ordered to put in writing the more important events of his time."³ (3) "[This principle] is of great use in solving an infinitude of very difficult questions which they are accustomed to make touching the chronology and the genealogies. For it is certain that these books are only abridgments of other more extended acts, and that they have given to the people only that which they judged necessary to publish for their instruction. . . . It is

suffit, selon la maxime de St. Gregoire Pape, que ces Livres aient été écrits par des Prophetes."

¹ Ibid. Preface De L'Auteur, p. [2].

² Ibid. p. [3].

³ Ibid., p. [4].

easy, therefore, to reconcile by this means many apparent contradictions which seem to be in these same genealogies where they appear in different passages of Scripture.”¹

7. He also offers another suggestion, which serves to explain the lack of order which we find in certain narratives of Scripture. He says: “They formerly wrote these books upon small leaves, which they were satisfied more frequently to roll one upon another around a small stick, without sewing them together. It has happened that, as there was not enough care in preserving the order of these ancient leaves or rolls, the arrangement of the matter has become somewhat changed.”¹

8. While he is the only one, so far as I am aware, who has presumed to make such a conjecture, he has broached another theory which finds favor among the most recent critics: “It would seem, indeed, that those who have joined together the ancient memoirs in order to form the body of canonical books which remain to us, have not taken pains to retrench many synonymous terms which they have found in their copies, and which even might have been added for greater clearness.”²

Simon’s position in regard to the composition of the Pentateuch was quite as conservative as that of some of the more orthodox German critics.³ But his theory in regard to inspired prophets, who under Moses’ orders recorded passing events which were embodied with the legislative part from Moses’ own pen, was not destined to endure. The destructive, rather than the constructive, elements in his theories were influential in moulding the opinions of later critics.

2. *Leclerc*⁴ (b. 1657; d. 1736).

Jean Leclerc is of importance for our sketch not so much

¹ Ibid., p. [5]; cf. pp. 5, 35.

² Ibid. Preface De L’Auteur, p. [6.]

³ See my Article, Delitzsch on the Pentateuch, in the *Presbyterian Review*, New York, 1882, pp. 559–562.

⁴ Sketches of his life are found in the Preface to his *Commentary on the Pentateuch, Genesis sive Mosis Prophetæ Liber Primus*, etc. Tubingæ, 1733, [pp. 1–8]. Hoefer *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1883, Vol. xxix. pp. 196–200, etc.

on account of his posthumous influence on the course of criticism, as in forming a connecting link between Simon and Astruc. He was descended from a French family, and was born in Geneva. His early advantages were of a high order. His thirst for knowledge found relief in the fine libraries of his father and uncle. Through the perusal of the works of his great uncle he became a pronounced Arminian. He pursued the study of philosophy under Chouet the Cartesian. After studying theology for three years he went to London, where he preached in the Wallonian church; but as the climate was unfavorable to his health he passed to Holland, where he became acquainted with Limborch, the most celebrated Arminian theologian of this period, and also with Locke. In 1684 he was made a Professor of Belles-Lettres, of Philosophy, and of Hebrew; and after the death of Limborch (1712) he was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the College of the Remonstrants in Amsterdam.

His critical views respecting the Pentateuch are contained in a work called, "Opinions of some Theologians in Holland upon the Critical History of the Old Testament composed by Father Richard Simon of the Oratory; where in remarking the Faults of this Author we give Various Principles which are useful for understanding the Sacred Scriptures."¹ This work is divided into twenty letters, and opens in the following informal way: "You wish to know, sir, what our friends say here about the Critical History of Father Simon, a new edition of which has just appeared at Rotterdam. I can tell you, in general, that they speak of this book as of most others, and that nobody of my acquaintance altogether finds fault with it or approves it. Most say that they can place it in the rank of good books, because they find in it many remarks which are curious and useful for

¹ *Sentimens de Quelques Theologiens De Hollande sur L'Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament, composée par le P. Richard Simon de l'Oratoire. Où en remarquant les fautes de cet Auteur, on donne divers Principes utiles pour l'intelligence de l'Ecriture Sainte. Amsterdam, 1685. This volume is 6½ x 4½ inches, and has 457 pages.*

the understanding of Sacred Scripture; although Father Simon has indeed advanced some things in it which they do not approve, and has omitted many others which appear to them to be essential to his design. Three of our friends have met every day for some weeks to read this work together, after each had read it alone, and as they have done me the honor to receive me into their conferences, I can give you a sufficiently good account of what they have said; and they have not suffered anything of importance to pass without examining it with care."¹ Under this representation of the views of three friends, which was perhaps a literary mask, he criticises Simon with an unsparing hand.² He accuses him of inapposite quotations, of a failure to give his authorities, of repetitions—the substance of some of his views being given in the preface which are more extended in the body of the work. He banteringly suggests that there are quite as many repetitions in Simon's book, and quite as much lack of arrangement, as in the Pentateuch. He attacks Simon's theory of inspired prophets who kept the annals of the Hebrew republic from the time of Moses, and of a confusion arising from the custom of rolling leaves around a stick without sewing them together. He shows that Simon has said "it is probable," or "it has the appearance," that Moses constituted such writers, when it is only possible. Indeed, he seemingly deals this favorite theory of Simon a death-blow. He is not more conservative, however, than his opponent. Although a Protestant, his views of inspiration and of the formation of the canon are far more free than those of his Catholic antagonist.

1. He utterly rejects the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in its present form.³ While he holds that certain parts of the five books are pre-Mosaic and Mosaic, he holds quite

¹ Sentimens, pp. 1, 2.

² Leclerc says, e.g. Sentimens, p. 3: "On y remarquerait une extrême confusion dans les matières et dans les pensées. On y trouverait mille conjectures peu vraisemblables, mille faux raisonnemens, mille chimères."

³ Sentimens, p. 116: "Voilà, Monsieur, des marques assez sensibles que Moïse n'a pas écrit le Livre de la Genèse, au moins tel que nous l'avons. Quand

as strongly that others are post-Mosaic.¹ He says these consist not only in some words which might have slipped into the margin of the text, or have been inserted to explain some passage, but also in entire periods and long chapters.

2. He answers the objection "that Jesus Christ and the apostles often cite the Pentateuch under the name of Moses, and that their authority ought to be of greater weight than all of our conjectures," much as a modern critic would. He says: "Jesus Christ and his apostles not having come into the world to teach criticism to the Jews, it is not astonishing that they should speak according to the common opinion. It was of little consequence to them whether this was Moses or another, provided that the history was veritable; and as the common opinions were not prejudicial to piety, they were at little trouble to disabuse the Jews."² He illustrates this by the use which the apostles made of the Septuagint, saying that they cite it "not because they believe it is always perfectly conformed to the original, but because, as it did not contain anything contrary to piety, it was not necessary to scandalize those who regarded it with respect in refusing to make use of it."³

3. No modern critic has given a better, or at least a more plausible, answer to the question: "If Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch, whence came this so ancient opinion?" While he recognizes the difficulty, and even says, "We cannot reply to this question," yet he affirms that this inability is merely due to the fact "that the history of the sacred books not being sufficiently known to us, we cannot satisfy our curiosity as we would wish." But he offers this suggestion: "It would seem that at the beginning they called these books 'the law of Moses' only because it was inserted in them; for they contain more than the

on ne trouveroit aucune chose dans les Livres suivans, qui ne pût être de Moïse, il ne s'ensuivroit pas qu'ils en fussent véritablement, puis qu'étant du même Auteur que celui de la Genèse, si ce dernier, tel que nous l'avons, n'est pas de Moïse, les autres n'en sont pas non plus." etc., in regard to other passages in the Pentateuch.

¹ Ibid., p. 120.

² Ibid., p. 126.

³ Ibid., p. 126

law, 'sed denominatio fiebat a potiori parte'; and they have extended this manner of speaking as if it signified that Moses was the only author of these books." He finds a support for his conjecture in the fact "that there is no title before the Pentateuch [in the Hebrew text] which attributes it to Moses, as is seen before the writings of the prophets, by which the author of each book is known."¹

4. He rejects Spinoza's theory that Ezra was the author of the Pentateuch, as appears from the following quotation: "The Samaritans, as all the world knows, and as Father Simon has remarked, have the five books of the Old Testament in the ancient Hebrew characters, in the place of which the Jews have changed these characters, and have substituted for them those which they used in Chaldea. . . . One cannot conceive how these people, who were sworn enemies to the Jews, would be willing to borrow the law from them, and so it is not credible that they made their copy from that of Ezra."²

5. For these reasons, as well as on account of the accurate knowledge which the author of the Pentateuch in certain passages betrays of Chaldea,³ he holds that the five books were brought into their present forms by "an Israelitish priest, whom they sent from Babylon to instruct the new inhabitants of Palestine concerning the manner in which they ought to serve God" (2 Kings xvii. 28). He thinks that this priest, either alone or aided by others, in order to break up the polytheism of the people of the country, undertook to give

¹ Sentimens, p. 127.

² Ibid., p. 128.

³ He says (Sentimens, p. 107), concerning Gen. ii. 11, 12: "Ces remarques semblent venir d'un Auteur qui a été en ce païs-là, c'est à dire, en Chaldée, . . . Il n'y a pas d'apparence que Moïse, qui ne s'étoit jamais fort éloigné de l'Egypte, eût tant de connoissance d'un païs assez éloigné, dans un temps où les voyages étoient fort rares et fort difficiles. Il y en a encore moins que Dieu lui ait révélé qu'il y avoit de l'or dans ce païs-là, et que cet or étoit bon." The assumption that Moses could not have had the geographical knowledge presupposed in Genesis is quite without foundation. We have reason to believe that the Egyptians, whose country was the home of Shemites and Phoenicians, had a pretty thorough knowledge of Chaldea. Certainly there is no difficulty in believing that one who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" in the time of Ramses II, could have written all that Leclerc attributes to his Chaldean priest.

them a history of the creation of the world by one God alone, and an epitome of the history of the Jews, with the law from which "it appears that there is only one God, who is the one whom the Israelites adore."¹

These free opinions, although not all conflicting with the Mosaic authorship of those parts of the Pentateuch which are assigned to Moses and the historicity of the whole, brought much animadversion upon Leclerc, until he finally withdrew them in favor of the Mosaic authorship in the preface to his commentary on the Book of Genesis.

3. *Astruc* (b. 1684; d. 1766).

While the preceding critics, as we have seen, were theologians by profession,—one being a Roman Catholic priest, and the other a Protestant minister and theological professor,—Jean Astruc² was a layman. He was born in Languedoc. His father was a Protestant preacher, but soon after the birth of his son he became a Roman Catholic. The son devoted himself to the study of medicine, and in this manifested a truly scientific spirit. He rose rapidly in his profession, occupying various positions of honor, and serving as Professor of Medicine in Toulouse and Montpellier, until he reached the summit of his ambition in his appointment to the royal college of Paris. He was a voluminous writer, mostly of medical treatises, some of which were of a very high order of merit. When he was about seventy years of age, after he had had a literary career for fifty years, he published his *Conjectures upon the Original Memoirs which Moses seems to have used in composing the Book of Genesis*.³

¹ *Sentimens*, p. 129.

² Cf. Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1861, Vol. iii. pp. 486–488.

³ *Conjectures sur les Memoires Originaux Dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genese. Avec des Remarques, qui appuient ou qui éclaircissent ces conjectures.* Avia Pieri lum peragro loca, nullius antè trita solo. A Bruxelles, Chez Fricx, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté, vis-à-vis l'Eglise de la Madeleine. M.DCC.LIII. Avec Privilège et Approbation. The size of the volume is 6½ x 4 inches. This is a rare book, and is found in very few German university libraries. There is a copy at Leipzig, although there are said to be none at Erlangen and Berlin. The one which I have used, besides the copy at Leipzig,

The fear that the pretended free-thinkers of the time would misuse his work to degrade the authority of the Pentateuch kept him for some time from publishing it. His earnest desire not to be a stumbling-block in the way of true religion, and his readiness to withdraw his views at any time if they should be found erroneous, as well as the whole tone of his discussion, indicate a truly noble and conservative spirit. It would seem as though one could not read his book without being impressed with his sincerity and love of truth.¹

His position with reference to some of the preceding critics is best indicated by his own statements: "Spinoza, who in abusing the apparent disorder of these two histories [i.e. the marriage of the children of Judah and the abduction of Dinah] has taken upon himself to say² that 'all is written was kindly loaned me by my friend, the Rev. Alexander Robb, D.D., of Kingston, Jamaica.

¹ The following is part of the preface (*Avertissement*), which shows the spirit of the author: "Cet Ouvrage estoit composé depuis quelque tems, mais j'hésitois à le publier, dans la crainte que les pretendus Esprits-forts, qui cherchent, à s'étaier de tout, ne pussent en abuser pour diminuer l'autorité du Pentateuque. Un homme instruit, et trez zelé pour la Religion, à qui je l'ai communiqué, a dissipé mes scruples Sur son avis, j'ai donc pris le parti de donner cet Ouvrage, et de le soumettre au jugement des Personnes éclairées, dont j'écouterai les observations avec plaisir. Je proteste d'avance trez sincèrement, que si ceux qui ont droit d'en décider, et dont je dois respecter les décisions, trouvent mes conjectures ou fausses, ou dangereuses, je suis prêt à les abandonner, ou pour mieux dire, je les abandonne dès à present. Jamais la prévention pour mes idées ne prévaudra chez moi à l'amour de la Verité et de la Religion."

² Astruc, *Conjectures*, pp. 452, 453, refers to Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, cap. ix. He says that there was a French translation of the book printed in 1678, and entitled, *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des interessé, etc.* Spinoza in the chapter cited above, states the case as follows: "At non tantum hoc caput, sed totam Josephi et Jacobi historiam ex diversis historicis decerptam et descriptam esse necessario fatendum est, adeo parum sibi constare videmus. Cap. enim 47. Genes narrat quod Jahacob cum primum Pharahonem ducente Josephus salutavit, annos 130. natus erat, a quibus si auferantur viginti duo, quos propter Josephi absentiam in moerore transegit et praeterea septemdecim aetatis Josephi cum venderetur, et denique septem, quos propter Rachelem servivit, reperietur ipsum provecitissimae aetatis fuisse, octoginta scilicet et quatuor annorum, cum Leam in uxorem duceret et contra Dianam vix septem fuisse annorum, cum a Sechemo vim passa est, Simeon autem et Levi vix duodecim et undecim, cum totam illam civitatem deprodati sunt, ejusque omnes cives gladio confecerunt," etc. See his *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, Jenae, 1802, Vol. i. pp. 291, 292.

pell-mell in the five books of the Pentateuch; that neither history nor narration is in the right place; that there is no regard to time; and all that we read there has been gathered and put confusedly together.' His temerity is not even confined to this point. All the world knows that he has carried it so far as to maintain 'that it was Ezra who composed the five books of the Pentateuch, that he did not put the last hand on the narratives contained in them,' In order to prove this, he has collected in the ninth chapter of his book different passages of the Pentateuch, and in particular of Genesis, which he is compelled to abuse in order to establish this strange paradox.

"In this he has been anticipated by Thomas Hobbes,¹ who in a work written against religion and against the clergy had some time before attempted to establish the same sentiment, and has made use of the same passages; and by Isaac de la Peyrere,² who in order to maintain that there were men before Adam has attempted to discredit the authority of Genesis, which is contrary to him, in advancing that Moses was not the author, and has alleged in proof the same citations.

"It seems that this has been the malady of the last century. M. Leclerc, who published in 1685 against *L'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* of M. Simon a collection of letters under the title of *Sentimens de Quelques Theologiens de Hollande*, far from combatting these false and hazardous opinions well, that M. Simon has advanced upon the subject, has gone much farther than he, and, after having gathered all that Hobbes, la Peyrere, Spinoza have said besides, and after having added all the other passages which he could gather, and which he believed to favor this opinion, he has boldly concluded that the Pentateuch was the work of an 'Israelitish priest, whom they sent from Babylon to instruct the new inhabitants of Palestine in the manner in which it was necessary that they should serve God, as the author of the Books of Kings relates in the seventeenth chapter of the second book.'

¹ Cf. my article in the *Bib. Sac.*, Vol. xli. p. 12 ff.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 14 ff.

"We must not, however, refuse an honor that he has merited, in that, having better examined this question in a dissertation entitled *De Scriptore Pentateuchi*, the force of the truth has struck him, and he has had the courage to retract, and to declare that he regards Moses as the author of the Pentateuch. He has proved the same by a great number of precise testimonies, taken from the same Pentateuch, which he has quoted, in which he has imitated and even copied M. Huet and most of the other commentators. He has joined to these proofs the suffrages of the whole Jewish church, which has attributed the Pentateuch to Moses constantly, and that which is infinitely more strong, the testimony of Philip (John i. 45) one of the apostles, and especially that of Jesus Christ (John v. 46), who has also attributed it to him. [Thus] the question has been carried to such a degree of evidence that one cannot doubt that the Pentateuch is the work of Moses." ¹

While Astruc stoutly maintained that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, he held, as he says, with Clericus, Simon, Fleury, and François, "that Moses in writing Genesis had recourse to ancient memoirs, which guided him with respect to the circumstances, the dates, and the chronological order of the events which he relates, and also in regard to the details of the genealogies." ²

Astruc says that fundamentally he has the same view, only he carries his conjectures farther, and is more decided. He maintains that "Moses had in his hands ancient memoirs containing the history of his ancestors from the creation of the world; that in order to lose nothing of these memoirs he has separated them into bits (*par morceau*), following the facts which are there related; that he has inserted these bits entire, one after another; and that the Book of Genesis has been formed through this combination." ³ Before giving his account of these different sources, which he groups under certain letters, we subjoin the following table:

¹ *Conjectures sur la Genese*, pp. 455, 456. ² *Ibid.*, p. 7. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

TABLE OF THE DIFFERENT MEMOIRS.¹

	A. (Elohim).	B. (Jehovah).	C.	AB.	D. [= E.F.G.H.I.J.K.L.M.] ²
Vof. XLI. No. 164.	Gen. i.-ii. 3.	ii. 4-iv.			
	v.	vi. 1-8.			
	vi. 9-22.	vii. 1-5, 11-18, 21, 24.	vii. 20, 23, 24.		
	vii. 6-10, 19, 22, 24.	viii. 20-22.			
	viii. 1-19.	ix. 11, 13-15, 18-27.			
	ix. 1-10, 12, 16-17.	x. 1-xi. 9, 27-xiii.	ix. 28-29.		
	xi. 10-26.	xv.-xvii. 2.		xiv. [E.]	
	xvii. 8-27.	xviii.-xix. 28.		xix. 29-38. [F.]	
	xx. 1-17.	xx. 18-xxi. 1, 33-34.			
	xxi. 2-32.	xxii. 11-19.		xxii. 20-24. [G.]	
	xxii. 1-10.	xxiv.			
	xxv. 1-11.	xxv. 19-xxvi. 33.		xxv. 12-18. [H.]	
	xxx. 1-23.	xxvii., xxviii. 6, 10-xxix.		xxvi. 34-35. [K.]	
	xxxi. 4-47, 51-xxxii. 2.	xxx. 24-xxx. 3.		xxviii. 6-9. [K.]	
	xxxii. 24-xxxiii. 16.	xxxi. 48-50.			
		xxxii. 9-23.			
		xxxiii. 17-20.			
	xxxv.	xxxviii.-xxxix.		xxxiv. [I.]	
	xxxvii.	xlix. 1-28.		xxxv.	
	xl.-xlviii.			xxxvi. 1-19; 31-43. [L.]	
	xlix. 29-1.			xxxvi. 20-30. [M.]	
Ex. i.-ii.			xxxiv. [9]		

¹ Astruc arranges the various extracts from the documents through 255 pages, in columns something as follows, e.g. (Gen. vii. 16-21):

A 19. Et les eaux se renforcerent trez fort sur la terre. & furent converties toutes les plus hautes montagnes estans sous les cieux.

O 20. Les eaux se renforcerent de quinze condées par dessus: dont les montagnes furent converties.

B 21. Et toute chair qui se mouvoit sur la terre, expleta, tant des oiseaux que du bestail, des bestes & de tous rentiles qui se traioient sur la terre: & tous hommes.

² The subdivision of D into E-M is not indicated in columns, but in a separate analysis, which is given pp 308-314.

Astruc gives the following description of the memoirs, together with that of their authors :

A. — He believes, in general, that Moses had two principal memoirs, which embrace the entire extent of Genesis ; in one of which, beginning with the first chapter, the name Elohim occurs. This he places in the first column, and calls it *Memoire A.*¹

As to the authorship of these memoirs, he is not ashamed to confess that he does not know anything.² He conjectures, however, with respect to the Elohim document, that the first two chapters of Exodus, which belong to it, were written by Amram, Moses' father, as a family document ;³ and that the rest of the memoir, which contains more ancient facts, came from the patriarch Levi, the grandfather of Amram, who could have written the events of his time at the end of a more ancient account (*memoire*) which he received from his ancestors Jacob, Isaac, or Abraham, without being able to determine who could be the historian of the times preceding the deluge, but with the full persuasion that they were preserved in the families of Seth and Enoch."⁴ He suspects that the history of Joseph, which is found almost complete in this memoir (Gen. xl.—xlv.), was written by Joseph himself, because it contains personal facts which could only be known by himself, and which are far better written than the rest, as might be expected, since the author passed a great part of his life at the court of Egypt, where politeness and the sciences were regnant. He naïvely remarks that as Joseph was kept by modesty from alluding to Potiphar's wife, that therefore Moses derived this account (Gen. xxxix.) from Memoir B.⁵ He thinks it probable that Gen. xxxiv., with

¹ Conjectures, p. 308.

² Conjectures, p. 316 : " Mais j'avoué de bonne foi que je n'en sai rien, *Nec [me] pudet fateri nescire, quod nesciam* (Ciceronis Tusculan. Disputat. i. 25).

³ Conjectures, p. 317.

⁴ Conjectures, p. 318.

⁵ Conjectures, p. 319 : " Il faut pourtant excepter le chapitre xxxix, où se trouve l'histoire de la femme de Potiphar. . . . Comme le nom de Jchozah est employé dans ce chapitre en parlant de Dieu, on doit le rapporter au Mémoire



reference to the rape of Dinah and its consequences, was written by Levi, the great grandfather of Moses. He conjectures that Moses secured the particular accounts which give the genealogy of Ishmael (Gen. xxv.), the marriage of Esau, his genealogy, and that of the Horites (Gen. xxvi., xxviii., xxxvi.) during the forty years that he passed among the Midianites with Jethro his father-in-law, or during the forty years in which he wandered in the wilderness with the Israelites. On one side the Ishmaelites and Idumeans were neighbors of the Midianites; and Moses, who was conducting the flocks of his father-in-law and went to Mount Sinai (Ex. iii. 1), could more easily go to the lands of these peoples. The Hebrews, whom Moses led from Egypt, camped for a long time on the frontiers of these peoples before their entrance into the promised land. Hence Moses could have the opportunity of gathering all the memoirs which they might have concerning their origin and history.¹

He believes "in the same manner that Moses could have derived the history of the war of the five cities in Gen. xiv. from the Midianites who dwelt to the east of the Dead Sea, and who suffered from the invasion of the four allied kings, particularly from the inhabitants of Zoar, where Lot retired after the destruction of Sodom." He also holds the same in regard to the history of the daughters of Lot, and conjectures that Moses received it from the Moabites and Ammonites, who were descended from these two children who were the fruit of their incest. "It is objected in vain that these people would have been on their guard against avowing an origin so shameful. They then had very different ideas on this subject from those that we have at the

B, et par conséquent à un autre Auteur que celui qui a écrit le reste de l'histoire de Joseph, laquelle appartient en entier, à cela près, au Mémoire A. Mais ne pourroit on pas soupçonner avec quelque vraisemblance, que Joseph aiant supprimé par modestie cet événement, Moïse a esté obligé de le prendre dans le Mémoire B, où il estoit raconté. . . . mais qu'à l'exception de ce fait particulier, tout le reste de l'histoire de Joseph a esté pris du Mémoire A, où elle estoit mieux écrite et mieux circonstanciée."

¹ Conjectures sur la Genèse, pp. 320, 321.

present day.¹ Abraham himself confessed that his wife was his sister (Gen. xx. 12), and, to quote a more conclusive example, Pharez and his posterity also came from the incest of Judah with his daughter Tamar; but they were not on this account less esteemed by the members of the tribe, nor did they fail to receive the first place."²

¹ Cf. Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 83, says that "as in ancient Persia so also in Egypt, where this custom also existed in the time of the Ptolemies, a connection of a brother and a sister was regarded as the best marriage for a prince, who thus kept the blood of his divinely honored race pure." Such a connection was not strange when we consider the mythology of the Egyptians and Assyrians. Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1882, p. 369 says of Osiris: "Isis, at one time his mother, at another his sister, at another his daughter, is always his wife." So Beltis was "the sister and consort of Bel." See Cooper, *An Archaic Dictionary*, London, 1876. Lenormant, *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, London, 1869, Vol. i. p. 256, says of Ramses II.: "Considering himself superior to all moral laws, he even went so far as to marry one of his own daughters, the princess Bent-Anat." Cooper, however, in the work cited above, disputes this. W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 270, finds in the marriage of Abraham and his sister, and in Tamar's proposition to her half-brother Amnon that they should be married (2 Sam. xiii. 13), a custom which was still current in the days of Ezekiel (xxii. 11). From this he infers that the strict prohibition of such marriages could not have been in existence until the time of Ezra. But we might about as reasonably conclude that while the law against taking foreign wives had been enacted, that against marrying a niece did not exist 200 B.C., since, while Solymius, the brother of Joseph, had conscientious scruples on account of the Jewish law about allowing his brother to have connection with a foreign dancing-girl, he gave him his own daughter, Joseph's niece. See Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, Lib. xii., iv. 6. It is evident that such argumentation as that of W. Robertson Smith in this case is based upon a too limited induction.

² In the above paragraphs I have given a free rendering from Astruc, *Conjectures*, pp. 321, 322. His comments upon the ancient custom of connections which were afterwards clearly stamped as incestuous, in view of the preceding remark, are far more reasonable than the supposition of some critics that this story has arisen from the hatred of Israel against Edom and Moab. Stade presents this idea in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1881, p. 118: "Der ganze Hass Israels gegen den seinen Besitz vertheidigenden und immer wieder zurückerobernden Bruderstamm Moab spricht sich in der Sage aus, dass Moab und das nachher zu besprechende Volk Ammon aus dem blutschänderischen Umgange Lots und Seiner Töchter entstanden seien, Gen. xix. 30 ff." Goldzier, in his *Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine Geschichtliche Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1876, who discovers the dualism of light and darkness between most of the so-called Biblical myths, gives this same story quite another expla-

B.—In the other memoir the name which is given to God is Jehovah. It commences with the second chapter of Genesis; hence he places it in the second column, and designates it by the letter B.¹ Astruc does not venture any conjecture as to its authorship, or the manner in which Moses secured it. But he thinks we cannot doubt that it came from some of the ancient patriarchs, who were pious and very much attached to the worship of the true God; for they always speak of the greatness of God and the reverence that is due to him. Moreover, it is a very important memoir for religion, and contains the facts which lie at its foundation,—as the history of the terrestrial paradise, the temptation of Eve, the fall of Adam, the fratricide of Cain, etc.²

C.—In the description of the deluge he finds some things repeated in Gen. vii. three times. He therefore assigns verses 20, 23 to a third memoir, which he calls C. He also places in the same column certain facts—as the abduction of Dinah—which have respect to the families of the patriarchs, and in the narration of which the name of God does not occur, although in this translation they appear under D.³

D.—There are several other passages where the history is interrupted by the narration of events which are foreign to the direct history of the patriarchs so far as it relates to the Hebrew nation, and where there was no occasion to speak of God either as Jehovah or Elohim. He thinks that these

nation in accordance with his theories, thus illustrating the lengths to which critics can go in support of a favorite hypothesis. He says (p. 223): “Es kann nun kein Zweifel darüber obwalten, dass unser Lôt identisch sei mit zeinem Arabischen Namensbruder kâfir, dem Verhüllenden, der verdeckenden Nacht. Betrachten wir nun den Mythos. Die Töchter der Nacht vereinigen sich mit dem Vater. Wenn die Abendröthe—sie ist auch Tochter der Nacht (denn der Mythos identificirt, wie wir gesehen haben, Morgen- und Abendröthe)—sich mit den Schatten der Nacht vereinigt, immer finsterner und trüber wird, um dann endlich ganz in der Nacht aufzugehen, da sagte der mythosschaffende Mensch: Die Töchter Lôts des Verdeckenden, gehen zu ihrem Vater ins Beilager, und der muntere, lebensfrohe Charakter, den der Mythos an der Röthe wol im Vergleiche mit der dunkeln, schwerfälligen Nacht gefunden haben mag, liess ihn die Sache so erscheinen, als wäre der alte Lôt das Opfer einer Intrigue seiner wollüstigen Töchter.”

¹ Conjectures, p. 308.

² Ibid., pp. 322–323.

³ Ibid., p. 309.

passages must belong to a different narrative than those which precede, and so he places them under the letter D.¹

E.—He regards Gen. xiv. as belonging to an entirely different account from that which precedes or follows. In it Abraham plays a great *rôle*, but one that is entirely different from that which is represented in the rest of Genesis. Hence he thinks there is no doubt that it is an extract from a fifth memoir E.

F.—With reference to this document he says: "After the description of the destruction of Sodom, which occupies a great part of chapter xix., and which belongs to Memoir B, we find at verse 29 the history of the incest of the daughters of Lot with their father, whence have come the Moabites and Ammonites. This fact is foreign to the history of the Hebrews, and it appears that it is a manifest interpolation. Hence I regard it as an extract from a sixth memoir, which I have called F."²

G.—"At the end of chapter xxii., at the five last verses, we find a detail concerning the family of Nahor which may well have some connection with the history of the patriarchs, whence the Hebrew nation was descended. In this way we learn the origin of Rebecca, who was espoused some time afterwards to Isaac. But this genealogical detail is none the less a foreign piece in the body of Genesis, and I believe that it ought to be placed under a seventh memoir G."³

H.—Under this letter he places the genealogy of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 12-19), which he considers still more foreign to the history of Genesis, of which it interrupts the narrative. He is inclined to the same opinion about the genealogy of Abraham and Keturah, in the first five verses of the same chapter, although he is not decided."⁴

I.—He considers the history of the rape of Dinah a ninth narrative. He says: "It has the same characteristics as the history of the war of the Pentapolis (Gen. xiv.), in being foreign to the history of Genesis, in intercepting the narra-

¹ Conjectures, p. 310.

² Ibid., p. 311.

³ Ibid., p. 311.

⁴ Ibid., p. 312.

tive, and in appearing to have been inserted as an interpolation." ¹

K and **L**.—He says: "There remain three passages respecting Esau: the first xxvi. 34–35, which treats of his first two marriages; the second xxviii. 6–10, where his third marriage is mentioned; and the third xxxvi., where a detailed account is given of his posterity, occupying the whole chapter. The narrative is so broken that one cannot doubt that they are interpolations."

He does not believe, however, that these interpolations could be regarded as extracts from the same memoir, for the following reason: "In the two first passages there is given to Esau for his first wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite; for the second, Bashe-math the daughter of Elon, also a Hittite; and for the third, Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael and the sister of Nebajoth. In place of these in the last passage, where the same three women are given to Esau, the first is called Ada the daughter of Elon the Hittite; the second, Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, who was the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; and the third, Bashe-math the daughter of Ishmael and the sister of Nebajoth."

He remarks: "I have not been embarrassed by the diversity of the names, for which the commentators give good reasons. Names are only epithets among the Orientals. The same person has several, or changes them according to occasions; and this is confirmed by a great number of examples. But I could not persuade myself that if these three passages came from the same hand the author would give such different names to the three wives of Esau." He thinks, therefore, that it is more reasonable to refer these three passages concerning Esau to two different memoirs—the first two to **K**, and the last to **L**. ²

M.—In this last passage, where the posterity of Esau is mentioned, he finds a particular insertion (Gen. xxxvi. 20–31), where the question is concerning the posterity of Seir the Horite, which is not only foreign to the history of Gen-

¹ Conjectures, p. 312.

² Ibid., pp. 312–314.

esis, but also to that of Esau, and which he consequently regards as an extract from a twelfth memoir M.¹

He says respecting the ten last memoirs (C-M), that each has reference to some particular fact, and that they are either mere extracts from much longer memoirs, which Moses did not find it fitting to insert entirely, because they were too foreign to the history of the Hebrew people, or were originally particular simple relations of those facts which Moses inserted entirely. He remarks in closing that one can reduce the ten last memoirs to a less number, or, on the contrary, can divide the two first (A and B) into several.²

Astruc next raises the question as to the language in which the memoirs were written. His conclusion is that they were written in Hebrew. He rejects the theory that Hebrew was the language of Paradise,³ but maintains that it was the language of Canaan, which Abraham easily learned, since his native language, the Chaldee, was a dialect of the same group of languages.⁴ In any case, he says, it is undeniable that all the nations from whom as he supposes Moses received these memoirs belonged to the posterity of the family of Abraham, as the Ishmaelites by Hagar, the Midianites by Keturah, the Idumeans who were descended from Esau or Edom; finally, the Ammonites and Moabites, who were descendants of Lot, the nephew of Abraham. Hence he argues that the Ishmaelites, Midianites, Idumeans, Moabites, and Ammonites all spoke the Hebrew language. He affirms that this conclusion is confirmed by examining the proper names of the kings and of the illustrious men of these nations, who are named in the Scriptures, or the places which these nations occupy, and of which Scripture makes mention.⁵

¹ Conjectures, p. 314.

² Ibid., pp. 314, 315.

³ It was held by some not only that Adam spoke Hebrew, but also that he invented the consonants, the vowel-points, and the accents. See Buxtorfi Tractatus De Punctorum Vocalium, et Accentuum, in Libris Veteris Testamenti Hebraicis, Origine, Antiquitate, et Autoritate, Basilae, 1648, p. 305.

⁴ Conjectures, p. 325.

⁵ The theory that Hebrew was the language of Canaan is accepted at the present time as the true one; cf. Gesenius, Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache

Astruc proceeds to consider the advantages of his theory :

I. It explains the peculiarity which we find in Genesis of long narratives where only the name Elohim or Jehovah is used, without confounding them together in the same passages. He calls attention to the fact that Tertullian caught a glimpse of this peculiarity. According to Tertullian God is God by his essence, and when this is to be expressed he receives the name of Elohim. But he can only be called Lord when he has created the universe, and especially man, who ought to recognize his dominion. God is the designation of divinity; Lord is the designation of power. The substance with its name God always existed; but the name Lord was afterwards added, as of something coming into being. Tertullian finds proof of this theory in the first chapter of Genesis. He says: "How neatly does the Scripture lend us its aid, when it applies the two titles to him with a distinction, and reveals them each at its proper time! For [the title] *God*, indeed, which always belonged to him, it names at the very first: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth'; and as long as he continued making, one after another, those things of which he was to be the Lord, it merely mentions God: 'And *God* said,' 'and *God* made,' 'and *God* saw'; but nowhere do we yet find the *Lord*. But when he completed the whole creation, and especially man himself, who

und Schrift, Leipzig, 1815, pp. 16, 17; Schröder, Die Phönizische Sprache, Halle, 1869, pp. 9, 10; Schenkel, Bibel-Lexikon, Leipzig, 1869, vol. ii. p. 614; Herzog and Plitt, Real-Encyklopädie, Leipzig, 1879, vol. v. p. 688. Stade, however, Morgenländischen Forschungen, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 169-232, and König, Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 14 ff., maintain that the patriarchs did not exchange their language for that of Canaan, but that the close resemblance between the Phœnician and Hebrew languages has arisen because both were derived from an old Canaanitic language. König thinks it probable that Abraham in his home, Ur of the Chaldees, spoke a dialect which was closely related with that of the Phœnicians who originally lived [according to a credible tradition] on the other side of the Persian Gulf previously to their emigration to Palestine. While it may be accepted as certain that the Hebrews and the Canaanites spoke essentially the same language, it cannot definitely be determined whether Abraham learned the language of Canaan after coming into it, or whether the dialect which he brought with him was essentially the same as that of the country which he made his home.

is destined to understand his sovereignty in a way of special propriety, he is then designated Lord. Then also [the Scripture] added the name *Lord*, 'And the Lord God took the man whom he had formed,'"¹ etc. Augustine has also recognized the difference in the names which are given to God in the first and second chapters of Genesis; and in order to give a reason he has adopted the remark of Tertullian. But Astruc, while admitting that this reason might be good for the first two chapters, says: "This variation is so striking and so often repeated that I defy any one ever to render a sufficient reason for supposing that all of Genesis came from the same hand, and that it was composed by the same person. This difficulty vanishes, however, if one admits my conjecture, and supposes that the memoir where God is called Elohim came from one hand, and that the other, where he is called Jehovah, came from another."²

II. A second advantage is in the avoidance of repetitions, of which he gives the following examples:

1. There are two accounts of the creation. "After a detailed recital of the creation of the world day by day, which fills the first chapter [of Genesis]," we have the completion of the account in ii. 1-3. After this is another recital, from ii. 4 to iv., where we have in a few words the creation of the universe, of plants, of animals, and of man, but where there is a detailed account of the creation of Eve; after which there is a description of Paradise, the temptation of Eve, the fall of Adam, and their punishment.

Astruc says that "this repetition has appeared so shocking to all the translators, even to those who made the Genevan version, that they have sought to palliate it by translating the preterite perfects or the aorists, which alone are found in Hebrew, by pluperfects, which are not known in the Hebrew language; e.g. ii. 7, 'L'Eternel avoit formé l'homme de la poudre de la terre, et avoit soufflé es narines d'icelui respiration de vie, dont l'homme fut fait en ame vivante,' in place of which the original has, 'Or l'Eternel forma l'homme de la

¹ *Adversus Hermogenem*, iii.

² *Conjectures*, pp. 332-335.

poudre de la terre, et souffla ez narines d'icelui respiration de vie, dont l'homme fut fait en ame vivante.'"¹ And so, he says, all the other passages have been represented as a simple recapitulation of the first narrative, where there is a second narrative accompanied by new circumstances.

Astruc remarks further: "But in my opinion there is no need of doing the least violence to the words of the text, nor of seeking to palliate the repetition, for there is none. The first narrative pertains to a first memoir A, and the second to a second B, which Moses found it desirable to join together, because of some important particulars which are in each, and which he believed he ought to transmit to posterity."²

2. There are parallel repetitions in the history of the deluge. (1) The corruption of man before the deluge is described twice (cf. Gen. vi. 1-8 with vs. 11-14). (2) God (Elohim) commands that Noah should receive into the ark a certain number of pairs of animals, of birds, and of reptiles (Gen. vi. 19-21), and it is added (vs. 22) that Noah did according to all the things which God had commanded him. We find the same orders given by Jehovah to Noah (Gen. vii. 1-4), and it is added that Noah did according to all the things which Jehovah had commanded him. (3) Noah's age is given twice (Gen. vii. 6; cf. 11). So, too, it is twice said that all the beasts entered into the ark (cf. vs. 8-10 with 14-16), etc.

3. The genealogy of Shem is given as far as Peleg and his brother Joktan in Gen. x. 22-25. The posterity of Joktan is given in the following verses, from 26 to 29. The same genealogy of Shem to Peleg is given in xi. 10-19. The latter belongs to A, and the former certainly belongs to B, because the name Jehovah is given in it to God (vs. 9).³

While giving these and other parallel accounts, which

¹ While Astruc is right as to the translation of this passage, his statement that there are no pluperfects in Hebrew is of course wrong. Cf. Green, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, New York, 1871, § 126, 2; Müller, *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*, Glasgow, 1882, p. 1, etc.

² Conjectures, pp. 359-361.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-364.

prove to his mind that Moses drew from two documents, he says that there are some repetitions which have not arisen from the combination of two different accounts, but have come : (1) Through the insertion in the text by the transcriber of certain notes and explanations which were placed in the margin by way of explanation ; e.g. Gen. xiii. 18 ; xxiii. 2, 19 ; xxxv. 27, where in speaking of Mamre, or Kirjath Arba, the name Hebron is added. But Astruc says it is evident that this repetition came because the copyists inserted in the text a marginal note, which they added to indicate the modern name of the place, because it had another in the time of Abraham, and even of Moses, which was no longer in use when it was found necessary to add the marginal note. (2) Such repetitions have arisen through the genius of the Hebrew language. Since it is wanting in certain words, it has to employ circumlocutions which have the air of repetitions (Gen. xxix. 10). (3) There are other repetitions which are formulas of civility and respect established by usage, which might not be dispensed with when an inferior was speaking with a superior. (4) Repetitions used to make a greater impression (Ex. xxxii. 9 ; xxxiii. 5 ; xxxiv. 9). He also adds repetitions arising from the poverty of the Hebrew language in the conjugation of the verbs, in the declension of the nouns, etc. ; from Hebrew idioms ; and from the custom of primitive times. But, making due allowance for all such repetitions, he considers those of which he speaks of a far different character.¹

III. The greatest advantage that he claims for this theory is, that it disposes of the anachronisms and the hystero-logies, that is, the reversals in the order of the chronology and in the course of the narrative. He says that the commentators have labored to explain these in vain, and gives the following examples :

1. The anachronism which makes Abraham die before the birth of Esau and Jacob. The twenty-fourth chapter treats of the orders which Abraham gave to the servant when he

¹ Conjectures, pp. 366-370.

went to Haran to seek in his family a wife for his son Isaac, of the arrival in the land of Canaan, and of the consummation of her marriage with Isaac. We read in xxv. 1-6 of the second marriage of Abraham with Keturah, of the children which he had, and of the posterity of these children. In vs. 7-11 the death of Abraham is given, and his funeral, which his two sons Isaac and Ishmael attended, where occasion is taken to relate the posterity of Ishmael; after which, returning to Isaac (vs. 19 to the end of the chapter), it speaks of his marriage, of the sterility of Rebecca, and finally of the birth of Esau and of Jacob.

"To follow the order of this narrative we should be persuaded that Isaac did not marry, and with yet stronger reason that his sons were not born, until after the death of Abraham; and so Josephus understood the matter.¹ But Josephus is deceived."

"Abraham was one hundred years old when Isaac was born (Gen. xxi. 5), and Isaac was forty years old when he married (Gen. xxv. 20), and sixty years old when his two sons Esau and Jacob were born (Gen. xxv. 26). Thus the marriage of Isaac corresponds to the year 140 of the age of Abraham, and the birth of Esau and Jacob to the year 160, but Abraham died at the age of 175 (Gen. xxv. 7). Hence, Isaac was married thirty-five years before the death of Abraham, and Abraham did not die until fifteen years after the birth of the two sons of Isaac."²

Astruc finds in his theory an explanation of this difficulty. He says that xxv. 19, which belongs to memoir B, joins on to the ends of xxiv., which belongs to the same memoir, and of which it is a continuation, and that the eighteen verses at the beginning of xxv. range themselves under two other memoirs.

2. He says that Gen. xxxviii. furnishes a still greater difficulty. After it has been related in the preceding chapters

¹ Antiq. Jud., lib. i. cap. xviii. : "Ἰσάκῃ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀβραάμου τελευτὴν ἐκείνη τὸ γυναικίον.

² Conjectures, pp. 380, 381.

how Joseph was sold by his brothers to the Midianites who carried him to Egypt, the following chapter gives an account of Judah's marriage, of the marriage of his first-born, his death, and the marriage of Tamar with his second son, Judah's own connection with her, and the fruit of it in the birth of Pharez and Zarah. In xlv. 12 it is related that Pharez was married and had two children when he descended into Egypt with Jacob his grandfather.

He continues : " Now we are to see whether these events could have happened between the time when Joseph was sold by his brothers and the descent of Jacob into Egypt. When Joseph was sold he was seventeen years of age (Gen. xxxvii. 2). He was thirty years of age when he was presented to Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 46). Consequently, computing the seven years of abundance, and the two years of sterility, he ought to have been thirty-nine years of age when he made himself known to his brothers, since their second journey to Egypt marked the second year of famine (xlv. 6) ; and he ought to have been forty years of age when his father descended into Egypt, since it is certain that Jacob did not arrive until after the second journey of his sons. Subtracting the seventeen from forty we find that the space of time between the coming of Joseph and the descent of Jacob ought to have been twenty-three years, and all the commentators agree in this.

" But it is manifestly impossible that in an interval of twenty-three years Judah should have married, that his wife should have had three sons, that the two first should have been of an age to espouse Tamar, and should have married her successively ; that after the death of the second Judah should have diverted Tamar for some time with the [hope of a] marriage with his third son " ; that she should have deceived him, and conceived twins, of whom the elder begat two sons ; all this the commentators regard as an impossibility.

" This difficulty has been met in two ways. Some adopt the explanation that the two sons of Pharez were born in Egypt, and say that this narrative of Moses, giving this history of Judah and his children is in its place, and that it really

occurred after the coming of Joseph; that Pharez, the elder of the children of Judah and Tamar, was not married, still less had children, when Jacob went down into Egypt. They maintain that Moses no more pretended to say this when he made mention of those two children in the enumeration of the children of Judah (Gen. xlii. 12), but that he only mentioned them because they were born in Egypt during the seventeen years that Jacob still lived, and that this is the reason that they ought to be counted as if they had entered with him.

"They think that they can establish this opinion by the example of the sons which Moses attributes to Benjamin, to the number of ten (Gen. xlii. 21), when he descended into Egypt with Jacob his father. According to them it is absolutely impossible, in view of the age of Benjamin at that time, that all his ten children should then have been born; and it is necessary to suppose that the greater part of them were not born until he came to Egypt; but they believe that Moses did not omit to mention that, as it were, they entered into Egypt with Jacob, because they hold with Augustine that the time of the entrance of Jacob and his family into Egypt ought to embrace the whole life of Joseph.¹ . . .

"But these conjectures are completely destroyed by the text of Genesis: (1) Moses says expressly (xlii. 7) that Jacob brought with him to Egypt his children, and his children's children,—this can only mean the children who were already born; (2) Moses, after making an enumeration of the family of Jacob, adds (xlii. 26) that all the persons appertaining to Jacob who came into Egypt, and who went out of his loins . . . were in all sixty-six,—this can only comprehend the persons really existing. To these passages, which should be decisive, we can add several others which are not less clear or conclusive, Ex. i. 1, 5; Deut. x. 22, etc.

"If it be true that the time of the entrance of Jacob into

¹ Cf. De Civitate Dei. Lib. xvi. 40: "Sed nimirum introitus Iacob in Aegyptum, quando eum in septuaginta quinque animabus scriptura commemorat, non unus dies vel unus annus, sed totum illud est tempus, quamdiu vixit Joseph, per quem factum est ut intrarent."

Egypt does not reduce itself to the time when he made it, but can be made to mean the whole duration of the life of Joseph, there should not be sixty-six persons in Moses' enumeration of those who entered into Egypt with Jacob, but five or six thousand; since it is evident that the family of Jacob ought to increase in Egypt to this number at least in the space of seventy years, from the arrival of Jacob until the death of Joseph."¹ This Astruc maintains on the supposition that in two hundred and fifteen years the Israelites became 2,000,000 (Ex. xxxviii. 26; Num. i. 46).

"Now this first opinion is absolutely untenable. Few of the commentators have followed it. A great number, and Augustine on reflection,² do not hesitate to agree that the history of Judah related in Gen. xxxviii. is displaced not only in the order of the narrative, but also in that of the chronology, and it is necessary to go back until the time of the arrival of Jacob in the land of Canaan. By this means we gain an interval of thirty-four years instead of twenty-three, for Joseph was six years of age when Jacob came from Mesopotamia, as appears on comparing Gen. xxx. 25 with xxxi. 41. So taking six years from forty for the time when he arrived in Canaan and his departure for Egypt, we can better put in this space of time all the events that happened to Judah and his children.

"This opinion accords perfectly well with my conjectures upon the distribution of Genesis; for xxxviii., where the history of Judah and his children is found, belongs to memoir B, and consequently should be joined to xxxvii. 17, which belongs to the same memoir, and which contains that which Jacob did when he arrived in Canaan, without having any connection with xxxiv.—xxxvii., which are between both, and which belong to other memoirs, as one can see in the distribution of Genesis."³ These will suffice to show the kind of difficulties which Astruc points out, and which he thinks are partially relieved by his theory.

¹ Conjectures, p. 387.

² Quæst. Super Genesis, 128.

³ Conjectures, pp. 378–389.

It will be seen that none of the critics of this school try to explain away any real difficulty which has been brought to light by the destructive critics. They frankly admit it, and seek to account for its existence on critical principles.

And yet, it is a significant fact that their spirit has been misunderstood both by the destructive critics and the conservatives of subsequent generations. Simon and Astruc are popularly reckoned to-day as holding views which are subversive of the historical character and authority of the Pentateuch. The edifice which they reared so carefully from the ruins that were left them by the destructive critics has fallen, and nothing remains but the building-stones which they sought to rear in new forms of enduring beauty.

We shall next consider the views of the apologists, who seek to explain away all the facts which the destructive critics claim to have found in disproof of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

neously, however) the following (*italics mine*): "They [the Father and the Son] are *one numerical substance*."

After a somewhat extended and careful examination of the genuine writings of Athanasius, who was confessedly one of the leading spirits of the Nicene Council, and subsequently the great expounder and defender of its Creed, I have arrived at a conclusion concerning the meaning that he attached to the term *ὁμοούσιος* different from the opinion that generally prevails. Notwithstanding the positive assertion of Dr. Shedd that "the term *ὁμοούσιος* could not by any ingenuity be made to teach anything but that the essence of the Son is one and identical with that of the Father," I am constrained to differ from him.

The passage last quoted involves, apparently, two assertions—not only that the intended meaning of the term, as determined by usage or context, was to declare the numerical oneness of the Father and the Son, but also that this was its necessary force. Now etymologically the word may mean either *numerical oneness* or *specific oneness—homogeneity*. On this point Dr. Charles Hodge, who agrees with Dr. Shedd as to the intended meaning of the term, thus writes :

"The celebrated term *ὁμοούσιος*, so long the subject of controversy, was not free from ambiguity. It expressed plainly enough sameness of substance, but whether that sameness was specific or numerical the usage of the word left undecided."¹

Bishop Bull, whose elaborate work entitled *Defensio Fidei Nicenae* is confessedly of highest authority, although but little read in the present day, manifestly could not have regarded that term as indicating numerical oneness, either etymologically or in the intent of the Nicene Council. He writes :

"§ 1. . . . It will be necessary to premise some observations on the true meaning and ancient use of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, of *one substance*, which was placed by the Nicene fathers in their Creed. . . . § 2. By approved Greek writers that is styled *ὁμοούσιον*, '*consubstantial*,' which is of the same substance, essence, or nature with some other—a sense which the very etymology of the word carries on the face of it. Porphyry, On

¹ Systematic Theology, Vol. i. p. 454.

Abstinence from Animal Food, B. i. n. 19, says: 'Since the souls of animals are *ὁμοούσιαι*, of the same essence [ejusdem essentiae], with ours.' The anonymous author of the celebrated Opinions respecting the Soul, published with the Philocalia of Origen, quotes a passage from Aristotle, wherein he says, 'All the stars are *ὁμοούσια*, of the same essence, or nature.' In the same sense Irenaeus frequently uses this word in explaining the doctrines of the Valentinians; for instance (in B. i. c. 1), he says that those heretics taught that 'whatsoever is spiritual could not by any means have been formed by Achamoth, since it was *ὁμοούσιον*, of the same nature, with her.' Theodoret, in his dialogue 'Ἀσύγχυτος, adduces a passage from Apollinaris, where he says: 'Men are of the same substance (*ὁμοούσιαι*) with brutes, as touching their irrational body; but of another substance (*ἑτεροούσιαι*) so far as they are rational.' § 3. That this was the very sense in which the Bishops at Nice called the Son 'of one substance' with the Father will be manifest to all men who are fair minded and not of a temper thoroughly contentious, from the very terms of the Nicene Creed."¹

That Athanasius not only did not regard the term as necessarily indicating numerical oneness, but that he used it as appropriately designating homogeneity—specific oneness—I hold to be demonstrable, and shall endeavor to demonstrate. It is in place here to say distinctly that the ensuing discussion has relation solely to the historical question of the meaning of *ὁμοούσιον* in the intent of the Council of Nice as witnessed by Athanasius. It is also proper, though scarce necessary, to remark that the *Creed Quicunque*, or, as it is generally styled, the Athanasian Creed, was not composed by the great patriarch of Alexandria. It will not be controverted, in this article, that that symbol teaches the numerical oneness of the divine substance. It did not appear, however, until after the death of its reputed author. It is generally conceded that no traces of its existence can be found antecedent to the Council of Chalcedon. Dr. Schaff writes concerning it:

¹ Def. Fid. Nicen., Bk. ii. chap. 1. §§ 1–3 (Oxford transl.), p. 55 sq. It is an interesting fact that Waterland, the great defender in the early part of the last century of the Divinity of our Lord, did not regard the unity indicated by the term, in reference to the Father and the Son, as either specific or numerical. He wrote (First Defense, Query, xxv. 6): "As to the question whether it [the consubstantiality] shall be called *specific* or *numerical*, I am in no pain about it. Neither of the names exactly suits it, nor perhaps any other we can think on."

"Its origin is involved in obscurity. . . . Since the middle of the seventeenth century the Athanasian authorship has been abandoned by learned Catholics as well as Protestants. The evidence against it is conclusive. The Symbol is nowhere found in the genuine writings of Athanasius or his contemporaries and eulogists. The general Synods of Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451) make no allusion to it whatever. . . . The pseudo-Athanasian Creed originated in the Latin Church from the school of St. Augustine, probably in Gaul or North Africa. It borrows a number of passages from Augustine and other Latin fathers. It appears first in its full form toward the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century."¹

The doctrine of Athanasius on the subject at issue seems to have been threefold, viz.

First, that the substance of the Son is begotten from the substance (*ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*) of the Father, as is the substance of a human son from that of a human father, and is consequently *ὁμοούσιον* (i.e. specifically one in substance) with the Father.

Second, that the begetting of the Divine Son implies no division of the Father's substance as in the begetting of a human son; or, in other words, that the perfect substance of the Son is begotten from the perfect, undivided, and indivisible substance of the Father.

Third, that the begetting is from eternity, and is ever continued.

The effort will be made to establish, by quotations from the writings of Athanasius, the validity of the first and second of these positions. Only incidental reference will be made to the third, as its truth is controverted by none. It will appear, it is believed, in the course of the discussion, that the idea that Athanasius held the doctrine of the *numerical* oneness of the divine substance is largely defended by a partial presentation of his declarations on the second point, which are but supplementary, without bringing into view his far more numerous and manifestly leading utterances on the first point.

It is in place here to remark that in the quotations about to be presented the Oxford translation of the works of Athanasius will be strictly followed. Original terms and

¹ History of Creeds, Vol. i. p. 35 sq.

alternative translations, when deemed necessary, will be introduced within brackets. The Greek edition used for comparison is that of Migne in the *Patrologia*. Italics will in all cases be those of the Oxford translators, save where the contrary is indicated. Where pages are referred to, the reference will be to those of the Oxford translation.

Before proceeding to the quotation of passages in proof of the positions taken, it will be proper to guard the reader against two possible sources of misapprehension. The first of these is the singularity to English ears of the terms employed by Athanasius to set forth the genuine sonship of the second person of the Trinity, such as *οὐ ἕξωθεν, γνήσιος, ἴδιος, ιδιώτης*. These words, in the Oxford translation, are generally rendered *not external, genuine, proper, possession*, and to the casual reader seem to indicate something peculiar in the relation of the Divine Son to the Father. Examination, however, shows that Athanasius uses all of them to indicate the relation of human sons to their parents. Thus he writes:

"For, granting the [human] parent had not a son before his begetting, still, after having him, he had him not as external or as foreign [*οὐκ ἕξωθεν οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον*], but as from himself and proper [*ἴδιον*] to his substance and his unvarying image," etc.

"Let it be repeated, then, that a work is external to the nature, but a Son [son] is the proper offspring of the substance; it follows that a work need not have been always, for the workman frames it when he will; but an offspring is not subject to will, but is proper to the substance [*τῆς οὐσίας ιδιώτης*]. And a man may be, and may be called, maker, though the works are not as yet; but father he cannot be called, nor can he be, unless a son exist."

"Thus [human] fathers often call the sons born of them servants, yet without denying the genuineness [*τὸ γνήσιον*] of their nature. . . . Solomon [was] . . . a son natural and genuine [*γνήσιον*]."

"A man by counsel builds a house, but by nature he begets a son; and what is in building at will began to come into being, and is external [*ἕξωθεν*] to the maker; but the son is proper [*ἴδιον*] offspring of the father's substance, and is not external [*οὐκ ἔστιν ἕξωθεν*] to him."¹

¹ Discourse i. § 26, p. 218; § 29, pp. 222 sq. Discourse ii. §§ 3, 4, p. 285. Discourse iii. § 62, p. 489. See also Nicen. Def. § 10, p. 16; § 13, p. 21. Discourse i. § 29, p. 222.

The second possible source of misapprehension against which it is important to guard the reader is the apparent force of such terms as ἀμέριστος, ἀδιαίρετος, ἀχώριστος, ἄσχιτος. These words are frequently translated, without discrimination, *inseparable*, *indivisible*, and, together with their corresponding adverbs, are of frequent occurrence. Ἀμέριστος, so far as I have been able to discover, is used only to set forth the indivisible nature of the Father's substance, as in the following:

"He [God] is not composed of parts, but being impassible and simple, he is impassibly and indivisibly [ἀμερίστος] Father of the Son. . . . Why speculate they about passions and parts in the instance of the immaterial and indivisible [ἀμέριστος] God, that under pretence of reverence they may deny the true and natural generation of the Son?"¹

The other terms seem sometimes to be used in the same way as ἀμέριστος. More generally, however, they are employed in reference to the relation of the Father to the Son; and they indicate that, as the Father eternally begets and the Son is eternally begotten, the existence of the one always and everywhere involves that of the other — in eternity and immensity they are inseparable, indivisible. Instances of this use will be found throughout the quotations. In all cases the original term will be bracketed.

As to the first mentioned point of the doctrine of Athanasius, — viz. that the substance of the Son is begotten from the substance (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας), and is consequently ὁμοούσιον (i.e. *specifically* one in substance) with the Father, — the classical passages are to be found in the Epistle De Synodis. Before quoting them, however, it will be proper to make a few prefatory remarks.

The opponents of the Nicene Creed, antecedent to the framing of the second Sirmian Creed in 357, though separated into a great number of parties holding different shades of opinion, might be regarded as having been divided into two great classes, viz. 1. the *Homoiousians*, who affirmed that the Father and Son were *like in substance*; and 2. the *Hetero-*

¹ Discourse i. § 28, p. 220 sq.

ousians, who affirmed that they were *unlike in substance*. The Homoiousians were divided into two schools, which may be styled respectively the Lower and the Higher. To appreciate the vital difference between these parties, it should be remembered that the original Nicene Creed contained not merely the declaration that the Son is *one in substance* (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father, but the further declaration that he is “*of [from] the substance* (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας) *of the Father,*” and also an anathema of those who should say that “the Son of God is of [from] other subsistence or substance (ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας).” The Council of Constantinople, which set forth in an amended form what is now styled the Nicene Creed, omitted the clause declarative of the ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, and also the anathema. The Higher Homoiousians confessed the ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, — that the Son is *from the substance*, — and rejected only the ὁμοούσιον — that he is *the same in substance*; the Lower Homoiousians, in common with the Hetero-ousians, denied both the declarations. In accepting the second Sirmian Creed, which denied, as unwarranted by Scripture, the propriety of attributing substance to God, and also rejected the terms “one in substance” and “like in substance,” some of the Lower Homoiousians, if not all, retired from their old position, and formed a third great class.

Athanasius directed the first part of his Epistle De Synodis against all classes of opponents except the Higher Homoiousians — against all classes that rejected both *from the substance* (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας) and *one in substance* (ὁμοούσιος). He then proceeds as follows :

“Those who deny the Council altogether are sufficiently exposed by these brief remarks; those, however, who accept everything else that was defined at Nicaea, and quarrel only about the One in substance [τὸ ὁμοούσιον] must not be received as enemies; nor do we here attack them as Ario-maniacs, nor as opponents of the fathers, but we discuss the matter with them as brothers with brothers, who mean what we mean, and dispute only about the word. For, confessing that the Son is from the substance [ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας] of the Father, and not from other subsistence [ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως], and that He is not creature nor work, but His genuine and

natural offspring, and that He is eternally with the Father as being His Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the phrase 'One in substance,' of whom is Basil of Ancyra, in what he has written concerning the faith. For only to say [to say *only*] 'like according to substance' is very far from signifying 'of [from] the substance,' by which, rather, as they say themselves, the genuineness of the Son to the Father is signified. Thus tin is only like to silver, a wolf to a dog, and gilt brass to the true metal; but tin is not from silver, nor could a wolf be accounted the offspring of a dog. But since they say that He is 'of [from] the substance,' and 'Like in substance [*ὁμοιούσιον*],' what do they signify by these but 'One in substance [*τὸ ὁμοούσιον*]'? For, while to say only 'Like in substance' does not necessarily convey 'of [from] the substance,' on the contrary, to say 'One in substance' is to signify the meaning of both terms 'Like in substance' and 'of [from] the substance.' And accordingly they themselves, in controversy with those who say that the Word is a creature, instead of allowing him to be genuine Son, have taken their proofs against them from human illustrations of son and father, with this exception, that God is not as man, nor the generation of the Son as offspring of man, but as one which may be ascribed to God, and it becomes us to think. Thus they have called the Father the Fount of Wisdom and Life, and the Son the Radiance [*ἀπαύγασμα*]¹ of the Eternal Light, and the Offspring from the Fountain, as he says '*I am the Life*,' and '*I Wisdom dwell with Prudence*.' But the Radiance from the Light, and Offspring from Fountain, and Son from Father, — how can these be so suitably expressed as by 'One in Substance'? "²

It must be manifest to every intelligent reader that the foregoing passage could not have been written by one who regarded *ὁμοούσιος* as indicating *numerical oneness*. '*Ὁμοούσιος* and *ὁμοιούσιος* each is ambiguous; — the former may mean either *numerical oneness* or *homogeneity*; the latter, either *homogeneity* or *mere similarity*; — each has a meaning common to both, in which they coincide, namely, *homogeneity*. It was only as the Homoousian and the Homoi-ousian contemplated, each, his term in its coincident sense, as meaning homogeneity, that they could clasp hands as brethren; had either used his own term in its variant sense

¹ It is quite as much a problem to determine what, according to the idea of Athanasius, was the relation of *ἀπαύγασμα* to *φῶς*, as it is to determine the relation of the Son to the Father. That he understood by it a luminous substance radiated from a luminous substance will appear from the following quotations and the special discussion on p. 754 sqq.

² De Synodis, § 41, p. 138 sqq.

he must have regarded the other as a heretic; had Athanasius believed that *ὁμοούσιος* meant *numerical oneness* he never could have welcomed to brotherhood the Homoiousian, Basil of Ancyra. So far as can be gathered from this passage Athanasius objected to the term *ὁμοούσιος* not because it necessarily set forth a heresy, but because it did not necessarily and unmistakably set forth the truth. Possibly at the time of the Council of Nicaea, and certainly at a later period of life, he objected to it for another reason, as will appear.

The next passage that will be cited is a quotation from Dionysius of Alexandria. This quotation is twice made by Athanasius, once in Nicen. Def. § 25, and again in the Epistle De Synodis. In both cases it was introduced for the purpose of showing that Dionysius had held the doctrine of the *Homoiousion*. Of course he could not have used the passage unless he had agreed with Dionysius in the meaning that he evidently placed upon the term.

"And I have written in another letter a refutation of the false charge which they bring against me, that I deny that Christ is one in substance [*ὁούσιον*] with God. For though I say that I have not found or read the term anywhere in holy Scripture, yet my remarks which follow, and which they have not noticed, are not inconsistent with that belief. For I adduced a human production, which is evidently homogeneous [*ὁμογενής*], I observed that undeniably fathers differed from their children only in being the same individuals; otherwise there could be neither parents nor children. And my letter, as I said before, owing to present circumstances, I am unable to produce, or I would have sent you the very words of it, or rather a copy of it all; which if I have an opportunity, I will send. But I am sure from recollection, that I adduced many parallels of things kindred with each other, for instance, that a plant grown from seed from root, was other than that from which it sprang and yet was of the same nature [*ὁμοφύης*] with it; and that a stream flowing from a fountain changed its appearance and its name, for that neither the fountain was called stream, nor the stream fountain, but both existed, the fountain was as it were father, but the stream was what was generated from the fountain."¹

The next important passage manifestly contemplates two persons, one having been generated from the other, as

¹ De Synodis, § 44, p. 142 sq.

ὁμοούσιαι, and also, like the preceding, regards human parents and children as *ὁμοούσιοι*.

"However, let us fairly inquire why it is that some, as is said, decline the 'One in substance,' whether it does not rather show that the Son is one in substance with the Father. They say then, as you have written, that it is not right to say that the Son is one in substance with the Father, because he who speaks of one in substance speaks of three, one substance pre-existing, and that those who are generated from it are one in substance; and they add, 'If then the Son be one in substance with the Father, then a substance must be previously supposed, from which they have been generated; and that the one is not Father and the other Son, but they are brothers together.' As to all this, though it be a Greek interpretation, and what Greeks say have no claim upon us, still let us see whether these things which are called one in substance and are collateral, as derived from one substance presupposed, are one in substance with each other, or with the substance from which they are generated. For if only with each other, then are they other in substance when referred to that substance which generated them: for other in substance [*ἑτεροούσιον*] is opposed to one in substance [*ὁμοούσιον*]; but if each be one in substance with the substance which generated them, it is thereby confessed that what is generated from anything is one in substance with that which generated it; and there is no need of seeking for three substances, but merely to seek whether it be true that this is from that. For should it happen that there were not two brothers, but that only one had come of that [former] substance, he that was generated would not be called alien in substance merely because there was no other from that substance than he; but though alone, he must be one in substance with him that begat him. For what shall we say about Jephthae's daughter; because she was only-begotten, and *he had not*, says Scripture, *other child*; and again, concerning the widow's son, whom the Lord raised from the dead, because he too had no brother, but was only-begotten, was on that account neither of these one in substance with the parent? Surely they were, for they were children, and this is a property of children with reference to their parents. And in like manner also, when the fathers said that the Son of God was from his substance reasonably they have spoken of him as one in substance. For the like property has the radiance compared with the light."¹

The last of these specially important passages is the following, which lies in the last two sections of the *De Synodis*. I remarked in reference to the first of these passages that, so far as could be gathered from it, Athanasius objected to the

¹ *De Synodis*, § 51, p. 151 sqq.

term *ὁμοιούσιος*, not because it necessarily set forth a heresy, but because it did not unmistakably set forth the truth. From the passage about to be quoted, however, it appears that he also objected to it on metaphysical considerations — because he regarded it as inappropriate to set forth the relation between *substances*; such relation being, in his judgment, properly expressible only by the terms *ὁμοούσιον* and *ἐτερούσιον*.

“Let us examine the very term ‘One in substance,’ in itself, by way of seeing whether we ought to use it all, and whether it be a proper term, and is suitable to apply to the Son. For you know yourselves, and no one can dispute, it that Like [*τὸ ὅμοιον*] is not predicated of substances, but of habits and qualities; for in the case of substances we speak not of likeness, but of identity [*ταυτότης*, *homogeneity*].¹ Man, for instance, is said to be like man, not in [according to] substance but according to habit and character; for in [according to] substance men are one in nature [*ὁμοφυεῖς*]. And again, man is not said to be unlike dog, but to be other in nature [*ἐτεροφυεῖς*]. [*Οὐκοῦν τὸ ὁμοφυνὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ δὲ ἐτεροφυνὲς καὶ ἐτερούσιον*. Wherefore the *one in nature* is also *one in substance*, and the *other in nature* also *other in substance*].² Therefore in speaking of Like according to substance we mean [speak of] like by participation [*μετουσία*]; (for likeness is a quality which may attach to substance), and this is proper to creatures, for they by partaking [*μετοχή*] are made like to God. For *when he shall appear*, says Scripture, *we shall be like him*; like, that is, not in substance but in sonship, which we shall partake from him. If then ye speak of the Son as being by participation [*μετουσία*], then indeed call Him Like in substance [*ὁμοιούσιον*]; but thus spoken of, He is not Truth, nor Light at all, nor in nature God. For things which are from participation are called like, not in reality, but from resemblance to reality; so that they may fail, or be taken from those who share them. And this, again, is proper to creatures and works. Therefore, if this be extravagant, he must be, not by participation, but in nature and truth Son, Light, Wisdom, God; and being by nature, and not by sharing, he would properly be called, not Like in substance, but One in substance. But what would not be asserted, even in the case of others (for the Like [*τὸ ὅμοιον*] has been shown to be inapplicable to

¹ That *homogeneity*, not *identity*, was the idea contemplated, is manifest from the context. Hereafter this meaning will always be bracketed when *ταυτότης* occurs.

² Strange to say this sentence is omitted in the Oxford translation. It is, I believe, found in every Greek edition. The omission was supplied from Migne's *Patrologia*.

substance), is it not folly, not to say violence, to put forward in the case of the Son, instead of the 'One in substance.' § 54. This justifies the Nicene Council, which has laid down what it was becoming to express, that the Son begotten from the Father's substance is one in substance with him."¹

From this passage it is not only manifest that what Athanasius contemplated by the term homoiousion is what we indicate by the term *homogeneity*, but also that he used *ταυτότης*, which the Oxford translators render *identity*, in the same sense.² It is proper here to remark that he cannot be regarded as absolutely condemning in all cases the affirmation of the *likeness in substance* of homogeneous objects. It will be evident from quotations hereafter made that he did himself affirm that the substance of the Son is like the substance of the Father. It was his design to show, in defence of the Nicene Council, and in support of the term they had set forth, that, in strictness of language, it was the proper term to employ. It is also proper here to remark that there is reason to believe that the idea of the inappropriateness of *ὁμοιούσιον* to substances arose late in life in the mind of Athanasius. The Epistle De Synodis was one of the latest of his writings. Everywhere else did he without scruple affirm the *ὁμοιον* of substances; indeed we have instances of it in the earlier portions of this very epistle.

Passages will now be quoted corroborative of the fact manifested by the preceding extracts, namely, that Athanasius used the term *ὁμοούσιον* as indicative not of numerical, but of specific oneness. To quote everything that bears upon this point would be to reproduce a large portion of his writings; the more important passages, therefore, have been selected and classified for presentation.

I. The first class that will be cited are those which manifest that he recognized no such distinction in the Trinity as was subsequently, and is now, indicated in the variant use of the terms *substance* (*οὐσία*) and *person* or *hypostasis* (*ὑπόστασις*).

¹ De Synodis, §§ 53, 54, p. 155 sqq.

² See foot-note on p. 709.

In common with the great body of modern theologians Dr. Shedd declares :

“*Οὐσία*, or *Essence*, denotes that which is common to Father, Son, and Spirit. It denominates the substance, or constitutional being, of the Deity, which is possessed alike, and equally, by each of the personal distinctions. . . . *ὑπόστασις*, or *Hypostasis*, is a term that was more subtle in its meaning and use than *οὐσία*. It denotes not that which is common to the Three in One, but that which is distinctive of and peculiar to them. The personal characteristic of the *Hypostasis*, or ‘subsistence’ in the *Essence*, was denoted by the Greek word *ἰδιότης*,¹ and if we use our English word ‘individuality’ somewhat loosely, it will convey the idea sought to be attached to the Person in distinction from the *Essence*.”²

This distinction is vital to the now accepted system of the Trinity. But Athanasius recognizes no such distinction as denoted either by the variant use of *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, or by any other allied terms.

The anathema of the Nicene Creed, directed against “those who pretend that the Son of God is from other *hypostasis* or *substance*” than the Father, implies that *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία* were regarded by the Council as synonymous. That they were so used by that body is distinctly admitted by Drs. Charles Hodge³ and Shedd.⁴ In manifest harmony with this fact Athanasius directly declared that these terms indicated one and the same object. The most important passage on this point is in the Epistle Ad Afros, in which he censures those who had declared that it was unscriptural to attribute either *οὐσία* or *ὑπόστασις* to God. He writes :

“Those who convened in Nicaea came not together as condemned, but also confessed that the Son is of the substance [*οὐσία*] of the Father; but these, being condemned once and again, and a third time in Ariminum itself, dared to write that it is not proper to affirm that God has substance

¹ In the same volume, on pp. 334 and 335, Dr. Shedd in an alleged quotation from Athanasius, twice introduces this term as employed by that father. In a subsequent portion of this article, p. 737, the quotation of Dr. Shedd is compared with the original, and it is shown that *ἰδιότης* is, in both instances, introduced in the place of *ἰδιότης*. The latter term is frequently used by Athanasius. I have been unable to discover a single instance of his use of the former.

² History of Christian Doctrine, Vol. i. p. 364.

³ Systematic Theology, Vol. i. p. 453.

⁴ History of Christian Doctrine, Vol. i. p. 367 sq.

[οὐσία] or hypostasis [ὑπόστασις]. But from the following passages it appears, brethren, that those of Nicaea breathed out the Scriptures. God himself saying in Exodus (iii. 14) 'I am, ὁ ὢν,' and through Jeremiah (xxiii. 18) 'Who hath stood in the counsel (LXX, ὑποστήματι) of the Lord,' and a little after (verse 22) 'If they had stood in my counsel (LXX, ὑποστάσει).' Hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) is substance (οὐσία), and has no other signification than being (τὸ ὄν) itself, which Jeremiah styles ὑπαρξίς, saying (ix. 10) 'Neither can men hear the voice of the (LXX) ὑπάρξεως.' Hypostasis and substance are existence (ὑπαρξίς), for it [ὑπόστασις] is and it exists [ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ὑπάρχει]. And thinking this, Paul wrote to the Hebrews [i. 3] 'Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person [ὑπόστασις].'"¹

In exact accordance with the declarations of this passage, Athanasius uses the two terms as synonymous in the important passage from the Epistle De Synodis, first quoted in this article. He writes :

"Those, however, who accept everything else that was defined at Nicaea, and quarrel only about the One in substance [τὸ ὁμοούσιον] must not be received as enemies. . . . For, confessing that the Son is from the substance [οὐσία] and not from other subsistence [ὑπόστασις]. . . . they are not far from accepting even the phrase 'One in substance.'"²

And again, in proof that Dionysius of Rome regarded the "Word of God" as "an offspring proper to [of] the Father's substance and indivisible," he quotes the following from that writer, in which the term ὑπόστασις alone occurs.

"Next, I reasonably turn to those who divide and cut into pieces and destroy that most sacred doctrine of the Church of God, the Divine Monarchy, making it certain three powers and partitive subsistences [μεμερισμένas ὑποστάσεις] and godheads three."³

And again he proves that Origen believed "the everlasting co-existence of the Word with the Father, and that he is not of another substance or subsistence, but proper to [of] the Father's" (italics mine), by the following quotation, in which also only ὑπόστασις occurs :

"If there be an Image of the invisible God, it is an invisible Image; nay, I will be bold to add that, as being the likeness of the Father, never

¹ Ad Afros (Translated from Migne's ed.), § 4.

² De Synodis, § 41. p. 138 sq.

³ Nicen. Def., § 26. p. 45 sq. Quoted more extensively on p. 739 sq.

was it not. For else was that God, who, according to John, is called Light (for *God is light*), without the radiance of his proper glory, that a man should presume to assert the Son's origin of existence, as if before he was not. But when was not that Image of the Father's Ineffable and Nameless and Unutterable *subsistence* [*ὑπόστασις*]," etc.¹

Not only does Athanasius use *substance* and *hypostasis* as synonymous, but the closest examination fails to discover that he ever used any allied terms in the peculiar senses in which these terms are now employed, or indeed to discover the slightest indication that an idea of the distinction that we now endeavor to set forth by the variant definitions of these terms had ever crossed his mind. Dr. Shedd, it is true, asserts that "the meaning attached to the *idea* [of *ὑπόστασις*] was uniform," and that "the distinction between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*" was "made in fact by the first Trinitarians";² but, it is to be observed, he does not present a single quotation in proof of his assertion. He is constrained, it should further be remarked, to admit that "Athanasius employs the two terms as equivalents," and in proof of the fact he introduces quotations, as given above, from *De Synodis* and *Ad Afros*. He endeavors, however, to nullify the force of his own admission by the following:

"Athanasius continually denies that there are three *οὐσῖαι*, so that his use of *ὑπόστασις* must be determined in each instance from the connection in which he employs it. His object in asserting that 'hypostasis is *substance*' was to deny that the personal distinction in the Godhead is merely an energy or effluence such as the Nominal Trinitarians maintained it to be."²

It will be perceived by the thoughtful reader that the entire force of Dr. Shedd's first sentence in the preceding paragraph rests upon the implication that Athanasius used *οὐσία* somewhat differently from *ὑπόστασις*. That is a matter for proof. Why is no proof given? Again, where is the proof that "Athanasius continually denies that there are three *οὐσῖαι*"? It is true that he, in effect, denies that there are in the Godhead a plurality of *partitive* [*μεμερισμένας*] substances, even as he impliedly denied, when he quoted approvingly the

¹ Nicen. Def., § 27. p. 43 ² Hist. of Christian Doctrine, Vol. i. pp. 366-369.
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words of Dionysius of Rome (p. 712) "that there are three *partitive* subsistences [hypostases]." He however nowhere denies that there is an *οὐσία* of the Father and an *οὐσία* of the Son; but, on the contrary, he again and again affirms it, as will be seen. Still farther, the assertion of the second sentence is also unsupported by a single quotation or reference. It is manifest that in no one of the quotations given above was it "his object to deny that the personal distinction in the Godhead is merely an energy or effluence." I courteously challenge the production of a single passage that can support the assertion.

As corroborative of the position that Athanasius knew nothing of the now prevalent distinction between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*,¹ — that he contemplated naught in God, naught in Father, but *οὐσία*, — the following quotations are made :

"If God be simple, as He is, it follows that in saying 'God,' and naming 'Father,' we name nothing as if about Him, but signify His substance itself. When then He says *I am that I am*, and *I am the Lord God*, or when Scripture says *God*, we understand nothing else by it but the intimation of His incomprehensible substance Itself, and that He Is who is spoken of. Therefore let no one be startled on hearing that the Son of God is from the substance of the Father; rather let him accept the explanation of the fathers, who in more explicit but equivalent language have for *from God* written 'of [from] the substance.' For they considered it the same thing to say that the word was *of* [from] God and 'of [from] the substance of God,' since the word 'God,' as I have already said, signifies nothing but the substance of Him Who Is."²

"If when you name the Father, or use the word 'God,' you do not signify substance, or understand Him according to substance, who is that He is, but signify something else about Him, not to say inferior, then you should not have written that the Son was from the Father, but from what is about Him or in Him; and so, shrinking from saying that God is truly

¹ Dr. Charles Hodge declares (Systematic Theology, Vol. i. p. 454): "To express the idea of a *suppositum intelligens*, or self-conscious agent [person] the Greeks first used the word *πρόσωπον*. But as that word properly means *the face*, *the aspect*, and as it was used by the Sabellians to express their doctrine of the threefold aspect under which the Godhead was revealed, it was rejected, and the word *ὑπόστασις* adopted." It is to be regretted that the venerated Professor did not state at what time, and by whom, *πρόσωπον* was so used. I have been unable to find that it was ever so employed by Athanasius.

² Nicen. Def. § 22. p. 38.

Father, and making Him compound who is simple, in a material way, you will be authors of a new blasphemy. And, with such ideas, do you [you do] of necessity consider the Word and the title 'Son' not as a substance, but as a name only;¹ and in consequence the views ye have ye hold as far as names only, and your statements are not positive points of faith, but negative opinions. But this is more like the crime of the Sadducees, and of those among the Greeks who had the name of Atheists. It follows that you deny that creation too is the handiwork of God Himself; that is, at least, if 'Father' and 'God' do not signify the very substance of Him that is, but something else, which you imagine; which is irreligious, and most shocking even to think of. But if, when we hear it said, *I am that I am*, and *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, and *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*, and *Thus saith the Lord Almighty*, we understand nothing else than the very simple and blessed and incomprehensible substance itself of Him that is (for though we be unable to master that He is, yet hearing 'Father,' and 'God,' and 'Almighty,' we understand nothing else to be meant than the very substance of Him that is); and if ye too have said that the Son is from God, it follows that you have said that he is from the 'substance' of the Father. And since the Scriptures precede you, which say that the Lord is Son of the Father, and the Father himself precedes them, who says, *This is my beloved Son*, and a Son is no other than the offspring from his father, is it not evident that the Fathers have suitably said that the Son is from the Father's substance? Considering that it is all one to say in an orthodox sense 'from God,' and to say 'from the substance.'"²

Is it conceivable that any man who held the now prevalent view of the distinction between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* could thus have written? It seems to be simply impossible that if no more than the mere germ of the distinction had existed in the mind of Athanasius, it would not in one or the other of the foregoing connections have found expression.

II. The second class of passages that will be cited are those allied with the declaration of the Nicene Creed that the Son is "begotten from the Father that is, from the

¹ The inference from this is that when we name *Son*, we also "signify substance." A similar passage occurs in § 41 of this Epistle, immediately after the first classical, in which it is declared "Whom [the Word] the Father has declared to be his own Son, that hearing that he is Son, we may acknowledge him to be a living Word and a substantive [*ἐνούσιος*] Wisdom." The entire passage is quoted on p. 731 sq. of this article, and the above extract is specially considered in a foot-note.

² De Synodis, §§ 34, 35. p. 131 sq.

substance of the Father [γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς].”

In this sentence of the Creed there are, in fact, three declarations, viz. (1) that the Son is “begotten from the Father”; (2) that he is “begotten from the substance of the Father”; (3) that the expressions *begotten from the Father* and *begotten from the substance of the Father* are equivalent.

Statements identical with the first two of these declarations are of frequent occurrence in the writings of Athanasius. Being, however, mere reproductions of the language of the Creed, it is unnecessary to make quotations or to give references. Allied with the first kind mentioned, we continually meet with the further declaration that the Son is “Offspring [γέννημα] from the Father,” and allied with the second, the exceedingly strong and significant expression, “*Offspring from the substance of the Father.*” This expression, with its cognate “Offspring of God’s substance,” occurs more than thirty times, as will be seen in the references given below.¹ Any one who consults the passages referred to will have before him a large portion of the entire number of passages contemplated in this article. The third declaration—namely, that the expressions *begotten from the Father* and *begotten from the substance of the Father* are equivalent—is reaffirmed by Athanasius not only in the passages last quoted under the preceding division, but also in the following, in which he explains the reason for the introduction into the Creed of the second clause, viz. “*that is, from the substance of the Father:*”

¹ Nicen. Def. § 3, p. 6; § 23, p. 40; § 26, p. 45; § 29, p. 54; § 31, p. 55. De Synodis, § 35, p. 133; § 39, p. 137; (§ 42, p. 141); § 45, p. 144; § 48, p. 148 (*thrice*). Discourse I. (§ 9, p. 191); § 15, p. 202; § 16, p. 204 (*bis*); § 17, p. 205; § 19, p. 208; § 28, p. 221; § 29, p. 222; (§ 29, p. 222); § 29, p. 223; § 29, p. 237; § 56, p. 262; § 58, p. 264. Discourse II. § 2, p. 284; § 22, p. 312; § 24, p. 314; § 34, p. 328; (§ 36, p. 362). Discourse III. § 5, p. 404 (*bis*); § 6, p. 406; § 12, p. 417. In the references enclosed in parentheses the Oxford translation reads, “offspring proper to the substance”; it should read, “*of the substance,*” the original is in the genitive. “Offspring of God’s substance”; Discourse III. § 63, p. 491; Discourse IV. § 4, p. 518.

"The Council, wishing to negative the irreligious phrases of the Arians, and to use instead the acknowledged words of the Scriptures, that the Son is not from nothing, but *from God*, and is *Word and Wisdom*, nor creature or work, but the proper offspring from the Father, the party of Eusebius, out of their inveterate heterodoxy, understood the phrase *from God* as belonging to us, as if in respect to it the Word of God differed nothing from us, and that because it is written, '*There is one God from whom are all things*'; and again, '*..... all things are from God*.' But the fathers, perceiving their craft and the cunning of their irreligion, were forced to express more distinctly the sense of the words *from God*. Accordingly they wrote 'from the substance [*οὐσία*] of God,' in order that *from God* might not be considered common and equal in the Son and in things generate, but that all others might be acknowledged as creatures, and the Word alone as from the Father."¹

The effect of the foregoing and allied declarations is, of course, not only to elevate all the declarations that the Son is "begotten from the Father," that he is "Offspring from the Father," into the category of "Begotten from the substance," "Offspring of the substance," but also to make it manifest that they cannot legitimately be interpreted as implying a generation from an Hypostasis, Father, as distinguished from the Substance, Father.

But not only have we the declaration that the Son is the *Offspring of the Father's substance*, but also the declaration that the *Substance of the Son* is the Offspring of the Father, in which *Substance* is connected with Son. Athanasius writes:

"The present discussion has shown that the Son is not a work, but in *Substance* indeed the Father's Offspring."

"The Lord knowing His own *Substance* to be the Only-begotten Wisdom and Offspring of the Father," etc.

"If then Son, therefore not creature; if creature, not Son; for great is the difference between them, and Son and creature cannot be the same, unless his *substance* be considered to be at once from God, and external to God."²

Now, it must be manifest to every one carefully considering the foregoing declarations—viz. first, that the Son is the Offspring of the Father's substance; secondly, that the Substance of the Son is the Offspring of the Father; thirdly,

¹ Nicen. Def. § 19, p. 32 sq.

² Discourse II. § 11, p. 296; § 47, p. 347. Nicen. Def., § 13, p. 21. Italics mine.

that "in saying 'God' and naming 'Father' we signify His substance itself" — it must be manifest, I repeat, that the logical inference is, that Athanasius contemplated the Son as a substance begotten from a substance. That this is not a matter of mere inference will abundantly appear from other passages that will be cited in the next division.

III. The third class of passages are those which speak of the substance of the Son in connection with the substance of the Father. Under the preceding head we considered the passages from which the logical inference is that Athanasius regarded the substance of the Son as generated from the substance of the Father; in the passages now to be considered such a generation is directly asserted.

The first of these is a passage in the Defence, embodying, with approbation, a quotation from Theognostus. This occurs in the same section with the extract from Dionysius quoted as one of the classical passages. Both these quotations, it should be observed, were made by Athanasius for the purpose of showing that the Nicene fathers taught no new doctrine; and consequently both must be regarded as setting forth his own views.

"This, then, is the sense in which the Fathers at Nicaea made use of these expressions; but next that they did not invent them for themselves (since this is one of their [the Arians'] excuses), but spoke what they had received from their predecessors, proceed we to prove this also, to cut off even this excuse from them. Know then, O Arians, foes of Christ, that Theognostus, a learned man, did not decline the phrase 'of the substance,' for in the second book of his Hypotyposes, he writes thus of the Son: 'The substance of the Son is not anything procured from without, nor accruing out of nothing, but it sprang from the Father's substance, as the radiance of light, as the vapour of water; for neither the radiance nor the vapour is the water itself or the sun itself, nor is it alien; but it is an effluence [ἀπόρροια]¹ of the Father's substance, which, however, suffers no partition [μερισμόν]. For as the sun remains the same, and is not impaired by the rays poured forth by it, so neither does the Father substance suffer change, though it has the Son as an Image of Itself.'²

¹ Athanasius disclaims this word, § 11, p. 19 of this Epistle, and also Discor

1. § 21, p. 211.

² Nicen. Def., § 25, v. 43. Italics mine.

"Next, if the Son be not such from participation [*μετουσίας*], but is in *his substance* the Father's Word and Wisdom, and *this substance is the offspring of the Father's substance*, and its likeness, as the radiance is of the light; and the Son says, *I and the Father are One*, and *he that hath seen me hath seen the Father*, how must we understand these words? Or how shall we so explain them as to preserve the oneness of the Father and the Son? Now as to its consisting in agreement of doctrines, and in the Son's not disagreeing with the Father, as the Arians say, such an interpretation will not stand. But the Son being an offspring from the substance, is one in substance [*ὁμοούσιος*], Himself and the Father that begat him."¹

"And if this be extravagant and irreligious, when the Father says, *This is my beloved Son*, and when the Son says that God is His own Father, it follows that what is partaken is not external, but from *the substance of the Father*. And as to this again, if it be other than *the substance of the Son*, an equal extravagance will meet us; there being in that case something between this that is from the Father and the substance of the Son, whatever that be."²

"Scripture speaks of 'Son' in order to herald the offspring of His [the Father's] substance, natural and true; and on the other hand, that none may think of the offspring humanly, while signifying His [the Son's] substance, it calls Him Word, Wisdom, and Radiance."³

"Whoso hears and beholds that what is said of the Father is also said of the Son, not as accruing to His [the Son's] substance by grace or participation [*μετοχήν*], but because the very Being [*τὸ εἶναι*] of the Son is the proper offspring of the Father's substance, will fitly understand the words, as I said before, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *I and the Father are One*. For the Son is such as the Father is, because He has all that is the Father's."⁴

"The Word is from God; for *the Word was God*. And since Christ is God from God, and God's Word, Wisdom, Son, and Power, therefore but One God is declared in the divine Scriptures. For the Word, being Son of the One God, is referred [*ἀναφέρεται*] to Him of whom also He is; so that Father and Son are two, yet the Unity [*Μονάς* = *Μοναί*] of the Godhead [Divinity] is indivisible and inseparable [*Μονάδα δὲ θεότητος ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀχώριστον*]. And thus too we preserve One Origin [*Ἀρχή*] of Godhead [Divinity], and not two Origins, whence there is properly a divine Monarchy [*Μοναρχία*]. And of this very Origin the Word is by

¹ De Synodis, § 48, p. 148. Italics mine, except in the Scriptural quotations.

² Discourse I. § 15, p. 203. Italics mine, except in Scriptural quotation. This quotation will again be referred to in considering the position of Neander.

³ Discourse I. § 28, p. 221.

⁴ Discourse III. § 6, p. 406.

nature Son, not as if another Origin, subsisting by Himself, nor having come into being externally to that Origin, lest from that diversity a Dyarchy and Polyarchy should ensue ; but of the one Origin He is proper Son, proper Wisdom, proper Word, existing from It. For, according to John, in that *Origin* [ἀρχή] *was the Word, and the Word was with God,* for the Origin [ἀρχή] *was God* ; and since He is from It, therefore also *the Word was God*. And as there is one Origin and therefore one God, so one is the Substance and Subsistence [οὐσία καὶ ὑπόστασις] which indeed and truly and really is, and which said *I am that I am*, and not two, that there be not two Origins ; and from the One a Son in nature and truth, is Its proper Word. Its Wisdom, Its Power, and inseparable from It. And as there is not another [ἄλλη] substance,¹ lest there be two Origins, so the Word which is from that One Substance has no dissolution [διαλυμένος = parting asunder], nor is a sound significative, but is a substantial [οὐσιώδης] Word and substantial Wisdom, which is the true Son. For were he not substantial [οὐσιώδης], God would be speaking into the air, and having a body, in nothing differently [οὐδὲν πλέον] from men ; but since He is not man, neither is His Word according to the infirmity of man. For as the Origin is one Substance, so Its Word is one, substantial and subsisting, and Its Wisdom. For as He is God from God, and Wisdom from the Wise, and Word from Rational, and Son from Father, so is He from Subsistence Subsistent [ἐξ ὑποστάσεως ὑπόστατος], and from Substance Substantial and Substantive [ἐξ οὐσίας οὐσιώδης καὶ ἐνούσιος], and Being from Being [ἐξ ὄντος ὢν]. § 2. Since were He not substantial Wisdom and substantive Word, and Son existing, but simply Wisdom and Word and Son in the Father, then the Father Himself would have a nature compounded of wisdom and reason. Therefore He is an Offspring in a proper sense from the Father Himself, according to the illustration of light. For as there is light from fire, so from God there is a Word, and Wisdom from the Wise, and from the

¹ The term *substance* in both the above instances was introduced by the Oxford translator, — the term ἄλλη alone appears in the original. The object of Athanasius was, manifestly, to affirm that there is not another archaic (original) substance, and not to deny what he afterwards asserts, that there is another generated substance. Again and again he uses ἀλλοτριότης in the sense of *heterogeneous*, as in De Syn., § 50, p. 150. ‘But if, since the Son is from the Father, all that is the Father’s is the Son’s as in an image and expression, let it be considered dispassionately, whether a substance foreign from the Father’s substance admit of such attributes, and whether such a one be other in nature and alien in substance [ἀλλοτριότης], and not one in substance with the Father.’ Again, he writes, Discourse 1. § 20, p. 209 : ‘How can a man consider that which is proper, as foreign and alien in substance [ἀλλοτριότης] ? For other things according to the nature of things generate are without likeness in substance with the maker, but are external to him.’

Father a Son. For in this way the Unity [*Μονάς* = Monad] remains undivided and entire, and its Son and Word is not unsubstantive [*ἀνοούσιος*], nor not subsisting, but substantial truly."¹

IV. A fourth class of passages bearing on this point are those which teach that the Son is *like in substance* to the Father, or the *image* of the Father's *substance*.

It will be perceived upon examination that the first passage cited under the preceding head (the one that embodies a quotation from Theognostus), belongs also to this class. Not only does it declare that "the substance of the Son sprang from the Father's substance"; but also, in the concluding sentence, that "the Father's substance has the Son as an Image of Itself."

From the great multitude of other passages teaching as indicated, the following have been selected. The first is from the encyclical letter of the Synod of Alexandria that first deposed Arius. This letter was signed by Athanasius. By many it is supposed to have been written by him. However that may be, it unquestionably presents his views. In the section which contains the recital of the errors of Arius is the following:

The Word of God was not always Neither is He like in substance [*ὁμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*] to the Father."²

In the following section, which contains brief refutations of the enumerated points of heresy, we read as follows:

"Or again, how is He 'unlike in substance [*ἀνόμοιος τῇ οὐσίᾳ*] to the Father' seeing He is the perfect *Image* and *brightness* of the Father," etc.³

In exact harmony with these utterances are the writings of Athanasius:

"He is the *Expression* of the Father's *Person* [*ὑπόστασις*], and *Light* from light, and *Power*, and very *Image* of the Father's substance."⁴

It should be premised that the argument in the following passage is to prove the eternal generation of the Son.

"When then was God without Him who is proper to Him? or, how

¹ Discourse iv. §§ 1, 2, p. 512 sqq.

² Athanasius's Hist. Tracts, Appendix, p. 300 sq.

³ Discourse i. § 9, p. 192.

can a man consider that which is proper, as foreign and alien in substance? for other things, according to the nature of things generate, are without likeness in substance with the Maker; but are external to Him Let a person only dwell upon this thought, and he will discern how the perfection and the plenitude of the Father's substance is impaired by this heresy; however, he will see its extravagance still more clearly if he considers that the Son is the Image and Radiance of the Father, and Expression, and Truth. For if, when Light exists, there be without its Image, viz. Radiance, and a subsistence [*ὑπόστασις*] existing, there be of it the entire expression, and a Father existing, there be His Truth viz. the Son; let them consider what depths of irreligion they fall into who make time the measure of the Image and Countenance of the Godhead. For if the Son was not before his generation, Truth was not always in God, which it were a sin to say; for, since the Father was, there was ever in Him the Truth, which is the Son, who says, *I am the Truth*. And the subsistence [*ὑπόστασις*] existing, of course there was forthwith its expression and Image; for God's Image is not delineated from without, but God Himself hath begotten it; in which seeing Himself, He has delight, as the Son Himself says, *I was His delight*. When then did the Father not see Himself in his own Image? or when had He not delight, that a man should dare to say, 'The Image is out of nothing,' and 'The Father had not delight before the Image was generated'? and how should the Maker and Creator see Himself in a created and generated substance? for such as is the Father, such must be the Image. . . . The Father is eternal, immortal, powerful, light, King, Sovereign, God, Lord, Creator, and Maker. These attributes must be in the Image, to make it true that he *that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father*. If the Son be not all this, but as the Arians consider, a thing generate, and not eternal, this is not a true Image of the Father, unless indeed they give up shame, and go on to say, that the title of Image, given to the Son, is not a token of a similar substance [*ὁμοίας οὐσίας*], but His name only. But this, on the other hand, O ye Christ's enemies, is not an Image, nor is it an Expression."¹

"If the consecration [i.e. Baptism] is given to us into the Name of Father and Son, and they do not confess a true Father, because they deny what is from Him and like His Substance [*τό ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁμοιον τῆς οὐσίας*], and deny also the true Son," etc.²

"The Son, who made free, has shown in truth that He is no creature, nor one of things generate, but the proper Word and Image of the Father's substance."³

"For what the Son has said as proper and suitable to a Son only, who is Word and Wisdom and Image of the Father's substance."⁴

¹ Discourse 1. §§ 20, 21, p. 209 sq.

² Ibid., II. § 67, p. 377.

³ Ibid., II. § 42, p. 339.

⁴ Ibid., III. § 2, p. 401.

"The likeness [*ὁμοίωσιν*] and the Oneness [*ἐνότητα*] must be referred to the very substance of the Son; for unless it be so taken, He will not be shown to have anything beyond things generate."¹

"They [the Arians] have utterly forgotten, like Samosatene, the Son's paternal Godhead [*πατρικῆς θεότητος*], and with arrogant and audacious tongue they say, 'How can the Son be from the Father by nature, and be like Him in substance [*ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*]?' "²

"For the Apostle proclaims the Son to be the proper Radiance and Expression [*χαρακτήρ*] not of the Father's will, but of His Substance [*οὐσία*] itself, saying, Who being the Radiance of His Glory and the Expression of His Subsistence [*ὑπόστασις*].³ But if, as we have said before, the Father's Substance and Subsistence be not from will, neither, as is very plain, is what is proper to the Father's Subsistence from will; for such as, and so as, that blessed Subsistence must also be the proper Offspring from it. . . . And as the Father is always good by nature, so He is always generative by nature; and to say 'The Father's good pleasure is the Son,' and 'The Word's good pleasure is the Father,' implies, not a precedent will, but genuineness of nature, and propriety and likeness of Substance" [*οὐσίας ιδιότητα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν*].⁴

"And as, being the Word and Wisdom of the Father, He has all the attributes of the Father, His eternity and His unchangeableness, and is like Him in all respects and in all things, and is neither before nor after, but co-existent with the Father, and is the very form [*εἶδος*] of the Godhead [Divinity], and is the Creator, and is not created: (for since He is in substance like the Father [*ὅμοιος γὰρ ὢν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς*] He cannot be a creature)."⁵

One of the most important passages belonging to this division is to be found in the Epistle De Synodis, in a section preceding those which contain the classical passages. But it also, and more appropriately, belongs to another division, in which passages are cited and considered which contain phrases having a most important bearing on the question at issue. This passage, which forms the concluding quotation in the following division on p. 727, may also be regarded as closing this portion of the present article.

V. The fifth class of passages are those which contain the

¹ Discourse III. § 11, p. 416.

² Ibid., III. § 26, p. 436.

³ This is one of the passages which incidentally manifest that Athanasius regarded *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* as one and the same.

⁴ Discourse III. §§ 65, 66, p. 494 sq.

⁵ Epistle to Bishops of Egypt and Libya, § 16; *Historical Tracts*, p. 145.

declarations that the Son is, of the Father, the *Εἰκὼν ἀπαράλλακτος* and the *Εἰκὼν ἀπαράλλακτος τῆς οὐσίας*.

The adjective is rendered by the Oxford translator as *unvarying*, and correctly in one of the meanings of that English term, namely, *exactly, without variation from the original*.

The former of these expressions occurs in the Defence, in which Athanasius narrates the circumstances under which *ὁμοούσιος* was introduced into the Creed. He writes:

“ Again [i.e. after the declaration that the Word is *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*] when the Bishops said that the Word must be described as the True Power and Image [*εἰκόνα*] of the Father, *like* to the Father in all things and *unvarying* [*ὁμοῖον τε καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον αὐτὸν κατὰ πάντα τῷ Πατρὶ*] and as unalterable, and as always, and as in Him without division [*ἀδιαίρετως*] (for never was the Word not, but He was always existing everlastingly with the Father, as the radiance of light), the party of Eusebius endured, indeed, as not the daring to contradict, being put to shame by the arguments which were urged against them; but withal they were caught whispering to each other and winking with their eyes, that ‘like’ [*τὸ ὁμοῖον*] and ‘always,’ and ‘power,’ and ‘in Him,’ were, as before, common to us and the Son, and that it was no difficulty to agree to these. As to ‘like’ [*τὸ ὁμοῖον*] they said that it is written of us, *Man is the image and glory of God*. . . . But the Bishops, discerning in this too their simulation were again compelled on their part to concentrate the sense of the Scriptures, and to re-say and re-write what they had said before, more distinctly still, namely, that the Son is ‘*one in substance*’ [*ὁμοούσιον*] with the Father, by way of signifying that the Son was from the Father, and not merely like, but is *the same in likeness* [*ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὁμοῖον τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτόν τῃ ὁμοιώσει ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι σημαίνωσι*], and of showing that the Son’s likeness and unalterableness was different from such copy of the same as is ascribed to us, which we acquire from virtue on the ground of the observance of the commandments.”¹

From the foregoing extract the following facts are manifest: First, that the phrase “Image of the Father, like to the Father in all things and unvarying,” originated with the Orthodox; secondly, that it was disused by them, not because they regarded it as necessarily false, but as ambiguous, and liable to be used by the heterodox in its lower and false sense; thirdly, that the term *ὁμοούσιον* was employed by

¹ Nicen. Def., § 20, p. 34 sq. Italics mine, except in quotations from Scripture.

them to set forth what they intended to indicate by it. From this it follows as the light the sun that ὁμοούσιον must have been used in the sense of *homogeneous*, for only in that sense does it coincide with one of the possible meanings of the phrase for which it was used as a synonyme. The same is evident from the singular phrase "the same [ταυτόν] in [or by] likeness." The term *Same* may indicate either *numerical* or *specific* sameness; but *numerical sameness* and *likeness* are utterly incongruous — the one implies unity, the other plurality; it is only as the term indicates *specific sameness* that the phrase "the same in [or by] likeness" does not involve a contradiction. It is here proper to remark that even though other considerations did not forbid it, it would be impossible, for intrinsic reasons, to harmonize the phrase "the same in [or by] likeness" with the system which affirms *numerical sameness*. According to that system *sameness* and *likeness* are affirmed of the Father and the Son in different aspects — they are the *same* (numerically) in οὐσία, they are *like* in ὑπόστασις. But according to the Nicene phrase under consideration they are *the same* and *like* in one identical aspect; in the one aspect in which they are the *same*, they are *like*; but this requires that the sameness should be *specific*. In conclusion of the consideration of the preceding extract it may be said that in the sentence, "not merely *like*, but the same in likeness," the phrase "merely like" is manifestly parallel with that portion of the first classical passage which treats of *mere similarity*, as where it is written "thus tin is only *like* to silver, a wolf to a dog," etc., and the words "the same in likeness" correspond with ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοούσιον in the sense in which they coincide, namely, *homogeneity*.¹

¹ It may possibly be contended by some that the paragraph immediately following the preceding extract is inconsistent with the idea that mere specific oneness — such as exists between a human father and son — could have been, in the idea of Athanasius, the meaning of the term ὁμοούσιος. And it must be acknowledged that did that paragraph stand alone, it would naturally suggest the idea of a peculiarity in the relation of the divine Father and Son as implied by that term. In view, however, of the overwhelming weight of evidence on the

The phrase *Εἰκὼν ἀπαράλλακτος τῆς οὐσίας* seems to have originated with the Eusebians, as they were styled, or Homoioussians. Its first occurrence, so far as I have been able to discover, was in the second creed of the second Council of Antioch (A.D. 341), called also the Council of the Dedication. This creed, together with several others put forth by Arian and Semi-Arian Councils, is given in full by Athanasius in his Epistle De Synodis.¹ In it occurs the following (italics mine) :

"We believe.....in One Lord Jesus Christ,....*unvarying image* of the Godhead, *Substance*, Will, Power, and Glory of the Father."

As has already been intimated, subsequent councils, representing substantially the same party, declared that neither *οὐσία* nor *ὑπόστασις* should be attributed to God. The Council at Isauria (A.D. 359) declared as follows :

"We decline not to bring forward the authentic faith published at the dedication of Antioch, though certainly our fathers at that time met together for a particular subject under investigation. But since 'One in substance' [*ὁμοούσιον*] and 'Like in Substance' [*ὁμοιούσιον*], have

other side, we are compelled to limit what, at first glance, seems to be the force of the passage. The position of Athanasius on this point was so clearly set forth in numerous classical passages and illustrations, that it was not necessary for him carefully to guard every apparently discrepant utterance. Indeed, upon careful examination, it becomes manifest that the language may without undue straining, be regarded as involving, impliedly, the *a fortiori* statement—'if human beings are *ὁμοούσιοι*, how much more the divine Father and Son who are inseparably united.' The passage is as follows (italics mine) : "For *bodies* which are like each other may be separated and become at distances from each other, as are human sons relatively to their parents (as it is written concerning Adam and Seth, who was begotten of him, that he was like him after his own pattern [LXX, Gen. v. 3]) ; but since the generation of the Son from the Father is not according to the nature of men, and not only *like* [*ὅμοιος*] but also inseparable from [*ἀδιαπερος*] the substance of the Father, and He and the Father are one, as he has said himself, and the Word is ever in the Father and the Father in the Word, as the radiance stands towards the light, (for this the phrase itself indicates) ; therefore, the Council, as understanding this, wrote suitably 'one in substance' [*ὁμοούσιον*], that they might both defeat the perverseness of the heretics, and shew that the Word was other than generated things. For, after thus writing, they at once added, 'But they who say that the Son of God is from nothing, or created, or alterable, or a work, or from other substance, these the Holy Catholic Church anathematizes.'"

¹ De Synodis, § 23, p. 106.

troubled many persons in times past and up to this day, and since, moreover, some are said recently to have devised the Son's 'Unlikeness' [*ἀνόμοιον*] to the Father, on their account we reject 'One in substance' and 'Like in substance,' as alien to the Scriptures, but 'Unlike' we anathematize, and account all who profess it as aliens to the Church. And we distinctly confess the 'Likeness' [*ὅμοιον*] of the Son to the Father," etc.¹

Shortly after, in the same Epistle, Athanasius severely censures the course of the Councils in rejecting the specified terms, especially that of Isauria, which had declared its acceptance of the Creed of the Dedication. In his censure he uses language which impliedly recognizes the orthodoxy of the phrase, "unvarying image of the substance," — a phrase which, of course, was rejected with the rejection of the term *οὐσία*. He writes :

"Can we then any more account such men Christians? For if, O Acacius and Eudoxius, you 'do not decline the faith published at the Dedication,' and in it is written that the Son is 'Unvarying Image of God's substance [*οὐσίας ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν*],' why is it ye write in Isauria, 'we reject the Like in Substance [*τὸ ὁμοιούσιον*]'? for if the Son is not like the Father according to substance [*κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιος*] how is He 'unvarying image of the Substance'? But if you are dissatisfied at having written 'Unvarying Image of the Substance' how is it that ye 'anathematize those who say that the Son is Unlike?' for if He be not according to substance Like [*ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*], He is altogether Unlike; and the Unlike cannot be an Image. And if so, then it does not hold that *he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father*, there being the greatest difference possible between Them, or rather the One being wholly Unlike the other. And Unlike cannot possibly be called Like. By what artifice then do ye call Unlike Like, and consider Like to be Unlike, and so pretend to say that the Son is the Father's Image? for if the Son be not *Like* the Father in substance [*κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιος ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς*] something is wanting to the Image, and it is not a complete Image, nor a perfect radiance."²

From this extract it is evident that Athanasius regarded *ὁμοιούσιος*, *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*, and *ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν τῆς οὐσίας*, as equivalent. Although for reasons given in the first classical passage the term *ὁμοιούσιος* was objectionable as ambiguous, nevertheless he recognized it in its higher signifi-

¹ De Synodis, § 29, p. 123 sq.

² De Synodis, § 38, p. 135 sq.

cation as setting forth a truth. Still further; the expression *ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν*, as we have just seen, had been supplied by the Nicene Council itself by the term *ὁμοούσιος* — had the expression *ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν τῆς οὐσίας* meant aught else than this, it could not have been admitted by him as orthodox. And again; he distinctly recognizes that to be *like according to substance* [*ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*] was essential to the Son's being an Image of the Father. But 'likeness according to substance' and 'numerical oneness of substance' are utterly incongruous.

VI. The last class of passages that will be cited in corroboration are those in which Athanasius states and answers the objections to the term *ὁμοούσιον*.

By way of introduction it may be remarked that if by this term *numerical* oneness was contemplated, the apparent objection would have been that those who adopted it were Sabellianizing, that is, making the distinctions in the Godhead merely modal; if, however, *specific* oneness was intended the patent objections would have been that the term implied, first, division in the divine substance, and *secondly*, the existence of a plurality of Gods. Dr. Shedd manifestly contemplated the truth of this position, and therefore, immediately after his paragraph first quoted in this article, in which he stated, "The term *ὁμοούσιος* could not by any ingenuity be made to teach anything but that the essence of the Son is one and identical with that of the Father," we find the following:

"The two Eusebiuses, and many of the Oriental bishops, were Origenistic in their views upon this part of the doctrine. With some of this party, which was considerably numerous, and, as it afterward appeared, able to re-open the subject, and involve the church in another controversy, the difficulty was a speculative one, certainly to some extent. They were afraid of Sabellianism, and supposed that by affirming a unity and sameness of essence between the Father and the Son, they necessarily denied the distinction of persons between them. This portion, consisting of the more devout minds, who practically held very exalted views of the Person of Christ, were the true representatives of Origen in this council."¹

¹ Hist. of Christian Doctrine, Vol. i. p. 312 sqq. Hagenbach (Hist. of Doctrine, New York ed., Vol. i. p. 254 sq.) also writes: "The Semi-Arians, and with them Cyril of Jerusalem and Eusebius of Caesarea, endeavored to avoid the use of the term *ὁμοούσιος* lest they should fall into the Sabellian error."

The implication of this paragraph manifestly is that the great objection to the term was that it apparently favored Sabellianism. Now it may be remarked, in the first place, that Dr. Shedd adduces no proof that either of the Eusebiuses or the higher Homoiousians ever brought this objection against it. On the contrary, it is manifest that the difficulty in the mind of Eusebius of Cæsarea as to the terms *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας* and *ὁμοούσιος* was that they implied division in the substance of the Father. In his "Letter to the People of his Diocese," presented in full by Athanasius in an Appendix to the Defence, he wrote as follows, immediately after his citation of the Nicene Creed :

"On their dictating this formula, we did not let it pass without inquiry in what sense they introduced 'of [from] the Substance of the Father,' and 'One in substance [*ὁμοούσιος*] with the Father.' Accordingly questions and explanations took place, and the meaning of the words underwent the scrutiny of reason. And they professed, that the phrase 'of [from] the substance' was indicative of the Son's being indeed from the Father, *yet without being as if a part of Him*. And with this understanding we thought good to assent to the sense of such religious doctrine, teaching, as it did, that the Son was from the Father, not however a part of his substance. On this account we assented to the sense ourselves, without declining even the term 'One in substance,' peace being the object which we set before us, and steadfastness in the orthodox view.... And so too on examination there are grounds for saying that the Son is 'One in substance with the Father'; not in the way of bodies, nor like mortal beings, for He is not such by division of substance, or by severance, no nor by any affection, or alteration, or changing of the Father's substance or power, (since from all such the ingenerate nature of the Father is alien), but because 'One in substance with the Father' suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the generated creatures, but that to His Father alone who begat Him is He in every way assimilated, and that He is not of any other subsistence and substance, but from the Father."¹

The historian, Socrates, thus writes :

"This creed was recognized and acquiesced in by three hundred and eighteen Bishops; and being, as Eusebius says, unanimous in expression and sentiment, they subscribed it. Five only would not receive it, objecting to the term *ὁμοούσιος*, of the same essence or consubstantial. These were Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, Maris of

¹ Nicen. Def., App. p. 61 sq. Italics mine.

Chalcedon, Thomas of Marmorica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. 'For,' said they, 'that is *consubstantial* which is from another, either by partition, derivation, or germination; by germination, as a shoot from the roots; by derivation, as children from their parents; by division, as two or three vessels of gold from a mass.' But they contended that the Son is from the Father by neither of these modes: wherefore they declared themselves unable to assent to the Creed; and having scoffed at the word *consubstantial*, they would not subscribe it to the condemnation of Arius. . . . At the same time Eusebius . . . of Caesarea . . . who had withheld his assent in the Synod, after mature consideration whether he ought to receive this form of faith at length acquiesced in it and subscribed it."¹

In reference to the higher Homoiousians, of whom Dr. Shedd writes, as quoted above, that "they were afraid of Sabellianism," and in a foot-note on the same page, that they "finally passed over to Nicenism," it may be remarked that had he given the entire paragraph in English, instead of quoting a portion thereof in a foot-note in the original Greek, it would have been manifest that the difficulty contemplated by them was the same as that which troubled Eusebius of Caesarea and the other dissenters at the Council of Nicaea. The passage is the one that has been given *in extenso* on p. 705 sq., of this article as the first classical passage.

In the second place, as against the implication of the paragraph of Dr. Shedd, namely, that the great objection to the term *ὁμοούσιον* was that it favored Sabellianism, it may be confidently asserted that the only objections Athanasius alludes to are those which arise from regarding the term as indicating specific oneness. These objections, as will be seen, are: first, that the term implies division of the substance of the Father; and, secondly, that it implies a plurality of Gods.

Before citing passages in which these objections are mentioned and answered, it is proper further to remark that the nature of the answer would depend on the meaning attached by Athanasius to the term *ὁμοούσιος*. If he had held that it indicated *numerical* oneness, the patent answer to the objections that it implied *division of substance* and *a plurality of Gods* would have been, You misunderstand the force of the

¹ Bagster's Translation and Edition, p. 28 sq.

term. Such, however, was never his answer. On the contrary it was always one requiring, or at least consistent with, the idea that the term indicated specific oneness, as will be seen.

The objections mentioned, together with the answers, will now be presented. In these answers the truth of what was set forth in the introduction as the second point of the doctrine of Athanasius will appear; viz. That the begetting of the Divine Son implies no division of the Father's substance as in the begetting of a human son. The truth also of another remark made in the introduction will, it is believed, become manifest; viz. That the idea that Athanasius held the doctrine of the *numerical* oneness of the Divine substance is largely defended from a partial presentation of his declarations on this second point.

1. The first *objection* is, that the term *ὁμοούσιον* implies division in the substance of the Father. This is an objection that seems to have been constantly present to the mind of Athanasius. He answers it in all his writings against the Arians; sometimes he endeavors to forestall it in the very statement of his doctrine.

The first passage that will be cited occurs in immediate connection with what has been styled the first classical passage, which it follows in unbroken sequence. Fully to appreciate it we must have that passage, of which it is the sequel, in mind (see p. 705 sq.):

“ And is there any cause for fear, lest, because the offspring from men are one in substance [*ὁμοούσια*], the Son, by being called One in substance, be Himself considered as a human [*ἀνθρώπινον*] offspring too? Perish the thought! not so; but the explanation is easy. For the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom; whence we learn the impassibility and indivisibility [*ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀμέριστον*] of such a generation from the Father. For not even man's word is a part of him nor proceeds from him according to passion, much less God's Word; whom the Father hath declared to be His own Son, lest, on the other hand, if we merely heard (heard merely) of ‘Word,’ we should suppose Him, such as is the word of man, unsubsistent [*ἀνυπόστατον*]; but that hearing that He is Son, we may

acknowledge Him to be a living Word and substantive [ἐνόνσιον] Wisdom.¹ Accordingly as in saying 'Offspring' we have no human thoughts, and though we know God to be a Father, we entertain no *material* ideas concerning Him, but while we listen to these illustrations and terms, we think suitably of God, for He is not as man, so in like manner when we hear of 'One in substance,' we ought to transcend all sense, and according to the Proverb, *understand by the understanding that is set before us*; so as to know, that not by will, but in truth, is He genuine from the Father, as Life from Fountain, and Radiance from Light. Else why should we understand 'offspring' and 'Son' in no corporeal way, while we conceive of 'One in substance' as after the manner of bodies? especially since these terms are not here used about different subjects, but of whom 'offspring' is predicated, of Him is 'One in substance' also. And it is but consistent to attach the same sense to both expressions as applied to the Saviour, and not to interpret 'offspring,' as is fitting, and 'One in substance' otherwise; since to be consistent, ye who are thus minded, and who say that the Son is Word and Wisdom of the Father, should entertain a different view of these terms also, and understand in separate senses *Word*, and in distinct senses *Wisdom*. But as this would be extravagant (for the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom, and the offspring from the Father is one and proper to His substance), so the sense of 'offspring' and 'one in substance' is one, and whoso considers the Son an *offspring*, rightly considers Him also as 'one in substance.' This is sufficient to show that the phrase of 'one in substance' is not foreign nor far from the meaning of these much loved persons"² [The reference here is to those higher Homoiousians, mentioned in the first classical passage, who admitted the ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, but denied the ὁμοούσιον].

The next passage, flowing on in unbroken sequence from the one just concluded, is of great importance in determining the views of Athanasius. Presenting, as it does, the objection of some to the use of the term ὁμοούσιον on the ground that

¹ This passage is of special importance in view of the fact that it has been claimed that their figuring of the divine Λόγος by the human, tends to prove that the Nicene fathers regarded the substance of the Trinity as numerically one. It will be perceived from this that whilst Athanasius used the illustration to set forth "the impassibility and indivisibility" of the generation of the divine Λόγος, he expressly affirmed this difference between the divine and the human word, namely, that the former is *substantial*. It is also important to notice that Athanasius regards the fact that the Divine Word is styled *Son*, as indicative of the fact that he is *subsistent* and *substantial*. It should be remembered that according to him οὐσία and ἐνότης are one and the same; and this is one of the passages in which he employs the terms as synonymous. A similar passage from § 34 of the same Epistle, was quoted on p. 714 sq. of this article, and specially referred to in a foot-note.

² De Synodis, § 41, p. 140 sq.

it had been condemned by the Council of Antioch in the case of Paul of Samosata, it afforded opportunity to Athanasius not only to answer the objection, but to set forth his opinion concerning the meaning that had been attributed to the term by the Council and the one properly attaching to it. It will be remembered that the implication of the paragraph first quoted from Dr. Shedd's History of Christian Doctrines is that Paul of Samosata had used the term *ὁμοούσιον* in a Sabellian sense, and for so doing had been condemned by the Council of Antioch. The following extract will show that this was not in accordance with the understanding of Athanasius:

"But since, as they [the higher Homoiousians] allege (for I have not the epistle in question), the Bishops who condemned Samosatene have laid down in writing that the Son is not One in substance with the Father, and so it comes to pass that they, for reverence and honor toward the aforesaid, thus feel about that expression, it will be to the purpose reverently to argue with them this point also. Certainly, it is unbecoming to make the one company conflict with the other, for all are fathers. [After making certain historical statements, in which he introduces the passage from Dionysius of Alexandria already presented as the second classical passage, p. 707, he continues] If the Fathers of the two Councils made different mention of the One in substance, we ought not in any respect to differ from them, but to investigate their meaning; and this will fully show us the meaning of both the Councils. For they who deposed Samosatene took One in substance in a bodily sense, because Paul [of Samosata] had attempted sophistry, and said, 'Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is One in substance with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three substances. one the previous substance, and the other two from it'; and therefore, guarding against this, they said with good reason that Christ was not One in substance. For the Son is not related to the Father as he imagined. But the Bishops who anathematized the Arian heresy understanding Paul's craft, and reflecting that the word 'One in substance' has not this meaning when used of things immaterial, and especially of God, and acknowledging that the Word was not a creature, but an offspring from the substance, and that the Father's substance was the origin and root and fountain of the Son, and that He was of very truth the Father's likeness, and not of different nature, as we are, and separate from the Father, but that as being from Him He exists as Son indivisible [*ἀδιαιρέτον*], as radiance is with respect of light, and knowing too the illustrations used in Dionysius's case, the 'fountain,' and

the defence of 'One in substance,' and before this the Saviour's saying symbolical of unity [*ἐνουδιῇ*]. *I and the Father are one*, and *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*, on these grounds reasonably asserted on their part that the Son was One in substance. Yes, surely, each Council had a sufficient reason for its own language. When the party of Eusebius and Arius said that though the Son was before time yet was He made and one of the creatures, and as to the phrase 'from God,' they did not believe it in the sense of His being genuine Son from Father, but maintained it as it is said of the creatures, and as to the oneness of likeness [*τὴν τῆς ὁμοιώσεως ἐνότητά*] between the Son and the Father, did not confess that the Son is like [*ὅμοιος*] the Father according to substance [*κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν*], or according to nature, but because of their agreement of doctrines and of teaching; nay, when they drew a line and an utter distinction between the Son's substance and the Father, ascribing to Him an origin of being other than the Father, and degrading Him to the creatures, on this account the Bishops assembled at Nicaea, with a view to the craft of the parties so thinking, and as bringing together the sense from the Scriptures, cleared up the point by affirming the 'One in substance'; that both the true genuineness of the Son might thereby be known, and that things generated might be ascribed nothing in common with Him."¹

¹ De Synodis, §§ 43-45, p. 141 sqq. There are but three of the Fathers who refer to the alleged deliverance of the Council of Antioch, namely, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, and Hilary of Poitiers. Basil, who agrees with Athanasius, thus writes, Ep. 300 (quoted from Bull's Defence, Ox. transl., p. 74 sq.): "The word *ὁμοούσιος* having been used in a wrong sense by some, there are persons who have not yet accepted it. . . . For in truth, they who were assembled in the matter of Paul of Samosata, did give an ill name to this word, as not conveying a good meaning; for they said that the term *ὁμοούσιος*, 'of one substance,' suggests the idea of a substance, and the things which are formed from it, so as that the substance being divided into parts, gives the appellation 'of one substance' to the things into which it is divided. And this notion has some force in the case of metals, and the pieces of money made from it; but in the instance of God the Father and God the Son, there is not contemplated any substance elder than or overlaying both; for to think or assert this, were something beyond impiety." The Oxford translator of the "Treatises" of Athanasius thus writes in a foot-note (p. 144): "While S. Basil agrees with Athanasius in his account of the reason of the Council's rejection of the word, S. Hilary on the contrary reports that Paul himself accepted, i.e. in a *Sabellian* sense, and therefore the Council rejected it." The sole reason given by the translator for this statement is, the words of Hilary, "Male homousion Samosatenus confessus est, sed numquid melius Arian negaverunt (De Synodis, § 86)." I must acknowledge my inability to see the force of the reason assigned. But however this may be, the concurrent opinions of Athanasius and Basil would more than countervail even the unmistakably expressed opinion of Hilary; and still further, the opinion

The next passage that will be cited follows an argument to prove the eternal generation of the Son. Special attention is called to it, as it will again be referred to in review of the position of Neander. Athanasius writes :

"But if, on the other hand, while they acknowledge with us the name of 'Son,' from an unwillingness to be publicly and generally condemned, they deny that the Son is the proper offspring of the Father's substance, on the ground that this must imply parts and divisions; what is this but to deny that He is very Son, and only in name to call Him Son at all? And is it not a grievous error to have material thoughts about what is immaterial; and because of the weakness of their proper nature to deny what is natural and proper to the Father? It does but remain that they should deny Him also, because they understand not how God is, and what the Father is, now that, foolish men, they measure by themselves the Offspring of the Father. And persons in such a state of mind as to consider that there cannot be a Son of God demand our pity; but they must be interrogated and exposed for the chance of bringing them to their senses."¹

Again, in the same Discourse, he writes :

"As we have said before, so now we repeat, that the divine generation must not be compared to the nature of men, nor the Son considered to be part of God, nor generation to imply any passion whatever; God is not as man; for men beget passibly, having a transitive nature, which waits for periods by reason of its weakness. But with God this cannot be; for he is not composed of parts, but being impassible and simple He is impassibly [*ἀπαθώς*] and indivisibly [*ἀμερίστως*] Father of the Son. This, again, is strongly evidenced and proved by divine Scripture. For the Word of God is His Son, and the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom; and the Word and Wisdom is neither creature nor part of Him whose Word He is, nor an offspring passibly begotten. Uniting then the two titles [Word and Son], Scripture speaks of 'Son' in order to herald the Offspring of His [the Father's] substance natural and true; and, on the other hand, that none may think of the Offspring humanly, while signifying His [the Son's] substance, it also calls Him Word, Wisdom, and Radiance; to teach us that the generation was impassible, and eternal, and worthy of God. What affection, then, or what part of the Father, is the Word and the Wisdom and the Radiance?"²

After having, in the Defence, set forth the two senses of the term Son,—namely, first, that in which he gives us power of Hilary has nothing to do with the special point at issue. What we are seeking is the opinion of Athanasius.

¹ Discourse i § 15, p. 202.

² Ibid, i. § 28, p. 220 sq.

to become sons of God, and secondly, that of nature, in which Isaac was son of Abraham, — and after having proved that the Divine Son was not Son in the first sense, Athanasius writes :

“It remains then to say that the Son of God is so called according to the other sense, in which Isaac was called son of Abraham ; for what is naturally begotten from any one, and does not accrue to him from without, that in the nature of things is a *Son*, and that is what the name implies. Is then the Son's generation one of human affection [*ἀνθρωποπαθής*] ? (for this perhaps, as their predecessors, they too will be ready to object in their ignorance) ; — in no wise ; for God is not as man, nor man as God. Men are created of matter, and that passible [*παθητικῆς*] ; but God is immaterial and incorporeal. As then men create not as God creates, as their being is not such as God's being, so men's generation is in one way, and the Son is from the Father in another. For the offspring of men are portions of their fathers, since the very nature of bodies is not unpounded, but transitive and composed of parts ; and men lose their substance in begetting, and again they gain substance from the accession of food. And on this account men in their time become fathers of many children ; but God, being without parts, is Father of the Son without partition or passion ; for there is neither effluence [*ἀπορροή*] of the Immaterial, nor accession from without, as among men ; and being unpounded in nature, He is Father of One Only Son.”¹

Again he writes, in the same epistle :

“Further, let every corporeal thought be banished on this subject ; and transcending every imagination of sense, let us, with the pure understanding and with mind alone, apprehend the Son's genuine relation towards the Father, and the Word's proper relation [*ἰδιότῃρα*] towards God, and the unvarying likeness of the radiance towards the light ; for as the words ‘Offspring’ and ‘Son’ bear, and are meant to bear, no human sense, but one suitable to God, in like manner when we hear the phrase ‘One in substance’ let us not fall upon human senses, and imagine partitions and divisions of the Godhead, but as having our thoughts directed to things immaterial let us preserve undivided the oneness of nature and the identity [*ταὐτότητα* = *homogeneity*]² of light ; for this is proper to the Son as regards the Father [*τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον Υἱοῦ πρὸς Πατέρα*], and in

¹ Nicen. Def., § 10, p. 16 sq. This passage, it will be perceived, is quoted by Dr. Shedd, with slight variations, manifestly from the Oxford translation. See *History of Doctrine*, Vol. i. p. 334.

² It is evident from the last quoted classical passage that this term was used by Athanasius in the sense of *homogeneity*. See foot-note on p. 709.

this is shown that God is truly the Father of the Word. Here again the illustration of light and its radiance is in point. Who will presume to say that the radiance is unlike and foreign from the sun? Rather who, thus considering the radiance relatively to the sun, and the identity of the light, would not say with confidence, 'Truly the light and the radiance are one, and the one is manifested in the other, and the radiance is in the sun, so that whoso sees this sees that also?' But such a oneness and natural possession [*ἰδιότης*] what should it be named by those who believe and see aright, but Offspring one in substance? And God's Offspring what should we fittingly and suitably consider but the Word and Wisdom and Power?"¹

The next passage that will be cited is from the beginning of the third Discourse. In the first paragraph Athanasius refers to the fact that the Arians had attacked the truth on the basis of scriptural expressions. He writes:

"The Ario-maniacs . . . have next proceeded to disparage our Lord's words, *I in the Father, and the Father in Me*, saying, 'How can the One be contained in the Other and the Other in the One?' or 'How at all can the Father who is the greater be contained in the Son who is the less?' or 'What wonder if the Son is in the Father, considering it is written even of us, *In Him we live and move and have our being*?' And this state of mind is consistent with their perverseness who think God to be material, and understand not what is 'True Father' and 'True Son,' nor 'Light Invisible' and 'Eternal,' and Its 'Radiance Invisible,' nor 'Invisible Subsistence,' and 'Immaterial Expression' and 'Immaterial Image.' For had they known, they would not have dishonored and ridi-

¹ Nicen. Def., § 24, p. 40 sq. Dr. Shedd quotes also this passage (History of Christian Doctrine, Vol. i. p. 334 sq.), and manifestly, either directly or mediately, from the Oxford translation. There are, however, with two or three minor variations unnecessary to notice, several most important and illegitimate changes. The first of these is the alteration in the first part of the paragraph, of the Greek *ἰδιότης* into *ἰδιότης*, and a corresponding change of the English *proper relation* into *individuality*. A similar change of the Greek word appears near the close of the paragraph, and the English *natural possession* (*φυσικὴ ἰδιότης*) is altered into *personal peculiarity*! A third change is of the italicized sentence near the middle of the paragraph, "*for this is proper to the Son as regards the Father*"; this is altered into, "For this is the individuality, or *hypothetical* character of the Son in relation to the Father. A fourth change is the omission of the italicized clause near the end — "*and the one is manifested in the other.*" By these changes the idea of *hypostasis* or *person* as distinct from *substance* is illegitimately introduced into the paragraph. The term *ἰδιότης*, which is twice substituted for *ἰδιότης*, does not as before remarked, so far as I have been able to discover, once occur in the writings of Athanasius.

culed the Lord of glory, nor, interpreting things immaterial after a material manner, perverted good words. It were sufficient indeed, on hearing only [only hearing] words which are the Lord's at once to believe, since the faith of simplicity is better than an elaborate process of persuasion; but since they have endeavored to make even this passage level with their own heresy, it becomes necessary to expose their perverseness and to show the mind of the truth, at least for the security of the faithful. For when it is said,¹ *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, they are not therefore, as these suppose, discharged into each other, filling the One the Other, as in the case of empty vessels, so that the Son fills the emptiness of the Father, and the Father that of the Son, and Each of Them by Himself is not complete and perfect (for this is proper to bodies, and therefore the mere assertion of it is full of irreligion), for the Father is full and perfect, and the Son is the Fulness of Godhead. Nor again, as God by coming into [γινόμενος ἐν] the saints strengthens them, thus is He also in the Son. For He is Himself the Father's Power and Wisdom, and by partaking [μετοχῇ] of him things generate are sanctified in the Spirit; but the Son Himself is not Son by participation [μετονομασίᾳ], but is the Father's proper Offspring. Nor, again, is the Son in the Father in the sense of the passage, *In Him we live and move and have our being*; for He as being from the Fount of the Father is the Life in which all things are both quickened and consist; for the Life does not live in life, else it would not be Life, but rather He gives life to all things."²

¹ Dr. Shedd's quotation, reproduced in the following foot-note, begins at this point.

² Discourse III. § 1, p. 398 sq. A portion of this passage, beginning at the point indicated in the preceding foot-note, forms the first of a series of so-called quotations from the third Discourse of Athanasius against the Arians. This series immediately follows the quotation reproduced on p. 736 sq., and begins with the words: "Similar arguments and illustrations are also set forth by Athanasius in his singularly logical and powerful 'Orations against the Arians.'" The succeeding extracts will be presented in the latter portion of this article, compared in parallel columns with the Oxford translation. This one is here presented, as, for obvious reasons, it is desirable that the connection of the extract as given by Dr. Shedd with that which precedes it should be made manifest. Special attention is called to the unauthorized introduction of the idea of *personality* as connected with *substance*, in the use of the words italicized by me in the latter part of the extract. Dr. Shedd writes (History of Doctrine, Vol. i. p. 135 sq.): "'We must not understand,' he says, 'those words, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me*, as if the Father and the Son were two distinct essences or natures, blended or inlaid into one another; as if they had that property which philosophers call penetration of parts; that is to say, as if they were a vessel, supposed to be capable of being doubly filled at once; as if the Father occupied the same quantity or region of space with the Son, and the Son the same as the Father. The Father's *personality* is infinitely perfect and complete, and the Son's *personality*

2. The second objection to the Nicene doctrine mentioned and answered by Athanasius was, that it involved the idea of a plurality of Gods. This objection was not mentioned by him, as an objection to his doctrine, as frequently as the one that has just been considered ; yet he considered it, and there can be no doubt, after a careful examination of what he wrote on the subject, that he answered it not from the standpoint of the *numerical oneness* of the Divine substance, but from that of the old doctrine of the *Monarchy*, that is, that the Divine unity is to be found in the Father as the *Ἀρχή*, the Fountain, of the Trinity.

This was the idea set forth in the passage from Discourse iv., quoted on p. 719 sqq. of this article in proof that Athanasius recognized a plurality of substance. One of the objects of the section quoted manifestly was to answer the objection that the orthodox doctrine implied a plurality of Gods. The special sentence to which attention is called is the following ; the whole passage, however, should be re-read in this connection :

“ For the Word, being Son of the One God, is referred [*ἀναφέρεται*] to Him of whom also He is ; so that Father and Son are two, yet the Unity [*Μονάδα* = Monad] of the Godhead [Divinity] is indivisible and inseparable [*ἁδιαίρετον καὶ ἀσχωστόν*]. And thus too we preserve one Origin [*Ἀρχή*] of Godhead, and not two Origins, whence there is properly a Divine Monarchy.”¹

The same doctrine of the *Monarchy* as the foundation of the Divine unity is set forth in the approved extract from Dionysius of Rome, presented by Athanasius in the Defence, the first portion of which was quoted in this article on p. 707. The entire passage, so far as germane to the point under discussion, is as follows :

“ Next, I reasonably turn to those who divide and cut into pieces and destroy that most sacred doctrine of the Church of God, the Divine Monarchy, making it certain three powers and partitive subsistences

is the plenitude of his Father's substance. The Son has not his Sonship derived or communicated to him by any sort of intervention or mediation. No ; it is of the Son's very nature, of the Father's substance and immediate from the Father.”

¹ Discourse iv. § 1, p. 512 sq.

[μεμερισμένas ὑπόστασεις] and godheads [θεότηας] three. I am told that some among you who are catechists and teachers of the Divine Word take the lead in this tenet, who are diametrically opposed, so to speak, to Sabellius's opinions; for he blasphemously says that the Son is the Father, and the Father the Son; but they in some sort preach three Gods as dividing the Holy Unity [μονάδα] into three subsistences foreign to each other and utterly separate. For it must needs be that with the God of the Universe the Divine Word is one [ἡνώσθαι], and the Holy Ghost must repose and habitate in God; thus in one [εἰς ἓνα] as in a summit [εἰς κορυφὴν], I mean the God of the Universe, must the Divine Trinity [Τριάς] be gathered up and brought together [συγκεφαλαιωθῆναι καὶ συνάγεσθαι]. For it is the doctrine of the presumptuous Marcion to sever and divide the Divine Monarchy into three Origins — a devil's teaching, not that of Christ's true disciples and lovers of the Saviour's lessons. For they well know that a Trinity [Τριάς] is preached by Divine Scripture, but that neither Old Testament nor New preaches three Gods. Neither then may we divide into three Godheads the wonderful and divine Unity [μονάδα = Monad], nor disparage with the name 'Work' the dignity and exceeding majesty of the Lord; but we must believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and hold that to the God of the Universe the Word is united. For *I*, says He, *and the Father are one*, and *I in the Father and the Father in Me*. For thus both the Divine Trinity [Τριάς], and the holy preaching of the Monarchy will be preserved."¹

In harmony with the doctrine embodied in the preceding extracts is the teaching in the following passages. The first of these is from the Epistle De Synodis. It occurs in the section intermediate between those which contain the third and last classical passages.

"Further, if, in confessing Father and Son, we spoke of two origins or two Gods, as Marcion and Valentinus, or said that the Son had any other mode of godhead [ἢ ἑτερόν τινα τρόπον θεότητος ἔχειν τὸν Υἱόν], and was not the Image [εἰκόνα] and Expression [χαρακτῆρα] of the Father, as being by nature born from Him, then He might be considered unlike [ἀνόμοιος]; for such substances are altogether unlike [ξέναι] each other. But if we acknowledge that the Father's Godhead [θεότηρα] is one and sole, and that of Him the Son is the Word and Wisdom; and, as thus believing, are far from speaking of two Gods, but understand the oneness of the Son with the Father to be not in likeness of their teaching, but according to substance [κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν] and in truth, and hence speak

¹ Nicen. Def., § 26, p. 45 sqq.

not of two Gods but of one God; there being but one Face of Godhead [ὁ ὁυτος εἰδους θεότητος], as the Light is one and the Radiance; this being so, wherefore scruple we to call Him one in substance who is one with the Father according to likeness and oneness of Godhead? Or let a man venture to make the distinction that the sun and the radiance are two lights or different [heterogeneous] substances [ἡ ἐρέαν τινὰ εἶναι οὐσίαν],¹ or to say that the radiance accrued to it over and above, and is not a single and uncompounded offspring from the sun, such that sun and radiance are two, but the light one, because the radiance is an offspring from the sun. But, whereas not more divisible, nay less divisible is the nature of the Son towards the Father, and the godhead not accruing to the Son, but the Father's godhead being in the Son, so that he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father in Him; wherefore should not such an one be called One in substance?"²

Again he writes :

"And on hearing the attributes of the Father [τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς] spoken of the Son, we shall thereby see the Father in the Son; and we shall contemplate the Son in the Father, when what is said of the Son is said of the Father also. And why are the attributes of the Father ascribed to the Son, except that the Son is an Offspring from Him? and why are the Son's attributes proper to the Father, except again because the Son is the proper Offspring of His substance? And the Son being the proper Offspring of the Father's substance, reasonably says that the Father's attributes are His own also; whence suitably and consistently with saying, *I and the Father are One*, He adds, *that ye may know that I am in the Father and the Father in Me*. Moreover, He has added this again, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*; and there is one and the same sense in these three passages. For he who in this sense understands that the Son and the Father are one, knows that He is in the Father and the Father in the Son; for the Godhead of the Son is the Father's, and it is in the Son; and whoso enters into this is convinced that *He that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father*; for in the Son is contemplated the Father's Godhead. And we may perceive this at once from the illustration of the Emperor's image. For in the image is the face and form of the Emperor, and in the Emperor is that face which is in the image. For the likeness of the Emperor in the image is unvarying [ἀπαράλλακτος];³ so that a person who looks at the image sees in it the Emperor; and he again who sees the Emperor recognizes that it is he who is in the image. And from the likeness not differing, to one who after the image wished to view the Emperor, the image might say, 'I and the Emperor are one; for I am in him and he in me; and what thou seest in me that thou beholdest in him,

¹ Substances of different kinds — heterogeneous. ² De Synodis, § 52, p. 153 sq.

³ It is "unvarying" in form, but not κατ' οὐσίαν.

and what thou hast seen in him that thou beholdest in me.' Accordingly, he who worships the image, in it worships the Emperor also; for the image is his form [*μορφή*] and face. Since then the Son too is the Father's Image, it must necessarily be understood that the Godhead and propriety [*ἰδιότης*] of the Father is the Being [*τὸ εἶναι*] of the Son. § 6. And this is what is said, *Who being in the form* [*ἐν μορφῇ*] *of God, and the Father in Me.* Nor is this Form [*εἶδος*] of the Godhead partial merely, but the fulness of the Father's Godhead is the Being [*τὸ εἶναι*] of the Son, and the Son is whole God."¹

And in the same Discourse, again, he writes:

"For divine Scripture wishing us thus to understand the matter, has given such illustrations, as we have said above, from which we are able both to press the traitorous Jews, and to refute the allegation of Gentiles who maintain and think, on account of the Trinity [*τὴν Τριάδα*], that we profess many gods. For, as the illustration shows, we do not introduce three Origins [*ἀρχάς*] or three Fathers, as the followers of Marcion and Manichæus; since we have not suggested the image of three suns, but sun and radiance. And one is the light from the sun in the radiance; and so we know of but one origin [*ἀρχήν*]; and the All-framing Word we profess to have no other manner of Godhead than that of the only God, because He is born from Him. . . . For there is but one Face [*εἶδος*] of Godhead, which is also in the Word; and one God, the Father, existing by Himself, according as He is above all, and appearing in the Son according as He pervades all things, and in the Spirit according as in Him He acts in all things through the Word. For thus we confess God to be one through the Trinity, and we say that it is much more religious than the godhead of the heretics with its many kinds [*πολυειδοῦς*] and many parts, to entertain a belief of the One Godhead in Trinity."²

The effort has been made to reproduce everything that legitimately bears upon the subject of the objections to his doctrine mentioned and answered by Athanasius. It is freely acknowledged that there are many expressions in these answers which, taken by themselves, are apparently consistent with the doctrine of the numerical oneness of the Divine substance. On the other hand, however, many are utterly inconsistent with that doctrine; all are consistent with the doctrine of specific oneness, and many require the hypothesis of such oneness. It is manifestly impossible, even upon these answers alone, to build up an hypothesis of

¹ Discourse III. § 5, p. 404 sqq.

² Ibid., III. § 15, p. 421 sq.

numerical unity. When, however, we consider that they are but answers to certain objections in connection with a vast system, which in a multitude of ways, direct and indirect, teaches the doctrine of specific oneness, it becomes evident that the attempt to build up a counter hypothesis upon a few expressions contained in these answers is like an attempt to establish the doctrine of Socinianism upon the declaration of the incarnate Lord, "My Father is greater than I."

There are, however, other passages in which it is claimed Athanasius teaches the doctrine of *numerical* oneness—amongst others, those declaratively quoted by Dr. Shedd on pages 334–338 of Volume I. of his *History of Christian Doctrine*. These quotations as they appear in the work mentioned, regularly enclosed in double quotation marks, and credited by sections to the different works of the great Patriarch, apparently teach that he made in direct terms the modern distinction between *substance* [οὐσία] and *person* [ὑπόστασις], and also that he declared in terms that the Father and the Son "are numerically one." If these quotations are correct, then, it must be admitted Athanasius was strangely inconsistent with himself. But are they correct? Three of these quotations have already been referred to on pages 736, 737, 738 of this article. The others will now be presented, contrasted in parallel columns with the Oxford translation. This translation is employed, not only because of its general correctness and acknowledged authority, but because the quotations of Dr. Shedd that have already been mentioned in this article were manifestly made from it either directly or mediately. The quotations that remain to be compared are from Discourse III. §§ iii., iv., vi. as they appear in the *History of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. I. p. 336 sqq.

DR. SHEDD'S QUOTATION.

OXFORD TRANSLATION.

§ 3.¹ "But if the Lord said this, His words would not rightly have been, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, but rather, 'I too am in the Father and the Father is in Me too,'

¹ The entire section is quoted (Oxford transl.), p. 402 sq.

DR. SHEDD'S QUOTATION.

"There is an entire propriety and community of nature between the Son and the Father, in like manner as there is between brightness and light, between the stream and the fountain; and, consequently, he that sees the Son sees in him the Father, and cannot but know that the Son is in the Substance of the Father, as having his subsistence (*ὑπόστασις*)¹ communicated to him out of that substance (*οὐσία*); and, again, that the Father is in the Son as communicating his substance² to the Son, as the nature of the solar substance is in the rays, the intellectual faculty in the rational soul, and the very substance of the fountain in the waters of the river.

OXFORD TRANSLATION.

that He may have nothing proper and by prerogative, relatively to the Father, as a Son, but the same grace in common with all. But it is not so as they think; for not understanding that He is genuine Son from the Father, they belie Him who is such, whom only it befits to say, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*. For the Son is in the Father, as it is allowed us to know, because the whole Being [*σύνπαν τὸ εἶναι*] of the Son is proper to the Father's substance, as radiance from light, and stream from fountain; so that whoso sees the Son, sees what is proper to the Father, and knows that the Son's Being [*τὸ εἶναι*], because from the Father, is therefore in the Father. For the Father is in the Son, since the Son is what is from the Father and proper to Him, as in the radiance the sun, and in the word the thought, and in the stream the fountain; for whoso thus contemplates the Son, contemplates what is proper to the Father's substance, and knows that the Father is in the Son. For whereas the Face and Godhead [*τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τῆς θεότητος*] of the Father is the Being of the Son, it follows that the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son. On this account and reasonably, having said before, *I and the Father are one*, He added, *I in the Father and the Father in Me, by way*

¹ The term *ὑπόστασις*, although thus introduced by Dr. Shedd, does not once occur in the section; nor is there anything in the original that can justify the apparent contrast between *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία*.

² There is nothing in the original that will bear the translation *communicating his substance*. This phrase is technical in the scheme that recognizes numerical oneness, and its use implies the idea of such oneness. That the idea of the *communication of substance*, with all that it implies, may be logically in the paragraph is a fair subject for argument, but it should not be assumed as true by the introduction of a technical term that is not a translation of any word or phrase in the original.

DR. SHEDD'S QUOTATION.

The Son cannot be otherwise than begotten of the Father, and consequently, cannot be the Father; yet as being (*sic*) begotten of the Father he cannot but be God; and as being God, he cannot but be one in essence with the Father; and therefore He and the Father are One,—one in propriety and community of nature, and one in unity of Godhead. Thus brightness is light; the splendor or radiance of the sun is coeval with the body of the sun. It is of its very substance. It is not a secondary flame kindled or borrowed from it, but it is the very offspring and issue of the sun's body. The sunbeams cannot be separated from that great fund of light. No man in his senses can suppose them subsisting after their communication with the planet is cut off. And yet, the sun and the brightness that flows from it are not one and the same thing. They are at once united, and yet indi-

OXFORD TRANSLATION.

of shewing the identity [ταὐτότητι] of Godhead and the Unity of Substance."

§ 4.¹ For they are one, not as one thing divided into two parts, and these nothing but one, or as one thing twice named, so that the same [τὸν αὐτόν] becomes at one time Father, at another His own Son, for this Sabellius holding was judged an heretic. But They are two, because the Father is Father, and is not also Son, and the Son is Son and not also Father; but the nature [φύσις] is one; for the offspring is not unlike [ἀνόμοιον] its parent (for it is His image), and all that is the Father's is the Son's. Wherefore neither is the Son another God, for He was not procured from without, else were there many, if a godhead be procured foreign from the Father's; for if the Son be other, as an Offspring, still He is the Same [ταὐτόν] as God; and He and the Father are one in propriety and peculiarity [οἰκειώτητα] of nature, and the identity of the one Godhead as has been said. For the radiance also is light, not second to the sun, nor a different light, nor from participation [μετουσία] of it, but a whole and proper offspring of it. And such an offspring is necessarily one light; and no one would say that they are two lights, but sun and radiance two, yet one the light from the sun enlightening in its radiance all things. So also the Godhead of the Son is the Father's; whence also it is indivisible; and thus there is one God and none other but He. And so, since they are one, and the Godhead [Divinity] itself one, the same

¹ Oxford Translation, p. 403 sq. The entire section is reproduced with the exception of a few Scriptural quotations at the close.

DR. SHEDD'S QUOTATION.

vidual, in the substance of that total light and heat that cherishes the world and paints the face of nature. And this is an imperfect emblem of the all-glorious divinity of the Son of God, which is essentially one with that of the Father. *They are one numerical substance.*¹ They are one God, and there are no other Gods beside that one. And both being one in essence and divinity, it follows that whatever can be affirmed of the Father may as truly and properly be affirmed of the Son, *except only the relation of paternity.*

That the Son is co-eternal with the Father is evinced by the *very nature of the relation of Sonship*. For no one is father of a son, nor can in a physical sense be called so, until he has a son. The relationship of artist or workman does not necessarily imply a co-existence of mechanical works or productions with their maker; and therefore it does not follow that God could not be a Creator before the existence of his creatures. *But he could not be a Father before he had a Son of his very Substance; and therefore his Paternity must have been co-eternal with his Godhead.*

OXFORD TRANSLATION.

things are said of the Son which are said of the Father, except his being said to be Father; for instance, that He is God, *and the Word was God*, etc.²

§ 6.³ Wherefore also is He implied together with the Father. For, a son not being, one cannot say father; whereas, when we call God a Maker, we do not of necessity intimate the things which have come to be; for a maker is before His works. But when we call God Father, at once with the Father we signify the Son's existence [*ὑπαρξιν*]. Therefore also he who believes in the Son believes also in the Father; for he believes in what is proper to the Father's Substance, and thus the faith is one in one God.

It is important, in order to the full discussion of this subject, that the following extract from the great History of Neander should be considered.

¹ As will be seen, on careful examination, there is literally nothing in the original to which this sentence, italicized by the present writer, answers.

² The last quotation in the preceding division — the one concerning the Emperor's Image — follows this passage. See p. 741 sq.

³ Oxford Translation, p. 407. The quotation here begins at what is presumed to be Dr. Shedd's point of beginning. The portion of this paragraph immediately preceding the part here quoted, may be found on p. 719.

"If we consider the connection of thoughts and ideas in the doctrinal system of this father [Athanasius], we shall doubtless be led to see, that in contending for the Homooousion he by no means contended for a mere speculative formula, standing in no manner of connection with what constitutes the essence of Christianity On the holding fast to the Homooousion depended, in his view, the whole unity of the Christian consciousness of God, the completeness of the revelation of God in Christ, the reality of the redemption which Christ wrought, and of the communion with God restored by him to man.

"If Christ," so argued Athanasius, against the Arian doctrine, "differed from other creatures simply as being the only creature immediately produced by God, his essence being wholly distinct from the essence of God, then he could not bring the creature into fellowship with God, since we must be constrained to conceive of something still, intermediate between him as a creature and the divine essence which differed from him, something whereby he might stand in communion with God, — and this intermediate being would be precisely the Son of God in the proper sense. In analyzing the conception of God communicated to the creature, it would be necessary to arrive at last at the conception of that which requires nothing intermediate in order to communion with God; — which does not participate in God's essence as something foreign from itself, but which is itself the self-communicating essence of God. This is the only Son of God, the being who can be called so in the proper sense. *The expressions Son of God, and divine generation, are of a symbolical nature, and denote simply the communication of the divine essence.*¹ It is only on the supposition that Christ is, in this sense alone, the proper Son of God that he can make rational creatures children of God. It is the Logos who imparts himself to them, dwells within them, through whom they live in God — the Son of God within them, through the fellowship with whom they become themselves children of God."²

To one familiar with the writings of Athanasius, one who knows how the ideas of generation and "genuine" sonship pervade those writings, appearing in some form on almost every page and forming their very staple, the sentence italicized above is simply astounding. It must be acknowledged that the passage as it lies in the original is peculiar. Not only does it appear in one of the earliest of the controversial writings of Athanasius, but in it occurs a phraseology altogether unlike that which is elsewhere employed. Elsewhere

¹ Italics by the present writer.

² Neander, *History of the Christian Religion and Church* (Torrey's transl.), Vol. ii. p. 380 sq.

he declares that the Son is not such from participation [μετουσία],¹ and indeed he declares the same in this passage, but he does say what he nowhere else says, namely, "What is partaken from the Father [τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μετεχόμενον] is the Son." The explanation of the use of this phraseology is to be found in the circumstances under which the passage was written. Athanasius was arguing against those who "deny that the Son is the proper offspring of the Father's substance, on the ground that this must imply parts and divisions."² That he might confute them he accepted for the sake of argument their phraseology. The passage professedly quoted by Neander follows immediately after the passage quoted on page 735, the latter part of which reads as follows:

"It does but remain that they should deny Him also, because they understand not how God is, and what the Father is, now that, foolish men, they measure by themselves the offspring of the Father. And persons in such a state of mind as to consider that there cannot be a Son of God, demand our pity; but they must be interrogated and exposed for the chance of bringing them to their senses."³

He then proceeds to interrogate and expose them. He writes:

"If then, as you say, 'the Son is from nothing,' and 'was not before His generation,' He, of course, as well as others, must be called Son, and God, and Wisdom only by participation [μετουσία]; for thus all other creatures consist, and by sanctification are glorified. You have to tell us, then, of what He is partaker. All other things partake the Spirit, but He, according to you, of what is He partaker? Of the Spirit? Nay, rather the Spirit Himself takes from the Son, as He Himself says; and it is, not reasonable to say that the latter is sanctified by the former. Therefore it is the Father that He partakes [τοῦ Πατρὸς μετέχει], for this only remains to say. But this which is participated [τί τοῦτο],⁴ what is it or whence? If it be something external provided by the Father, He will not now be partaker of the Father, but of what is external to Him; and no longer will He be even second after the Father, since He has before Him this other; nor can He be called Son of the Father, but of that,

¹ De Synodis, § 48, p. 148; § 51, p. 151; § 53, p. 156. Discourse III. § 1, p. 400; § 4, 404; § 6, p. 406; § 15, p. 422.

² Discourse I. § 15, p. 202.

³ Discourse I. §§ 15, 16, p. 202 sqq.

⁴ The words which is participated are introduced by the Oxford translator.

as partaking which He has been called Son and God. And if this be extravagant and irreligious, when the Father says, *This is my beloved Son*, and when the Son says that God is his own Father, it follows that what is partaken [τὸ μετεχόμενον] is not external, but from the Substance of the Father. And as to this again if it be other than the Substance of the Son, an equal extravagance will meet us; there being in that case something between this that is from the Father and the Substance of the Son, whatever that be. Such thoughts, then, being evidently extravagant and untrue, we are driven to say that what is from the Substance of the Father, and proper to Him, is entirely the Son; for it is all one to say that God is wholly participated [τὸ γὰρ ὅλως μετέχεσθαι τὸν Θεόν] and that he begets; and what does begetting signify but a Son? And thus of the Son Himself, all things partake according to the grace of the Spirit coming from Him; and this shows that the Son Himself partakes [μετέχει] of nothing, but what is partaken from the Father is the Son; for, as partaking of the Son Himself, we are said to partake of God; and this is what Peter said, *that ye may be partakers* [κοινωνοί] *in a divine nature* And beholding the Son, we see the Father; for the thought [έννοια] and comprehension of the Son, is knowledge concerning the Father, because He is His proper offspring from His substance. And since to be partaken [τὸ μετέχεσθαι] no one of us would ever call affection or division of God's substance, (for it has been shown and acknowledged that God is participated, and to be participated is the same thing as to beget); therefore that which is begotten is neither affection nor division of that blessed substance. Hence it is not incredible that God should have a Son, the Offspring of His own substance; nor do we imply affection or division of God's substance, when we speak of 'Son' and 'Offspring'; but rather, as acknowledging the genuine, and true, and Only-begotten of God, so we believe."

Now it must be acknowledged that the expressions τὸ ὅλως μετέχεσθαι τὸν Θεόν and τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μετεχόμενον, considered in themselves, are *consistent* with what is understood by the phrase *communication of substance*; but they do not *require* the hypothesis of numerical oneness of substance necessarily involved in that phrase. They are consistent also with such an hypothesis of divine generation as we have seen, from an immense number of passages, was contemplated by Athanasius, namely, the eternal production, from the infinite and undivided Substance of the Father, of the infinite and indivisible Substance of the Son.

That the Nicene Council held the doctrine of numerical one-

ness was affirmed by Dr. Charles Hodge. This distinguished Professor entered into no historical discussion of the subject; he, however, presented, an argument thereon, which in order to the full discussion of this subject should be considered. He writes:

"The word selected by the Nicene fathers to express the idea of community of Substance, was *ὁμοούσιος*. But this word, as we have already seen, may express either specific sameness, or numerical identity. In the former sense, all spirits, whether God, angels, or men are *ὁμοούσιοι*. They are similar in essence, i.e. they are rational intelligences. That the Council intended the word to be taken in the latter sense, as expressing numerical identity is plain."¹

Before proceeding to consider the several reasons by which he endeavors to establish the conclusion set forth in the last sentence, it is important to call attention to what seems to be a grave error in this prefatory statement. After stating that the word *ὁμοούσιος* "may express either specific sameness or numerical identity," the writer proceeds to set forth his idea of *specific sameness*. He represents it as indicating *mere similarity* in essence, such similarity as exists between God, angels, and men, as rational intelligences. He altogether overlooks what I cannot but regard as the true idea of the phrase, namely *homogeneity*—such sameness as exists in the case of a progenitor and the members of a natural family proceeding from that progenitor. That this, namely *homogeneity*, was the idea affixed to the term by Athanasius, and that in his judgment it never had the force of *mere similarity*, seems to me to be manifest from every page of his writings, and to have been abundantly set forth in the preceding extracts. (See especially p. 705 sq.)

The five reasons given by Dr. Hodge for his conclusion will now be presented; each will be examined in the order of numeration before the next is quoted. Immediately after the prefatory statement quoted above he continues:

"(1). Because in its wider sense *ὁμοούσιος* does not differ from *ὁμοιωσιος*, which word the Council refused to adopt. The Arians were

¹ Systematic Theology, Vol. I. p. 460.

ing to admit that the Father, Son, and Spirit were *ὁμοούσιοι*, but re- to admit that they were *ὁμοούσιοι*. This proves that the words used in radically different senses."

is manifest that the entire force of this reason depends the assumption that *ὁμοούσιος* has but one meaning, ely *mere similarity*, that which in the prefatory state- t he had assumed to be one of the significations of *ὁμο- ος*. As in the prefatory statement he did not present *ogeneity* as a meaning of *ὁμοούσιος*, so here he does not t forth as one of the meanings of *ὁμοούσιος*. That is to in the case of each of the terms he failed to set forth meaning which was common to both — that meaning h the higher Homoiousians attached to *ὁμοούσιος*, and ew of which attachment Athanasius recognized them as odox. It is evident from the writings of the great Patri-, especially from the classical passages cited in the first of this article, that the Council of Nicaea did not decline dopt *ὁμοούσιος* because it necessarily affirmed a heresy, in the first place, because being ambiguous it was used eretics in its erroneous sense; and in the second place, bly,¹ because it was regarded as inappropriate to express on between *substances*; *ὁμοούσιος* being the appropri- rm for such use.

Because the Council declares that the Son was eternal; that He created or made, but begotten *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς*, 'of the ence of the Father.'"

Council of Nicaea did indeed so declare, but it is diffi- see how the conclusion of *numerical* oneness follows i premises as set forth. The idea naturally suggested erms "begotten" and *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς* is ig from the Father's substance," a phrase constantly in the writings of Athanasius and manifestly used a synonyme for the declaration of the Creed. But f *offspring from the substance of a progenitor* and *oneness of substance with that progenitor* are ap-

n is mentioned as problematical, because of the consideration set elusion of the remarks on the last classical passage, p. 710.

manifests two things; first, that by *ὁμοούσιος* he intended to indicate homogeneity; and secondly, that he did not regard his doctrine as involving tritheism.

"(5).¹ This [numerical identity] is still farther evident from the inadequate illustrations of this great mystery which the early fathers sought for in nature; as of the light, heat, and splendor of the sun; the fountain and its streams; and especially from memory, intelligence, and will in man. In all these illustrations, however inadequate, the point of analogy was unity (numerical identity) of essence with triplicity."

That the point of analogy was *unity of essence with triplicity* is manifest; that by "unity of essence" was contemplated "numerical identity" may well be questioned. The illustrations most frequently employed by Athanasius are those of human sons, the radiance [*ἀπαύγασμα*] of light, the stream from fountain, and the human *λόγος* from the mind.

The most important of these illustrations is that of the relation of human offspring to the parent. This, as must have been apparent to the careful reader of the preceding pages, illustrates, in the view of Athanasius, the relation of the Divine Son to his Father save in two particulars; namely, first, the divine generation is eternal; and secondly, it is without division of substance. Now, to assume that this last particular implies what is now technically known as "communication of substance," and does not denote the generation of a perfect substance from a substance perfect and indivisible, is not only to set at naught the entire body of the teaching of the great Patriarch, but it is to overlook the very point of the illustration. It may be said that such a generation is inconceivable. Most certainly it is. But is it more inconceivable than "the communication of one, indivisible substance" by one "Hypostasis" to another?

The illustration of *radiance* [*ἀπαύγασμα*] to light [*φῶς*] or the sun [*ἥλιος*] occurs in the translated works of Athanasius more than fifty times. No argumentative use has been made of it in the preceding pages, since, as has already been

¹ The numeral (5) does not occur in the text. It is manifest, however, that this was regarded as the fifth reason.

remarked, it is as much a problem to determine what, in the view of Athanasius, is the relation of radiance to its source as it is to determine the relation of the Son to the Father. The term invariably employed in this illustration, save in one instance, to figure the Divine offspring is ἀπαύγασμα. Both Liddell and Scott (Am. ed. 1846), and Robinson (1836), define this term as *reflected light* (or *splendor*); the former note it as a word belonging to "LXX and New Test."¹ In each of these it occurs only once, viz. Wisd. vii. 26: "For she [Wisdom] is the brightness of the everlasting light [ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς αἰδίου], the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness"; Heb. i. 3: "Who being the brightness [ἀπαύγασμα] of His glory."² Cremer (1872) writes concerning this word: "From ἀπαυγάζω = *to radiate*, or also to *reflect* Hence ἀπαύγασμα = *what is radiated*, or = *brightness, reflection*." The first of these meanings — "what is radiated" *radiance*, — manifestly is more in accordance than the other with the derivation and with the requirements of the passages quoted from the LXX and the New Test. The thought of the illustration may have been suggested to the mind of Athanasius by the passage he quoted from Theognostus, which may be found in completeness on page 718 of this article. In that passage it is declared that "The substance of the Son sprang from the Father's substance as the radiance of light [τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα] it is an effluence of the Father's substance, which, however, suffers no partition. For as the sun remains the same, and is not impaired by the rays poured forth by it, so neither does the Father's substance suffer change, though it has the Son as an Image of itself." The idea here manifestly is

¹ The reference above is to early editions of the Lexicons mentioned. In the latest editions both these works agree with the first definition of Cremer. Thus in the Seventh edition of Liddell and Scott we have, "*radiance, effulgence, of light beaming from a luminous body*." Robinson (ed. 1878) gives, "*a flashing forth, radiance, effulgence*. . . . Others: *reflected brightness*; but against both the etymology and the *usus loquendi*."

² The only exception I have been able to find is in Discourse iv. § 2, p. 515, where we read of "light from fire."

that the ἀπαύγασμα is a luminous substance. This idea is required by the various expressions that the ἀπαύγασμα is the offspring (or likeness²) of the sun, or light. It is not only offspring but *image* of and consistent with the idea that those things are one. Nor is the hypothesis, that Athanasius (φώς) and the ἀπαύγασμα radiated from one and inseparably united substances, in itself discoverable in his writings. This recognition of the fact that he again and again has to be one. The principal passages in the text have all, with one exception, been quoted in that division of the article which treated of the substance considered by Athanasius, and in the course of the text quoted by Dr. Shedd. They will be found in the text cited below.³ Examination of these passages, with my remarks on the answers to them, it is believed, show that they are all of one kind of homogeneity. The excepted passage is at the close of this special division of the article, and as well to the illustration of the λόγος.

The illustration of stream from four sources is in the writings of Athanasius. It is a common expression. One of the principal instances is at the close of the first classical passage in connection with the other figures; and another in the second classical passage. The human λόγος is more important. One instance of its use is at the close of the second classical passage. It forms the basis of the expressed fear that his doctrine implied division of the substance of the

¹ De Synodis, § 52, p. 154 sq.; Discourse i. § 3, p. 326 sq.; § 35, p. 329; Discourse iii. § 4, p. 40.

² Nicen. Def., § 24, p. 40 sq.; De Syn., § 48, p. 421.

³ Nicen. Def., § 24, p. 40 sq.; De Syn., § 52, p. 421 sq.; § 4, p. 403 sq.

was quoted first amongst the passages cited in Division VI., 1, of this article, and special attention was called to it in a footnote.¹ In it, it will be perceived upon examination, he illustrated the fact that the Divine *Λόγος* is generated without division of the Father's substance by the fact that the production of the human *λόγος* implies no division in man; but at the same time he notices this difference between the divine and the human, namely, that the former is "*substantive* [*ἐνοούσιος*]." And still further, he declares that he is called "Son" in view of the fact that he is "*substantive*."

In the following passage both *ἀπαύγασμα* and *λόγος* occur. It follows a passage in which such Scriptures as the following had been quoted; viz. "Who being the brightness [*ἀπαύγασμα*] of his glory and the expression of his subsistence [*χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως*; A. V. *express image of his person*]" : "In the beginning was the Word [*Λόγος*]," etc. Athanasius wrote :

"For such illustrations and such images has Scripture proposed, that, considering the inability of human nature to comprehend God, we might be able to form ideas even from these, however poorly and dimly, as far as is attainable. . . . It is very mad . . . to ask in an heretical way, How can the Son be from eternity? or how can He be from the Father's substance, yet not a part? since what is said to be of another is a part of him, and what is divided is not whole. These are the evil sophistries of the heterodox; yet, though we have already shown their shallowness, the exact sense of these passages themselves and the force of these illustrations will serve to show the baseless nature of their loathsome tenet. For we see that reason [*τὸν λόγον*] is ever, and is from him and proper to [of] his substance [*τῆς οὐσίας ἰδίον*] whose reason it is, and does not admit a before and an after. So again we see that the radiance of the sun is proper to [of] it, and the sun's substance is not divided or impaired; but its substance is whole and its radiance perfect and whole, yet without impairing the substance of light, but as a true offspring from it. We understand in like manner that the Son is begotten not from without, but from the Father, and while the Father remains whole the expression of His subsistence [*χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως*] is ever and preserves the Father's likeness and unvarying Image, so that He who sees Him sees in Him the subsistence too of which He is the expression. And from the operation [*ἐνέργειας*] of the expression we understand the true godhead

¹ See p. 731 sq.

of the subsistence.¹ Therefore let this Christ-opposing heresy attempt first to divide [διελείν] the examples found in things generate, and say, 'Once the sun was without his radiance,' or, 'Radiance is not proper to the substance of light,' or, 'It is indeed proper, but it is a part of light by division'; and then let it divide reason, and pronounce that it is foreign to mind, or that once it was not, or that it is not proper to its substance, or that it is by division a part of mind. . . . For if in the case of these generate and irrational things offsprings are found which are not parts of the substances from which they are, nor subsist with passion, nor impair the substances of their originals, are they not mad again in seeking and conjecturing parts and passions in the instance of the immaterial and true God, and ascribing divisions to Him who is beyond passion and change, thereby to perplex the ears of the simple and to pervert them from the truth? For who hears of a son but conceives of that which is proper to the father's substance? Who heard, in his first catechizing, that God has a Son and has made all things by his proper Word, but understood it in that sense in which we now mean it? For what is sown in every soul from the beginning is that God has a Son, the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, that is, His Image and Radiance; from which at once follows that He is always; that He is from the Father; that He is like [τὸ ὅμοιον]; that He is the eternal Offspring of his Substance.² Such as is the parent, such of necessity is the offspring; and such as is the Word's Father, such must be also His Word. Now man, begotten in time, in time also himself begets the child; and whereas from nothing he came to be, therefore his word also is over [παύεται] and continues not. But God is not as man, as Scripture has said; but is existing [ὧν ἔστι] and is ever; therefore also His Word is existing [ὧν ἔστι] and is everlastingly with the Father, as radiance from light. . . . As radiance from light so is He perfect Offspring from perfect [γέννημα τέλειον ἐκ τελείου]."³

¹ At first glance it might seem to some as though there was a recognition here by Athanasius, of the distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. It is to be observed, however, that this form of language, "Expression of his Subsistence [ὑπόστασις]" follows the quotation of Heb. i. 3, in which those words occur, and is used in reference thereto. It should also be remembered that in his Epistle *Ad Afros*, when setting forth that οὐσία and ὑπόστασις are one and the same, this is the New Testament passage to which he refers. The reference occurs in the last part of the passage, as quoted on p. 711 sq. of this Article. It cannot, of course, be supposed that Athanasius here quoted the language of a text to set forth a distinction, which distinction, in reference to that very text, he elsewhere declared did not exist.

² According to Migne in *Patrologia* — also the Benedictine — τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, τὸ ὅμοιον, τὸ ἀίδιον τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς οὐσίας.

³ Discourse II. §§ 32 sqq., p. 326 sqq.

In reference to this passage, it may be remarked, as was elsewhere remarked in reference to others, that whilst there are several expressions that in themselves might be interpreted in consistency with the hypothesis of numerical oneness, there is nothing to require that hypothesis. It may still further be remarked that in the light of the entire teaching of Athanasius all the expressions employed find their most natural and complete interpretation in the hypothesis of the specific oneness in substance of the Son with the Father.

In conclusion I shall be brief. The considerations on which is based the idea that the Nicene Council used the term *ὁμοούσιον* as indicative of *numerical oneness* are, first, *a priori* arguments as to what that Council must have intended in order to their being orthodox; secondly, declarations concerning the doctrines of the "Nicene fathers," without specification of any particular father and quotation from his writing; and thirdly, references to the writings of Nicene fathers—almost entirely to those of Athanasius. So far as the references to Athanasius are concerned, some have no foundation in fact, some are glossed, and almost all are extracts from passages which contain explanations and limitations of the doctrine held by him. Whilst it is acknowledged that some of these genuine extracts, when considered irrespective of their contexts, are consistent with the hypothesis of numerical oneness, it is claimed that none demand that hypothesis, that all are consistent with the hypothesis of specific oneness.

On the other hand, and as manifesting that Athanasius, the master spirit and great defender of the Council of Nicaea, regarded the term in controversy as indicating *specific oneness*, we have the following: The entire absence of all recognition of a distinction absolutely vital to the hypothesis of numerical oneness, namely, that between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*; the declaration that the term *ὁμοούσιος* is a term properly indicative of the relation between substances, as between man and man; that human parents and children are *ὁμοούσιοι*; that

the expression "Father" signifies the Substance of the Father, and (impliedly) that of "Son" the Substance of the Son; that the Son is the Offspring of the Substance of the Father; that the Substance of the Son is the Offspring of the Father; that the Substance of the Son is the Offspring of the Father's Substance; that the Son is of like Substance with the Father; that He is like the Father according to Substance; that He is the Image of the Father's Substance. We have also the defence of his system, not from the charge of Sabellianism which would have been the natural charge had he held the doctrine of numerical oneness of Substance, but from those charges which naturally lie against the doctrine of specific oneness, viz. on the one hand, that of holding the doctrine of division of the Divine Substance in generation; and on the other, that of holding the doctrine of Tritheism. We have also his answers against these charges not from the standpoint of the doctrine of numerical oneness,—namely, that his position had been misunderstood,—but from that of specific oneness; namely, as against the first charge, that division of substance is not implied in the generation of immaterial substances; and as against the second, that the generated Substance is to be regarded as referred back to that which generates, and so is to be counted one with it. And lastly, and to crown all, we have the declarations set forth in the first classical passage, that whilst the term *ὁμοιούσιον* is ambiguous, and may be used in one of its senses to express a heresy, yet that it has an orthodox sense, so that one who at once believes in the *ὁμοιούσιον*, and that the Son is *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας* of the Father, does in fact embrace all that is intended to be set forth in the *ὁμοούσιον*, and is not to be rejected as a heretic, but to be embraced as a brother.

In my judgment, after a most extended and careful examination of the subject, the idea that Athanasius did not regard the term *ὁμοούσιον* as involving the doctrine of the numerical oneness of the Divine Substance, but that, on the contrary, he used it as designating specific oneness, is one of the most thoroughly demonstrable facts of history.

ARTICLE IV.

REFORMING OUR ENGLISH.

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THE first part of the London Philological Society's Dictionary has appeared, and all who speak English may take comfort in the fact. A dictionary of English, upon historical principles, which should properly show the origin, growth, changing use, and present worth of the words we use, would cost such enormous labor in the preparation, and call for so varied talents in the editing, that for many years we have looked at Littré and Grimm with more envy than hope. Even the announcement that the Philological Society had undertaken the task gave us dreams rather than solid expectations of what might come; and it needed the bodily presence of this first part, with the imprint of the Clarendon press upon it, to give the full assurance that we are at last to have something like adequate means of studying our mother tongue.

It is a satisfaction, too, to know that it is brought about by the voluntary co-operation of scholars and readers all over the world. The incomprehensible total of three millions and more of quotations and excerpts, which have been gathered as the material for the editors, is the fruit of the unpaid labor of love of a whole army of volunteer assistants. To receive these references, systematize them, and guide the labor so as to save duplication and waste of work, was the task of a corps of experts, who in their turn have reported their progress to the smaller circle of sub-editors surrounding Professor Murray, the editor-in-chief. Nothing short of self-devotion of this kind could make the enterprise a success, and the publication of this first portion of the great work may without exaggeration be said to mark an epoch in English literature.

Nothing is further from my purpose, however, than a formal review of the new dictionary. My much more modest wish is to give some reasons justifying the assertion that the work marks an epoch in the history of the language. These reasons are, as it seems to me, such as might naturally occur to all who claim to be reasonably well educated, and who have given any thought to the question — What ought to be the future historical progress of written and spoken English in view of its historical past? Every century of the past six, since modern English has taken its place among the languages of the earth, has witnessed changes in the manner both of writing and of speaking it. The proofs of these changes rise now before us with their dates attached. Others will certainly take place in the future. What shall they be? Shall we try intelligently and with common effort to control them, with some clear aim and purpose, or shall we merely drift? The epoch, as I hope, will be opened by the development of such an intelligent purpose, for the formation of which the new dictionary will at once be the stimulus, and furnish the material which is a necessary condition for its growth.

I happened to be one of the first in this country to be interested in Isaac Pitman's attempted reform of English writing and spelling, through the system of phonetics which he introduced in England in 1843. I think it was in 1845 that I procured copies of the little manuals published in New York by Andrews and Boyle, and set myself, with the enthusiasm of a new convert, to learning both the phonographic short-hand and the phonotypic method of printing. Since that day phonography has acquired a solid position as the only philosophic short-hand writing, and the only system by which anything like real verbatim reporting is successfully done. Phonotypy has maintained a dubious existence, its use being confined to a rather small circle of hopeful people who try to have faith that it will yet supersede our inconsistent and anomalous way of presenting our mother tongue to the eye. I have never lost my admiration for the beauti-

ful completeness of Pitman's system, and I believe that it has been and will continue to be a useful help in understanding the structure of our words and in learning a good and clear pronunciation of them ; but I have lost much of my youthful confidence that its scientific symmetry and beauty are a guaranty that it will one day supersede our apparently absurd and arbitrary way of spelling. Nay, as I have grown older I have (perhaps with the natural conservatism of advancing years) given more weight to the arguments in favor of preserving historical forms of words, and have seen reason to apply the proverb 'make haste slowly' to reforms which meddle seriously with the shape of a language in which a wonderful and classic literature has found expression, now some five hundred years.

My boyish impatience with incongruity and absence of system has not turned to content with the condition of things ; for I believe as firmly as then that both our spelling and our pronunciation need reform. I have rather changed in some measure my idea of the scope and aim of the reform required ; have, perhaps, made it more radical in some respects, whilst accepting a slower progress, and a longer road to reach the end.

Pitman's phonetic system may properly be treated as the type of all spelling reforms, because it proposed to make thorough work, with no halting or compromise. Ever since Queen Elizabeth's time there have been strong and sometimes very prominent and influential advocates urging the reduction of English spelling to some rule. As early as 1569 one John Harte published "An orthographie conteyning the due order and reason how to write or painte th' image of manne's voice, moste like to the life or nature." Franklin argued for a phonetic method in his telling, practical way. But Pitman by a happy combination of a correct analysis of the sounds of the language with a simple series of geometric characters, united the vocal elements with the briefest possible representation of them, making the shortest of short-hands ; and by establishing it successfully in use among the

important class of stenographers, has given his system the only real chance to live which any attempt at the spelling reform has thus far seemed to secure. His phonetic printing has had no such practical assistance, and is probably examined by few except those who have already been stirred to revolt against an orthography which has nothing *orthos* about it, but which is, at first sight, as far from any line, plummet, or rule as it well can be.

What I propose to do, may be divided thus: first to notice very briefly some of the most serious faults of our spelling and printing; next, to show how thoroughly the phonetic method would deal with these, on the assumption that there is an attainable right standard of pronunciation; then to inquire whether any such standard is now attainable, and if not, what reforms in spoken language ought to precede the fixing of the written speech.

The anomalies of our spelling are so numerous, and lie so on the surface that it is almost superfluous to give examples of them. What with silent vowels and queer combinations of consonants, it is hard to imagine any arrangement of letters too absurd to be matched by examples in actual use. I think that it was in the Introduction of Benn Pitman's manual of Phonography that the word *scissors* was taken as a specimen, and it was said that by using combinations of letters, every one of which is used in standard English to represent the sound given to it, *scissors* might be spelled *schieessourrhce*. This, however, is better fun than argument, except as it tends to stimulate one's attention by a striking group of absurdities culled from many words and united in one.

To approach the matter more soberly, let us begin with the vowels, and compare their use in English with that of other European languages. In all of these the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i*, are found to have two principal sounds each, one heard in open and the other in closed syllables, i.e. syllables which end with the vowel and those which are closed or 'stopped' by a consonant. These sounds are essentially the same in

all the continental languages, and the vowels have therefore nearly the same vocal expression in all. When we turn to the English, however, we find that the *a* when accented in an open syllable, has the sound of continental long *é*, the *e* has the sound of long *i*, and the *i* has the sound of the diphthong *ai* or *ei*. The Anglo-Saxon and the French, out of which English grew, had neither of them any such sounds for these letters, and our pronunciation is a mere corruption. It is also unnatural, and therefore unphilosophical. The long sound which is related to *a* in *mat*, is not the *a* in *mate*, but in *father*. So the *e* in *met* is not properly lengthened into the *e* in *mete*, but to the long French *e* in *tête*, or what we call long *a*. In like manner the *i* in *mit* is not the short sound of *i* in *mile*, but of the long continental *i* pronounced as our long *e*. This is easily demonstrated by experiment. If we pronounce the long sounds of English *a* and *e* and then ‘stop’ them by cutting off the sound, keeping the organs in the same position, we find we have a series of sounds corresponding to those of the continental letters, but not to ours. The series is really *â* — *ã*, *ä* — *ë*, *ē* — *ī*, and this alone is the natural order and connection. The diphthongs are in equal disorder. No reason can be given for representing the long sound of *ē* by *ei* in *receive*, and *ie* in *believe*, nor for using the last diphthong to represent the short sound of *i* as in *sieve*. By this I do not mean that the origin of the usage cannot be historically traced, for in many instances it can; but that no reason can be given that is based upon any principles of orthography. When we come to such combinations as the *ough*, with its various sounds in *plough*, *rough*, *though*, *cough*, *through*, we do not wonder that a foreigner is ready to go distracted with the arbitrary jumble of spelling and pronunciation.

In our use of the consonants we are not so singular in our inconsistencies as in regard to the vowels; for it is a natural law of all language that when used by illiterate people as a mother tongue, the consonants first suffer, and words are clipped by dropping them, or by interchanging one for

another. An illiterate people is in some respects like a baby learning to talk. It *mumbles* its words, and catches at easy resemblances, with a weakness for the easily pronounced *m*'s and *p*'s and *t*'s and *l*'s, avoiding the sounds which require a sort of expertness in managing the vocal organs. All languages give plenty of examples of this, but it is very nicely illustrated by the French, which as it is the direct lineal descendant of the colloquial Latin, shows us plainly how this infantile speech of a nation has by successive steps and under natural and regular laws given rise to a new tongue. An amusing as well as instructive example is seen in the name of the French town *Autun* which is the clipped and 'nicked' remnant of the ancient name *Augusto-dunum*, 'imperial stronghold,' reduced at last to the leading syllables of the two parts of the compound named *Au-dun*, the *d*, again, for easy utterance being softened to the *t*. The following list, however, selected from longer ones in Brachet's *Grammaire Historique*, shows how regularly the principle has been applied to the common words of the language. It might be extended indefinitely.

focus = feu	décima = dime	Augustus = août
directus = droit	pórticus = porche	confidéntia = confiance
ángelus = ange	bonitátem = bonté	delicátus = délié
bláspheum = blâme	comitátus = comté	denudátus = dénué
débitum = dette	separáre = sevrer	ligáre = lier

I must not omit to say in passing that this tendency to seek easy forms of speech relates chiefly to the consonants, and that it is consistent with a wonderful persistence in the vowel sounds, especially the accented ones. This gives a phase in the history of language quite as important in its way as this changeability which has been spoken of, and to which I shall have occasion to recur again. All I wish to do now, is to say that the peculiar history of the English tongue reveals a case of uncommon and almost violent interference with the normal methods of growth and change, and has resulted in a condition of things perhaps unprecedented among civilized nations. Our modes of spelling, are,

on this account, more amorphous and unsystematic than will be found elsewhere.

Recognizing this fact, Mr. Isaac Pitman argued that nothing but thorough work could be satisfactory, and that a radical reform stood a better chance of success than partial cure, such as Webster had attempted in the early editions of his dictionary. Pitman assumed that a general agreement of authorities could be found which would settle the pronunciation of words; but even this was not necessary in his system, for he intended that the actual pronunciation of the writer should be indicated by his spelling, and printers would then, as now, follow some dictionary as their standard. The foundation of the phonetic method was a careful analysis of all the recognized sounds of the language, and the representation of each of these by a separate and invariable character. In the word *through* we have seven letters, but we have only three sounds, *th-r-d*. Pitman demanded that but three characters should be used. The phonetic spelling of a word, therefore, would be only the slow pronunciation of it, separating the different sounds. Writing or printing it would be putting the character in the place of each sound. Of course all alphabetical writing as distinguished from hieroglyphics must be theoretically like this, but in practice it is unfortunately very far from it.

The analysis of the sounds of the language shows that we have somewhere from thirty-six to forty or forty-two elementary sounds. The estimates of the number vary if we include diphthongs as elementary sounds, or treat some of the obscurer ones as distinct. Pitman adopted thirty-eight characters, of which twelve were vowels, and two were diphthongs. This leaves twenty-four for consonants against twenty-one in our common alphabet. The difference is made by the substitution of simple characters for our digraphs *ch*, *th*, (*q*) *sh*, *ng*, and in giving a character to the sound of *zh* in vision. The letter *c* is dropped, *k* and *s* having its two sounds, though a similar character is adopted to represent the sound *ch* in *each*.

A good deal may be said for and against the adoption of characters in Pitman's phonotypy. He had the help of Mr. Ellis and some of the first philologists of the time in determining his choice; but it is an open question whether he might not as well have adopted all the common characters, distinguishing them by diacritic marks, as is done at the bottom of the pages of the dictionaries. Into this I must not go now. It has an importance of its own, from more than one standpoint.

The beauties of the system are to be seen at a glance. First, the teaching to spell with it consists in dividing a word into its component sounds, and uttering them separately. Simple as this seems, to do it readily requires both thought and practice. It is an art, but a fundamental and necessary art, in mastering the power of accurate speech. Second, the teaching to write with it consists in learning to make the characters and then representing the one sound by its one character, always and invariably. It allows no character to be made which is not sounded in the word.

No one can analyze the sounds of a word till he has learned to pronounce it accurately and clearly. To hosts of people it is a veiled question whether the first syllable of *perfect* is *per* or *pur*, and whether the *t* at its end is really uttered. The phonetic system leaves no room for such doubts. It insists that you shall solve them as you meet them, and if you are true to its principles, that you shall teach your tongue to do this at once trippingly and delicately. You must decide whether you will say *nāt-yur* or *na-cher*, and cannot postpone it, for you must write it one way or the other, and cannot take refuge in a conventional form that may mean either. This would undoubtedly be a constant stimulant to inquiry and would put educated people upon a thoroughness of discussion which has not been common. In discussing shades of sound, the vocal organs themselves would be trained in expression, the ear in discrimination, and speech would gain in distinctness of articulation and delicacy of coloring. Instead of spending the best years of school-life in mastering

the arbitrary order of letters that convey little idea of a word's sound, the child would be correcting his errors of pronunciation in the very work of analyzing the words he reads, and transfer the endless drudgery of the spelling-book to practical training of tongue and ear in a smooth and elegant utterance of pure English. I need hardly say, therefore, that the use of the phonetic system in the teaching of the language should have a hearty and unabated adhesion; but when we approach the question of substituting it for our printed speech I find myself making a distinction, and incline to the slower course which I hinted at in beginning, even at the expense of apparent inconsistency. This inclination is based upon considerations pertaining to the history of our language, and a discussion of it includes that of the last of the three questions I proposed, namely, whether reforms in the spoken language ought not to precede the permanent fixing of the written speech. The tendency of the phonetic system (I will not say its necessary result) is to take the approved standard of pronunciation of the day, and crystallize it in printed and written forms of words which shall exactly represent and leave no room for ambiguity or doubt about it, if you have once learned to articulate the elementary sounds which the characters denote. Uniformity is so strong in its appeal to our intellectual favor, that I cannot doubt that the general use of such a system would strongly tend to perpetuate any errors or imperfections in our present speech. Are we quite sure that we ought not to aim at changes in speech as much as in spelling? May there not be good reasons why speech ought to approach the time-honored forms of printed words, as well as in favor of making the words more like our speech? It seems to me that each side of this proposition is partly right, and that in some respects it will be better to know more of what our speech is made of and what it is, before committing ourselves fully to a method of representing it which itself may soon need to be changed.

Look a moment at the mere matter of usage in pronunciation.
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tion. We say the standard is the general educated people ; which comes to near saying that the king's English is the criterion of the tongue as of the garb are derived from the centre of social activity and rank. Yet we need to look back but a little while and fashion changes in the one as really, as in the other. I myself can recall acquaintance of the old school," who insisted upon the correct pronunciation of George the Fourth as *goold, laylock, obleegeed, chaney, ta*—one in which the spelling has gradually changed away from its older form,—a change accelerated by the imperfect education of the teachers are almost necessarily brought about by themselves. I used to tease a teacher friend with "school-marm English," and the epithet has its meaning and use.

There is another class of words which have come a little more than a century ago by the way, and as only an uneducated Irishman now uses them. *please, season, reason, treason*, are all of this class. *feature, eagle, eager* ; and what we call Frenchisms, was the original pronunciation received from the French and kept by the English. *aise, plaisir, saison, raison, aigle*, etc. of speaking the words, not a scintilla of French, for we neither follow the sound of our own nor of the language from which we took them. This pronunciation of *reason* that Shakespeare pun in Henry IV. (Part 1, act 1, scene 2) is as plenty as blackberries, I would give it no compulsion."

Yet we treat the Irishman's mode of speaking with contempt, saying to ourselves, "The poor fellow does not know how to speak English," when in fact we are in every possible view of the case excusable.

and transient fashion. In truth, nine tenths of our pluming ourselves in such matters on our superior accuracy, is exactly on a par with that of the youngster of five or six who said to his little sister, "You shouldn't say *ebedient*, Lucy, it is *abedient*."

It is almost wholly within our own day that real progress has been made in the study of the origin and growth of English. It may be said that until Dr. Mahn's revision of Webster, in the last edition of that work, there was not a respectable etymological dictionary of the English language. The older editions of Webster, and all editions of Johnson, Richardson, and the rest abound in the most fanciful and absurd derivations of words. Professor Skeat of Cambridge University, says in the preface of his new Etymological Dictionary, that "the study of phonetics as applied to early English pronunciation by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet, and carefully carried out by nearly all students of early English in Germany, has almost revolutionized the study of etymology as hitherto pursued in England." He lays it down as his first canon, "Before attempting an etymology, ascertain the earliest form and use of a word, and observe chronology." As an example of the blunders into which lexicographers have fallen by neglecting this obvious rule, he refers to the etymology of *sirlain*, or *surloin*, which is given in Richardson's dictionary as having its origin in James I. jocosely knighting a huge loin of beef at table, dubbing it Sir-Loin. But Skeat says that if the canon quoted had been followed, it would have been discovered that *sirlain* was used long before King James was born, being transferred with most of our vocabulary of the table from the French. It is found in English, in the time of Henry the Sixth. If we look into Worcester's dictionary for the etymology of the word *moot*, which was the Saxon name for the primitive town-meeting of our early English ancestors, we shall find that whilst he himself indicates correctly the origin of the word, he says that Crabbe derives it from the Latin *motum*, and Johnson from the French *môt*, neither of which has any connection with it, and both of which

are entirely misleading. Every page of "standard" dictionaries affords similar examples.

The work of recent and living philologists in the Philological Society's Dictionary gives us the means of tracing the history of English words and their forms with a fulness and accuracy which could not be dreamed of twenty years ago. Here for the first time we may expect to find the actual form and usage of a word from the Anglo-Saxon times downward, with the changes of spelling and pronunciation which it has undergone. This will make it possible to form a solid judgment as to what would be a true reform in either or both, and to bring the influence of a revived love of the older forms of English, with the combined power of a much larger fraternity of scholars, to assist in such changes as may seem desirable.

Let us look a moment at some of the changes in words which have already happened, and which bear directly upon the question of spelling. Quite a large class have such awkward forms that we make sure they are relics of a very old usage, when, in fact, the older form was the simpler, and extra letters are mere whims of a modern time. This is the case with the *g* in *right*, *light*, *might*, etc.; it is so also with the *h* in *ghost*. *Rhyme* was in early days spelled *rime*, *again* was spelled *agen*, *believe* was spelled *bileve* or *beleve*, *acorn* was *akern*, *guilty* was *gylty*, *victual* was *vitaille*, *young* was *yung*, *could* was *coud*. All of these examples show how simplicity of spelling would only bring the words into closer and more striking resemblance to the older English, and that our modern change has been ridiculous as well as unreasonable. Two of them, *agen* and *akern*, suggest that the pronunciation of some of us might also be improved by taking the older usage. With these last might be put our *shame-faced*, which is a corruption of the old *shamefast*, analogous to *steadfast*, and *neighborhood* which was once *neighborred*, analogous to *kindred*.

In *aghast*, Professor Earle tells us that the *gh* was not an original guttural, but "an Italian affectation, and for the

most part a toy of the Elizabethan period.”¹ Spenser sometimes wrote *ghess* for *guess*, but we have not followed him, though we keep the awkward combination in *ghost* where Chaucer wrote *gost*. In the Elizabethan period *sprite* was, in the same fashion, written *spright*, but we have gone back to the earlier and simpler form of this word, though we keep the intruding letters in *sprightly*.

The Saxon name for town was *burh*, which was unnecessarily roughened into *burgh*, and we then absurdly dropped the *h* which was in the Saxon word and kept the *g* which was an interloper, making *burg* of it, which our common schools are teaching the children to pronounce *burg*, because it is spelled so, and contrary to English custom and tradition. It would have been more sensible to have made the spelling *bury* the uniform one.

The Scotch lassie who sings “There’s nae luck aboon the hoose, when the gude mon’s awa,” is pronouncing the words as her and our forefathers did before the fourteenth century, and we “put on airs” because we have spoiled the sound of nearly every one of them, and she has learned from her mother the real English. Is it not very much as if a modern Greek bandit should make faces at a child of Plato, speaking the noble dialect in which the *Phaedo* was written?

The same is true when we deal with the dialects of England. It is among the plain unlettered folk of Yorkshire that we find the authentic remains of the speech which is the most direct descendant from both Angle and Saxon. So the other end of England retains among her laboring people of Dorset the peculiarity of the West Saxon tone and utterance. I have spoken of the readiness with which untutored nations clip the words, and adapt the consonants to their unskilful lips, but I have also hinted at the still more astonishing persistence with which they hold to the words they have thus made. It would seem that a thousand years has made less change among them than a generation or two among those to whom a little learning has proven a dangerous thing to their language if not to themselves.

¹ Earle, *Philology of English Tongue*, p. 152.

The first lesson we have to learn, I venture to say, is that in regard to the fashion of speech which so-called polite circles affect to make the standard of usage, nine tenths of the pretence is presumptuous ignorance, and has absolutely no claim to be followed. It is oftener a corruption of the mother-tongue than a preservation of it, and any new pronunciation coming from such quarters is more likely to be wrong than right. When we have fully accepted this truth, we shall begin to be in the modest and teachable frame of mind which is the necessary condition of progress in the right direction. In this case, as in most others, it is much easier to tell what is wrong than what is right; but a knowledge of our own ignorance is always a safe and wholesome preparation for study. Perhaps any attempt to fix a goal at which we should aim in our reform would be as presumptuous as the fashionable meddling with our speech of which I have spoken. My impression is that it is safest to confine ourselves to advocating healthy *tendencies* at present, and to be content with turning our faces in the right direction, stopping all further progress in the way of corruption, and doing whatever we do to make our mother-tongue more like what it was in the great era of Queen Bess, rather than more unlike it. I name the Elizabethan time because the period which produced Shakespeare, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher in poetry; Bacon, Raleigh, and Coke in general literature and in law; Tyndale and the authorized version of the Bible, must always be the great classic time of our language, and by a moderate extension of its limits we may take in Chaucer and Wickliff on the one hand, and Milton and Bunyan on the other. To let that speech become obsolete, or even old-fashioned, is a crime against everything that is noble in thought, in imagination, and in diction. We may be glad that it is more familiar to us now than it was to our predecessors a century ago, and by cherishing the good tendencies which exist, it is not unreasonable to hope that our children will discard hosts of foreign interlopers for the older and stronger English, and they may even purify the tongue more than we now dream of.

If a people have a history worth telling, there is pretty sure to come a time when they begin to take an honest pride in it. The old names are revived again, and children are baptized with them. The old architecture is found to be full of beauty and of romantic associations, and we build our houses and our churches in it again. The old speech renews a mysterious power over us, and its words, half forgotten, are found to have strange poetry in the very sound. That we are in such a time of revival nobody doubts. Let us review for a few moments the outline of the history of English, by way of finding something to help us answer the questions I have already asked, or at least to form some distinct idea of the path we ought to travel.

Scholars are now agreed that our English is not the Anglo-Saxon ; for the Norman Conquest by grasping all power and wealth into the hands of a foreign aristocracy, beat down the English people into illiterate drudges ; and the absence of schools, of literature, of leisure for intellectual pursuits, and of the wealth which gives ease and opportunity for study, soon produced great changes in the common language, or carried further changes which had begun at the Danish invasion. Its grammar changed — its nouns and pronouns lost their inflections, its verbs lost their strong form of conjugation. For two centuries Englishmen and English speech had their dark age ; and similar causes to those which changed the vulgar Latin into French and Italian, into Spanish and Portuguese, were at work changing the Anglo-Saxon into the North, Midland, and South English, which may still be heard in the valley of the Tweed, among the fens of the Ouse, and along the banks of the Severn. The generation of thegns and learned priests who had surrounded Harold passed away, and the name of *churl*, which had borne no unhappy association when it was the common designation of free farmers and Saxon England was still “merrie England,” took a new meaning from the dogged, sullen spirit with which all Englishmen, reduced to a common level, bore the hated Norman yoke. Several generations passed, generations of ignorance,

of little speech, and that little growling and mumbling the words with little knowledge or care of moods and tenses, of cases, or of persons. But the thrift and the energetic labor of the "churls" began to make them comparatively rich again; their careful tradesmen in the towns, their skilful mechanics, their stout husbandmen on the broad manor lands, began to know a comfort and good cheer which it had seemed would never come in the slavish days when each evening brought the hated sound of the curfew to their ears. Changes were happening among their masters too. The barons at Runnymede were forced to make the liberties of all England the gathering cry when they would withstand King John, and the kings in their turn were forced to give liberal charters to the good English boroughs when they wanted their help to curb the too powerful earls and dukes. The bloody wars of the succession played havoc with the nobles and military leaders not only in battle, but by means of the dripping scaffold. And all the while the "churl" was gaining heart and courage, and expanding into the good English yeoman. The knights in case-armor began to find the need and the mighty help of the stout footmen with bills and bows, and the cloth-yard shaft became almost as much a terror to the heavy horseman as the bullet was afterwards. A leader who had known a battle saved to him by his stout infantry, warmed to them, and made a merit of addressing them in their own speech. Then two or three centuries had worked changes in earl as well as in churl, and foreign wars made a Norman baron feel that he had less in common with the Frenchman than with the stout archer who followed him. After Cressy, we are told by Oliphant,¹ in 1349, King Edward III. had his shield and surcoat embroidered with his motto in English, thus:

"Hay, Hay, the wythe swan,
By Goddes soule, I am thy man!"

It was now politic to favor the English, and it became the fashion. In 1362 it was made the language of the law

¹ Standard English, p. 260.

courts. A century before this, Henry III. had found it advisable to send out his proclamations in English to gain the common people to his support; and less than half a century afterward Henry, Prince of Wales, writing to his father Henry IV., wrote in English, which had by that time become the king's English as well as the people's English. The Norman conquest had ended in the absorption of the conquerors into the English people; Chaucer, amid the plaudits of the court, as well as the hearty blessings of the common folk, had written poems that were never to be forgotten, and an immortal literature in the new English was begun.

It would need no proof to convince one that the triumph of English must have been preceded by a time of struggle in which English and French must have reacted upon each other, sometimes the one and sometimes the other gaining. But it would seem that the English element was the more virile, and the language that became national was the old speech, modified by the grammatical changes which had come in the period of darkness and gloom, having lost some old Saxon words and gained a great many French ones, but remaining distinctly and recognizably the English. No small part of the French words Chaucer used failed to hold a permanent place in the tongue. They were recognized as foreign, and, though part of polite speech, were likely to go out of fashion again, as many of them did; so that in fact Chaucer's English was by no means so pure as that of writers who lived a century later. Still, the language of the festive table, of the ball-room, the camp, the tourney, the chase, would necessarily be that of the aristocracy, for the common people had lost the names as well as the things they signified, and in spite of the most stubborn attachment to their mother tongue, they would insensibly adopt some words which they gained from their superiors in rank without knowing when or how.

The accession of Edward of York to the throne was accompanied by a positive influence in favor of the northern English, and Caxton, who would otherwise have printed his

worse new one. The richness of English in words to express the same or a similar idea is shown in the many ways in which we can express the old Saxon *wrath* or *ire*. We call it *anger* from the Danish, *rage* and *fury* from the French, *indignation* from the Latin, *choler* from the Greek, and we have invented a new-fangled use of the old word *passion* to express the same, and perhaps use it more often than any other, though we had so many proper names for it before. It is hard to see how any one can doubt that the old English is the best.

One of the ways in which we may help on a healthful reaction is to take some pains to save old forms which are struggling for a place in common use against a fashionable opposition. No one will pretend that it is not allowable to use the old and 'strong' form of participle in such words as *mown*, *blown*, *strown*, and the like. Yet the form in *ed* has been gaining on them, and it will require a positive purpose and effort to save them. Professor Earle gives a considerable list of verbs which formerly had this form of conjugation and have lost it wholly or partly. Analogous to *sing*, *sang*, *sung*, were *sling*, *slang*, *slung*, *slink*, *slank*, *slunk*, *spin*, *span*, *spun*, *sting*, *stang*, *stung*, *spring*, *sprang*, *sprung*, and even *rin*, *ran*, *run*. The *rin* survives in the Scotch, "rin hiszy," and Chaucer used *swal* for *swelled*.

"His thoughte it swal so soore about his herte."¹

The original preterite of *sting*, Earle says he heard naturally revived by a little maid of four years old, influenced only by an unconscious analogy, who said piteously, "If a bee stang you, dad, would you cry?"

There are modes of pronunciation also which hover on the brink of destruction, though not quite gone. An example of this is the word *advertise*. That it was pronounced *adver'tised* by Shakspeare may be proved by numerous quotations. One from Henry VI. may be enough. "I have adver'tised him by secret means."² We rarely hear the verb so pro-

¹ Wife of Bath's Tale, 967.

² Part 3, iv. 5, 9.

it then began to feel the influence of the old French at that time spoken by the upper classes ; but that this influence was limited to the addition of a considerable number of words to its stock, the additions being greatest at the time when it was first accepted as the language of all classes, and the Saxon element struggled with some success to reassert itself till the sixteenth century. That the two sorts of words were each better understood by a part of the people is evident from the way in which writers could couple an English word with a synonyme of French extraction. Examples are often quoted from the Prayer-book of the English church, as "acknowledge and confess," "humble and lowly," "goodness and mercy," "assemble and meet together," "pray and beseech." But they are quite as frequent in other writings. Our law phrases are full of them, such as "devise and bequeath," "will and testament," "demise and to farm let," "yielding and paying," "act and deed," "aid and abet," "metes and bounds," and the like. So in general literature we find "head and front," "uncouth and strange," "disease and woe," "watch and ward," "ways and means," etc. This bi-lingualism of the language it would now be in vain to quarrel with. No purist would be so rash as to go back of the Bible and Shakespeare for a standard. But there may be quite different ways of treating the standard. An inflexible rule and pattern cannot be maintained, and a flux and reflux of the tide will happen in spite of all we can do. It would, however, be within the range of reasonable wish, if we were to say that the influence of all scholars and people who have learned to love purity of speech might be lent to favor such changes as may at least *tend* to restore the language to the standard of the great era ; and if this were ever attained, there would be at least as good reason for reviving old Anglo-Saxon words of a still earlier period as for adding any from foreign sources whether ancient or modern.

If all that is strong and good in an old tongue is kept, the language may be fairly enriched by new accumulations. The wrong is done when a better old word is swapped off for a

Then every little while we would forget that we had appropriated a French word, and do it over again, giving it a little change of spelling, perhaps following the modern French. We had *suit* from time immemorial, and the pleadings in court in which the plaintiff wound up his complaint by saying "thereto he brings his suit," only meant that he brought his followers of friends or peers to back up his assertion. The meaning of "action at law" given to it is clear corruption. A suit of clothes or of rooms meant the related parts, the whole "string" of them, to use a colloquial idiom. But the true meaning of the word got a little obscured, and some fine person, fresh from continental travel introduced *suite* as it were a "bran new idea," when the identical word in an English dress had been doing duty no end of centuries!

Exactly similar was the case with *rout* and *route*. So it was with *ticket* and *etiquette*. To say a thing is "the ticket" would be terribly slangy; but to say that it is *etiquette*. i.e. *etiquetté*. labelled, stamped, approved, *ticketted*, is unexceptionably polite. The upstart has come from abroad with his foreign drawl, and has actually the impudence to deny that he is the plain English word that had lived in the village time out of mind!

The vanity of scholarship must come in for a large share of responsibility for taking the pith out of our speech. An old writer of Queen Elizabeth's time said "the foolish phantasticall, that smells but of learning, will so *Latin* their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talke, and think surely they speake by some revelation. . . . and he that can catch an ynke-horne terme by the taile, him they coumpt to be a fine Englishman, and a good Rhetorician."¹

Under this sort of scholastic influence many good old words changed countenance: *balm* became *balsam*, *frail* became *fragile*, *sure* became *secure*. This has been sheer loss only in cases where the old word became obsolete; for in many others we have had the sense to keep both, and give some slight change of signification to one of them, thus

Wilson, quoted by Olliviant 307.

enriching our language. Professor Skeat (or rather his daughter) gives a long catalogue of these "doublets," among which are some of a good deal of interest. Such are

causey and causeway	arbour and harbor
sponge and fungus	jealous and zealous
manure and manœuvre	vencer and furnish
scrub and shrub	scatter and shatter
cud and quid	vast and waste

This "Latining" of their tongues was carried so far, that its culmination in such writers as Samuel Johnson and Gibbon produced a reaction, and since then a national taste for real English has grown rapidly in the mother-country and among us.

No better mark of the good progress we have lately made can be found than in a table given by Mr. Oliphant in his *Standard English* which shows that Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall* sometimes uses as many as forty-four Romance words in a hundred, meaning by Romance, words derived from the Latin, usually through the French, whilst William Morris in his *Earthly Paradise* often uses even fewer than Chaucer or Tyndale. Perhaps, however, quite as vivid an impression of the change a little more than fifty years has made will be got by recalling that a distinguished critic said of Scott's *Guy Mannering* "we are persuaded not one word in three is understood by the generality of English readers."¹

The truth is, that there was at one time a likelihood that we should depart as far from Shakespeare's English as modern Romaic is from the Greek of Demosthenes, and it may be doubted if the change which had really come about would not have made a page of Gibbon more foreign to Chaucer than any part of the old poet has ever been to us. There was always a saving salt in the old English in that it was the colloquial tongue of the common people, who, however they might feel that a stilted style was wonderful as speaking with tongues, could not learn it, and saved the great bulk of true English words for the time when poet and historian should alike feel their force and come back to their use.

¹ Dr. McCrie in his attack on *Old Mortality*.

Indeed it is often a matter of astonishment that the old words have held their own so well. I have already acknowledged the debt we owe to the English Bible in this respect, a debt which would make it ever a "precious treasure" to us if no more sacred claim on our love and veneration existed. In a less degree the same may be said of other religious writings, particularly the offices of the church. There is often a grand simplicity about them which is a test of the very best style, far more moving to a rightly cultivated ear, than the sesquipedalian verbiage of the Johnsonian time. I will venture to give as a final quotation the creed as found in an early English primer of Chaucer's time, and one of the old collects of the church done into English with it.

"I bileve in God, fadir almygti, makere of hevene and of erthe : and in Jesu Christ the sone of him, oure lord, oon alone : which is conceyved of the hooli gost ; born of Marie maiden ; suffride passiouun undir Pounce Pilat : crucified, deed, and biried : he went doun to hellis : the thridde day he roos agen fro deede ; he steig to hevenes : he sitteth on the right side of God the fadir almygti : thenns he is to come for to deme the quyke and deed. I beleve in the hooli gost : feith of hooli chirche : communynge of seyntis : forgyvenness of synnes ; agenrisyng of fleish, and everlastyng lyf. So be it."

In this the only word which has become quite obsolete is "steig" Saxon for ascended. To "deem the quick and dead" is an old use of the word *deem*, though hardly a different one from that we now have, for when we say "I deem it true," we ought to mean, I judge it true. "Agenrising," though not in use in the compound form, would be understood by any child.

The collect for peace has even less that is archaic. It reads : "God, of whom ben hooli desiris, rigt counceles and just workis : gyve to thi servantis pees that the world may not geve, that in our hertis goven to thi commandementis, and the drede of enemys put awei, our tymes be pesible thurgh thi defendyng. Bi oure lord Jesu Crist, thi sone, that with

thee lyveth and regneth, in the unitie of the hooli goost, God, bi all worldis of worldis. So be it."

Let me conclude by shortly throwing together some of the conclusions I would draw from what I have said.

1. The work of reform in English is by no means a change of spelling alone, it is of speech and pronunciation as well. Consequently, I cannot think that the assumption of a present standard of sound to which our spelling could be made to agree is a true method of proceeding, and hence do not favor the Pitman *phonotypy* as distinguished from his phonographic short hand.

2. The first thing needed as a basis of reform is a thorough history of the language, embodied in dictionaries that shall give true etymologies, and the original forms of all words with all the changes they have undergone. When I say all words, I mean all that have been used since the revival of written English after the Norman conquest, and not simply all that a lexicographer may consider as in present use.

3. We need to cultivate a love for and a pride in the old mother-tongue, so that we shall be glad of an opportunity to revive its neglected but strong and pithy words, — a love and pride that shall make us always prefer an old English word to any equivalent that may be furnished from the vocabularies of Romance or Latinized words.

4. Our competent philologists should give us lists of words of which the old spelling is shorter and simpler than those in common use, as well as of those in which an analogous reform of pronunciation is feasible, and we should adopt them on the avowed ground that we are getting rid of modern corruptions which are the offspring of ignorance. In this the lovers of pure English should unite and strengthen each other's hands. Something is being done in this way already, and though we should go no faster than is consistent with good and solid work, the movement will gain more speed than we think. Reading in Green's *Making of England* we find that he has adopted the old Saxon words *burh* for borough, *tun* for the Saxon town or village, *ham* and *croft* and

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steading, and other old words which tell of the home life of our ancestors. They do not jar on one's nerves, for the meaning is made clear as they are introduced, and they fall into place in his sentences like old kinsmen come home.

5. We shall soon be able to put in our children's hands school dictionaries in which English words shall be distinguished from those of foreign birth by form of type, and the children may be taught that these are the better words to use.

When all this has been done we shall be ready for another step, and the last, viz. to bring all our philological talent to bear on the question of simplifying both pronunciation and spelling by making both accord as closely as may be practicable to a standard which would be entirely intelligible to any Englishman from the fourteenth century downward, and which would also be systematic in the modes of representing the sounds to the eye. I am sanguine enough to believe that if we let the principles of reform work long enough and freely enough, we shall find the anomalies and inconsistencies in spelling disappearing, and that the final work of reducing great measure done in advance, so that not even the last step will be a large one.

The whole then may be practically included in this one exhortation. Let us love and learn our mother-tongue!

ARTICLE V.

PREDICATIVE PARTICIPLES WITH VERBS IN THE AORIST.¹

BY PROF. WM. G. BALLANTINE, OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

HAVING been unable to find in any one of the New Testament or classic Greek grammars, or in any commentary, a concise and comprehensive statement and adequate illustration of the principles which guide Greek writers in the use of predicative participles *when the leading verb is in the aorist*, we offer here the results of a somewhat protracted and pains-taking original investigation : ²

RULE 1. When a writer wishes to assert by a participle, in addition to the leading action, *another action synchronous* with it, he always uses a *present* participle ; e.g. John ix. 7, "and came seeing (ἦλθε βλέπων)"; Mark ii. 14, "and as he passed by (παράγων), he saw (εἶδε) Levi the son of Alphaeus."

RULE 2. When a writer wishes to assert by a participle, in addition to the leading action, *another action which, by even the shortest interval, preceded* it, he always uses the *aorist* participle ; e.g. Matt. viii. 3, "And he stretched forth (ἐκτεινας) his hand, and touched (ἥψατο) him"; Matt. xxii. 25, "and the first married and deceased (γαμήσας ἐτελεύτησε)."

It is needless to multiply illustrations of these idioms, as they abound on every page of the New Testament, and are undisputed.

RULE 3. But very frequently a writer wishes to make by

¹ [The valuable Note on the Translation of the Aorist Tense in the Indicative Mood, which appeared in our April Number (p. 386 seq.) was by an inadvertence inserted without the name of the author, Professor F. B. Denio, of Bangor Theological Seminary. — EDS.]

² We omit in this discussion the future and perfect participles as sufficiently well explained in the grammars.

a participle an additional assertion, not of a contemporaneous or precedent act, but of *the same act*; having asserted the effect or nature of the action he wishes to add its outward form, or the converse. In every such case the *aorist* participle is used; e.g. Matt. iv. 4, "but he answered and said (*ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε*)."
Christ did not "say" *while* answering, nor *after* answering; *in* saying he answered. There were not two acts, but one.

In our own reading, as well as in a careful study of the numerous examples brought together in the grammars from the whole range of Attic literature, we have found very few, even apparent, exceptions to these three rules. The New Testament writers follow them always, as if by an unerring instinct.

With these three rules in mind let us examine a number of New Testament passages:

Luke vii. 29, "And all the people when they heard (*ἀκούσας*), and the publicans, justified (*ἐδικαίωσαν*) God, being baptized (*βαπτισθέντες*) with the baptism of John." This is a case under Rule 2. The "hearing" preceded the "justifying," and so did the "being baptized." Meyer, curiously enough, says: "*βαπτισθέντες* is *contemporaneous*." But it was not *while receiving baptism* that they justified God.

Acts x. 33, "and thou hast well done (*ἐποίησας*) that thou art come (*παραγενόμενος*)."
This is a case under Rule 3. The "coming" and the "well-doing" are not two contemporaneous acts, but are the same act viewed in two aspects—its outward form and its moral nature.

Acts x. 39, "Whom also they slew (*ἀνείλον*), hanging him (*κρεμάσαντες*) on a tree." This is a case under Rule 3. They did not slay Jesus *while* crucifying him nor *after* crucifying him, but by the act of crucifixion slew him. There were not two acts, but one.

Acts xiii. 27, "For they that dwell in Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not (*ἀγνοήσαντες*), nor the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath, fulfilled them (*ἐπλήρωσαν*) by condemning him (*κρίναντες*)."
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first of these participles falls, we think, under Rule 2; the failure to recognize preceded the "fulfilling." The second participle falls under Rule 3; the act of "condemning" *was* the act of "fulfilling."

Acts xxv. 13, "Now when certain days were passed, Agrippa the king and Bernice arrived (*κατήντησαν*) at Caesarea, and saluted [margin: Or, *having saluted*] (*ἀσπασόμενοι*) Festus." In the Textus Receptus we used to read *ἀσπασόμενοι*, but the critics now give us the aorist instead. Some of the Revisers seem to have been able to make nothing of the aorist here, and even such a scholar as Dr. Hort helplessly confesses: "The authority for *-όμενοι* is absolutely overwhelming, and as a matter of transmission *-όμενοι* can be only a correction. Yet it is difficult to remain satisfied that there is no prior corruption of some kind."¹ But the aorist tense of the participle simply indicates that the whole visit was an act of salutation. It was not *before* coming nor *while* coming nor *after* coming that they saluted, but in and by the act of coming.

Rom. iv. 20, "But waxed strong (*ἐνεδυναμώθη*) through faith, giving (*δοῦς*) glory to God." Abraham is asserted to have glorified God by "waxing strong." Meyer says: "The aorist participle puts the *διδόναι δόξαν* κ. τ. λ. not as preceding the *ἐνεδυναμώθη*, or as presupposed in it, but as completed simultaneously with it." Godet says: "Wherein, in this case, did the homage consist? The apostle tells us in verse 21: in the firm conviction which he cherished of God's faithfulness to his word and of his power to fulfil it."

Eph. i. 4, 5, "even as he chose (*ἐξελέξατο*) us in him before the foundation of the world, having foreordained (*προορίσας*) us unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto himself, etc." On this Meyer says: "Homberg has indeed conceived the relation of time of *προορίσας* to *ἐξελέξατο* as: '*postquam nos praedestinavit adoptandos, elegit etiam nos, ut simus sancti*'; but the usual view correctly conceives

¹ The New Testament in the Original Greek (Harper's ed.), Vol. **, Appendix, p. 100.

προορίσας as coincident in point of time and accomplished simultaneously with *ἐξελέξατο*, so that it is regarded as the *modus* of the latter." In other words, it is a case under Rule 3.

Eph. i. 8, 9, "which he made to abound (*ἐπερίσσευσεν*) toward us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known (*γνωρίσας*) unto us the mystery of his will." Meyer says: "The aorist participle signifies an action coincident and completed at the same time with *ἐπερίσσευσεν*." Here the Revisers of 1881 miss one of the nicer distinctions of Greek syntax. It was in and by "making known" that he "abounded," not after "having made known."

Eph. iv. 8, "When he ascended (*ἀναβύς*) on high he led captivity captive (*ῥχμαλώτευσεν*)." This passage is cited by Moulton as perhaps intended, in a misprinted reference, by Winer (p. 480) as an example of an aorist participle expressing a simultaneous action. It would be easily enough explained as a case under Rule 3, for by his resurrection Christ justified us (Rom. iv. 25), but, being in a quotation from the LXX, it was probably written originally under the principle of Rule 2, and quoted by Paul unchanged.

Phil. ii. 7, "but emptied (*ἐκένωσε*) himself, taking (*λαβών*) the form of a servant." Meyer says: "The aorist participle denotes not what was previous, but contemporaneous with the *ἑαυτ. ἐκέν.* So also do the two following participles, which are, however, subordinated to *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών* as definitions of manner." It was simply "by taking the form" that he "emptied himself." The two acts were numerically one. We do not agree in making the two following participles subordinate to *λαβών*. The first (*γενόμενος*) is an appositive to it—a repetition of the same thought in other language. The second (*εὑρεθείς*) is a case under Rule 2. The expression "being found in fashion as a man" corresponds to the expression "being in the form of God." Two steps in humiliation are affirmed: the first, from unincarnate Deity to manhood; the second, after the assumption of humanity, to death. We have again, in *γενόμενος κ.τ.λ.*, in verse 8,

a case under Rule 3 : in becoming obedient, etc., he humbled himself.

Col. ii. 11, 12, "in whom ye were also circumcised (περιετμήθητε) with a circumcision not made with hands, having been buried (συνταφέντες) with him in baptism." Meyer says : "συνταφέντες is synchronous with περιετμήθητε, and represents substantially the same thing, 'in that ye became buried with him in baptism.'"

1 Tim. i. 12, "I thank him that he counted (ἡγήσατο) me faithful, appointing (θέμενος) me to his service." On this passage Winer says (Moulton's ed., p. 437) : "Some have wrongly supposed that the participle stands for the infinitive. The meaning is, *He counted me faithful, in that he appointed me for the ministry*; by this very act he gave proof that he considered me faithful."

Heb. ii. 10, "For it became him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing (ἀγαγόντα) [margin : Or, *having brought*] many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect (τελειῶσαι) through sufferings." The aorist participle here indicates, according to Rule 3, that the writer views the "bringing" and the "making perfect through sufferings" as numerically one act; Christ on the cross reconciled us to God. Lünemann says : "According to Tholuck, who is followed by Moll, 'the participle aorist indicates, as nearer defining of the infinitive aorist τελειῶσαι, the specific character of the same without respect to the relation of time.' But only the infinitive, not the participle aorist, is used non-temporally; and the 'specific character' of τελειῶσαι cannot be expressed by ἀγαγόντα, for the reason that the personal objects of ἀγαγόντα and τελειῶσαι are different. Ἀγαγόντα can have no other meaning than 'since he led,' and is the indication of the cause from the standpoint of the writer. The aorist participle has its justification in the fact that from the moment Christ appeared upon earth as a Redeemer, and found faith among men, God in reality was leading εἰς δόξαν, those who believed." Dr. A. C. Kendrick (in his additions to Moll's Notes on Hebrews

in Lange's Commentary, p. 52), makes many valuable remarks upon the uses of the aorist participle, and comes very near stating the true law, but seems unable to satisfy himself, says: "The knot of the difficulty of the aorist participle *ἀγαγόντα* is scarcely yet untied," and closes with the confession, "Were there even any slight external authority for *ἄγοντα* or *ἄξοντα*, on internal grounds I should hardly hesitate to adopt it." But it is manifest from our rules that on *internal grounds ἀγαγόντα* is most suitable.

We might pursue the discussion of particular cases, but the foregoing will suffice. In amplification of the rules the following observations may be made:

OBS. A. The aorist participle *never* can be used, with a leading verb in the aorist, to assert a properly synchronous act, that is, an act numerically distinct.

In a sentence like Acts iii. 8, "And he entered (*εἰσῆλθε*) with them into the temple, walking (*περιπατῶν*), and leaping (*ἀλλόμενος*), and praising (*αἰνῶν*) God," aorist participles could not have been used. These participles assert the manner of entering, but the actions asserted are not the same as the act of entering. This is true even of *περιπατῶν*. The man did much superfluous walking on his restored feet, beside the mere entering. So in John ix. 7, "and came seeing (*ἦλθε βλέπων*)," an aorist participle would have been a solecism.

OBS. B. As the converse of the preceding proposition we may say that the aorist participle, when used to assert an action distinct from the leading action, *always* asserts it as precedent.

Matt. ii. 10, "And when they saw (*ιδόντες*) the star they rejoiced (*ἐχάρησαν*)."

The aorist participle indicates that the "seeing" preceded (and so caused) the "rejoicing." It is futile for Dr. Kendrick to say (*l.c.*), "Logically the seeing preceded the rejoicing; chronologically they were simultaneous." There was no joy until the act of seeing was complete.

And so it will be found in all cases where the aorist parti-

ciple is affirmed to assert a distinct contemporary act. For example, in Plato's *Phaedo*, 101, B. γελᾶσας ἡσυχῇ ἔφη, "He laughed and said," the aorist participle indicates distinctly that the laugh *preceded* the saying. So in *Phaedo*, 89, B. "and then he smoothed (καταψήσας) my head, and pressed (ξυμπιέσας) my hair upon my neck, and said (ἔφη)." By the dramatic touch of the aorist participle, we understand that there was a moment of silence as Socrates stroked *Phaedo's* hair, and *then* he spoke.

In 2 Tim. i. 17, "But when he was (γενόμενος) in Rome, he sought (ἐζήτησε) me diligently," the precise meaning is, "after he got to Rome." See Ellicott on the passage.

Where the aorist participle is adverbially used, there will be found, on consideration, a temporal reason why it is used rather than the present; e.g. διαλιπών having (first) left an interval; κατατείνας, earnestly, i.e. having bent all one's powers.

There remains but one exceptional usage in which the aorist participle asserts a distinct act, and yet one not past with reference to that of the leading verb. This is in those cases in which the participle is used for an infinitive. (Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 113.) Acts x. 3, "He saw (εἶδεν) in a vision an angel of God coming in (εἰσελθόντα) unto him, and saying (εἰπόντα) to him, Cornelius." Acts xi. 13, "and he told us how he had seen (εἶδε) the angel standing (σταθέντα) in his house, and saying (εἰπόντα), Send to Joppa." In these passages the aorist participles are used to avoid precisely what the Revisers of 1881 have taken pains to secure, namely, a reference to the *continuity* of the actions. The writer's purpose is purely narrative, not dramatic. Cornelius saw an angel "enter and say," not "entering and saying." He saw him "stand and say," not "standing and saying." 2 Pet. i. 18, "and this voice we ourselves heard (ἠκούσαμεν) come [margin: Gr. *brought*] (ἐνεχθεῖσαν) out of heaven." Here the Revisers of 1881 catch the significance of the idiom and render correctly. The meaning is not, as S. G. Green thinks (*Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek*

Testament, § 231), "the voice *as it* was borne." Green appears to think that if an aorist participle is *predicative*, its meaning is therefore the same as that of a present participle. The principles which regulate the tenses of infinitives affect often those of participles in connection with *τυγχάνω* and some other verbs of "modified existence."

OBS. C. The aorist predicative participle asserting the same act is used with all of the modes of the aorist. We have seen it with the infinitive in Heb. ii. 10. Eph. ii. 16, "and might reconcile (*ἀποκαταλλάξῃ*) them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain (*ἀποκτείνας*) the enmity thereby." We cannot agree with Meyer in rendering here, "after he shall have slain." The reconciliation is affected in the act of slaying the enmity. Eph. v. 26, "that he might sanctify (*ἀγιάσῃ*) it, having cleansed (*καθαρίσας*) it by the washing of water with the word." Here Meyer says: "The aorist participle could express that which is coincident in point of time." We have no hesitation in classifying this as a case under Rule 3.

OBS. D. In some cases the *present* participle seems to assert the same act as the leading verb, but such cases are otherwise explicable; e.g. Matt. xxii. 35, "And one of them, a lawyer, asked (*ἐπηρώτησεν*) him a question, tempting (*πειράζων*) him." We think that in this case, by the use of the present participle, the evangelist suggests that the question occurred *in the course* of a continued effort to test our Lord.

There is one glaring exception to our rules, namely, the use of the present participle *λέγων*, which occurs on almost every page of narrative in the New Testament with leading verbs of saying in the aorist; e.g. Matt. xxii. 1, "And Jesus answered (*ἀποκριθείς*) and spake (*εἶπεν*) again in parables unto them, saying (*λέγων*)." The association of the present participle with the aorist participle in the same sentence, and predicating the same action, is striking. It appears probable that the *signification* of this word "saying," emphasizing as it does the progress and continuity of utterance, led to an

idiomatic gerundive usage of the present participle like that of the Hebrew infinitive *לִשְׁמֹחַ*.

In the light of the foregoing discussion let us examine what some of the leading grammars have to say upon the subject :

Winer : "The aorist participle in the course of a narrative sometimes expresses a simultaneous action, as in Acts i. 24, *προσευξάμενοι εἶπον*, *praying they said*, Rom. iv. 20 ; Col. ii. 13 ; Phil. ii. 7 ; 2 Pet. ii. 5 ; sometimes an action which had previously taken place," etc.¹ Acts i. 24 is a plain case under Rule 3. Col. ii. 13. If *χαρισάμενος* does not denote a previous act, it may well be viewed as the same act as *συνεζωποίησεν*. Phil. ii. 7, we have discussed above. 2 Pet. ii. 5, "but preserved (*ἐφύλαξε*) Noah when he brought (*ἐπάξας*) a flood." The act of *bringing* the flood Peter represents as precedent to, and so furnishing the occasion of, God's preserving Noah.

Buttmann : "The use of the participles, however, is in so far more precise, that with the present participle to the idea of continuance that of incompleteness or of contemporaneity (with other predicates) must necessarily be added, and with the aorist participle, that of completed (real or imaginary) past has sovereign control, whether the action be momentary or fill the duration of an entire period."² This excellent grammar strangely contains nothing more definite than this general remark upon so important a question. This may be because the New Testament usage is precisely the same as the classic.

Webster : "When a participle and a verb are combined together, both in the past tense, we can only determine by the sense whether the action described by the participle is antecedent to that of the verb or is coincident with it. In the following it seems to be coincident : Rom. vii. 8 ; Mark xv. 37 ; Acts vii. 26."³ But a little reflection will convince

¹ Grammar of the New Testament Greek (Moulton's Trans.), p. 430.

² Grammar of New Testament Greek (Thayer's Trans.), p. 201.

³ Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament (London, 1864), p. 113.
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the reader that each of these is a plain case under Rule 2. Rom. vii. 8, "but sin, finding (λαβοῦσα) occasion, wrought (κατεργάσατο) in me through the commandment all manner of coveting." It was certainly *after* finding the occasion, and not *while* finding it, that sin wrought. Mark xv. 37, "And Jesus uttered (ἔφεις) a loud voice, and gave up (ἐξέπνευσε) the ghost." The cry was uttered first. Acts vii. 36, "This man led them forth (ἐξήγαγεν), having wrought (ποιήσας) wonders and signs in Egypt, and in the Red Sea, and in the wilderness forty years." It was *after* working the wonders in Egypt that Moses led Israel forth; this fixes the tense of ποιήσας, the other phrases are loosely added. As cases in which the action denoted by the participle is antecedent to the action described by the verb, Webster cites Mark xv. 43, Luke xi. 8, Acts v. 30, x. 39, v. 5, xvi. 34, 37, xv. 22, Gal. iv. 15. Some of these look far more like cases of coincident action than those which he cites as such; but, with the exception of Acts v. 30 and x. 39, which belong under Rule 3, are rightly adduced. The first—Mark xv. 43, "he boldly went in (τολμήσας εἰσῆλθε)" — is a case of adverbial use of the participle, and the aorist is chosen because one must "screw up his courage" *before* action. Webster thus fails to support his statement that the time of an aorist participle may coincide with that of the leading verb by examples, and wholly overlooks the usage upon which we base Rule 3.

S. G. Green¹ says only, that as a temporal adjunct the present participle denotes a contemporaneous, and the aorist a preceding, fact.

Jelf: "The aorist participle is used in its past force when it is wished to represent the action of the participle as antecedent to that of the principal verb; but it is also used in its primary sense to express the simple verbal notion almost in a present sense; as, Plat., Phaedo 60. C. εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με, *you did well in reminding me*; and the aorist and present are used in the same sentence; Thuc. V. 22, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο νομίζοντες (*thinking this at*

¹ Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament, p. 363

the time, and acting upon it); and shortly after νομίσαντες expressing their abstract opinion without reference to that or any other time.”¹ The sentence from the Phaedo is a fine example under our Rule 3. Of the other example cited, Dr. Arnold says: “Few sentences in Thucydides exhibit a more extraordinary specimen of anacoluthon than this.” It is not really a case of an aorist and present participle in the same sentence; the author, having begun his sentence with the purpose of affirming the contemporary thought of the actors, broke off, and began again with their previous thought.

Sophocles: “The aorist of the indicative and participle express finished past action without reference to the time required for its completion; it simply narrates what happened.”²

Madvig: “Sometimes after a verb in the aorist or historical present an aorist participle stands as apposition to the subject, not to denote an earlier, but a contemporary (single and momentary) action (*in that, by —, and*) so that the past is specially denoted in the action of the participle, just as it would be in a *verbum finitum* with *and*, etc. Phaedo 60. C. εὖ ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με.”³ This comes near to our statement of Rule 3. But Madvig fails to observe that the so-called contemporary acts are not two, but the same. The use of the terms “single” and “momentary” has been abandoned by the best grammarians. It cannot be too strongly condemned.

Koch: “The idea of previousness [*des Vorher*] lies not in the aorist participle, but arises because the action in being thought of as a point, not as continuing, becomes immediately past to the principal action. There are also abundant examples where the idea of previousness is so imperceptible that the actions almost coincide. Such are the cases in which the subordinate action stands not in a temporal, but a causal relation to the leading action, and where consequently the aorist participle is to be resolved by *by* [*dadurch dass*]. An. iv. 8, 25, παῖδα κατέκτανε ξυήλη πατάξας (by a

¹ Greek Grammar (Oxford, 1861), § 405, 5.

² Greek Grammar (Revised ed. 1872), p. 264.

³ Greek Syntax (Arnold's 2d ed. London, 1873), § 183. Rem. 2.

dagger thrust)."¹ Koch is misled by the exploded notion that the aorist "represents a momentary action." The example which he gives is a good one of Rule 3. Koch also says: "The aorist participle can (like the Latin participle perfect of deponents) have also an ingressive meaning, so that only the beginning [*Eintrittspunkt*] of the subordinate action falls before the leading action while in continuance they are contemporaneous; Cyr. 1. 6. 27, *Κύρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν* (he laughed, and said while laughing)."² This is an arbitrary assertion. Xenophon says that Cyrus laughed and said. He does not say that he began laughing, and continued to laugh while speaking.

Hadley has a notion like this of Koch's. "Properly the aorist participle represents the action only as introduced (brought to pass) before that of the principal verb: in its continuance the former may coincide with the latter; Hom. *δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο καὶ ἔαχε*, and (having become afraid) in fear he sprang from his throne and cried. Thus the aorist participle when joined to a principal verb in the aorist may denote the *means* or *manner*."³ The cases referred to in the last sentence fall under our Rule 3. That the aorist participle represents the action merely as first *introduced* is an arbitrary assertion which cannot be proved. We learn nothing from the tense of *δείσας* as to the continuance of the action. So far as the affirmation goes, the fear may have been seen to be baseless the next moment, and may have instantaneously ceased. The act of fear took place and prompted the spring, that is all that Homer says. But we would not in every instance claim for Homer the same discrimination in the use of tenses that we find in the Attic and the New Testament writers.

Goodwin: "The tenses of the participle generally express the same time as those of the indicative; but they are present, past, or future relatively to the time of the verb with which they are connected." "The aorist participle in certain constructions does not denote time past with reference to the leading verb, but expresses a *simple occurrence* without regard to time (like the aorist infinitive in

¹ Griechische Schulgrammatik (Leipzig, 1881), § 101. Anm. 1.

² Ibid., § 101. Anm. 2.

³ Greek Grammar, § 717 a.

§ 202). This is so in the following examples: *ἔτιγεν ἐλθών*, *he happened to come*; *ἔλαθεν ἐλθών*, *he came secretly*; *ἔφθη ἐλθών*, *he came first* (see § 279, 4); *περυδεῖν τὴν γῆν τμηθεῖσαν*, *to allow the land to be ravaged (to see it ravaged)* (see § 279, 3). So sometimes when the participle denotes that in which the action of the verb consists (§ 277); as *εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με*, *you did well in reminding me.*"¹ It will be seen that the last remark is an inadequate statement of Rule 3. The other cases in which the participle is used like an infinitive are admirably treated under the sections referred to. Professor Goodwin in the last edition of his grammar wholly avoids the confusing words "single" and "momentary" in discussing the aorist, and in other ways improves upon the definitions of his "Moods and Tenses." But he does not clearly state and insist upon the fact that the aorist participle is used with the timelessness of the infinitive *only* with a few well ascertained verbs of peculiar meaning, and that in the mass of cases it is not grammatically admissible to assume that the aorist participle is used in its "primary timeless sense." The number and variety of cases in which the aorist participle asserts the same action as the leading verb also escapes him.

K. W. Krüger: "Joined to an aorist the aorist participle at times indicates an act so far contemporary as it expresses the outward form of the action of the leading verb [*wodurch, worin eben die Handlung des Aorists sich äussert*]." ² This is well said, but entirely too narrow to cover all instances, e.g. *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε*. The relation of the participle to the leading verb may be just the converse of that stated by Krüger; e.g. Demos. Phil. Γ, § 62, *ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργω μαρτυρήσας ὅτι καὶ δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ*, "he slew himself, showing in deed," etc.

But we will not continue these citations from the grammarians. Enough have been given to show a good deal of confusion and inadequacy of statement. We cannot help believing that our three rules furnish a true key to Greek usage.

¹ Greek Grammar (Revised ed. 1880), p. 252.

² Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen (Leipzig, 1875), § 53. 6. An. 8.

ARTICLE VI.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE "TEACHING OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES."

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I. ITS VOCABULARY COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.¹

THE agreement between the New Testament and the Teaching in the use of words is in general so obvious and so much a matter of course that it is only necessary to notice the points of disagreement. Are there any words in the Teaching not found in the New Testament? Also, are there words in the former with a meaning different from that which they bear in the latter? The following notes are in answer to the first of these questions. The second question seems to allow an almost unqualified negative. The word *φθορά*, which has in the New Testament its classical meaning of corruption, destruction (e.g. *ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς*, Rom. viii. 21), in the Teaching (chap. ii.), means abortion, as in the Epistle of Barnabas. Also *συνοχή* (chap. i.), is to be taken more literally than in the New Testament.

In the following list I have intended to include all the words in the Teaching that are not found in the New Testament, however unimportant they may seem, or however close the connection or resemblance. The numbers following each word give the chapter and the line in Scribner's edition. In the remarks in regard to usage no notice is taken of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolical Constitutions, or the Epitome, if the word is used elsewhere.

ἀθάνατος, iv. 94. Classical, and in Septuagint. The New Testament adjective is *ἀφθαρτος* (1 Tim. i. 17), which is perhaps not used earlier than Aristotle. It also has both the substantives *ἀφθαρσία* (post-classical and in Septuagint) and *ἀθανασία*, which is classical.

¹ [On account of a resemblance between some passages in the first part of this Article and portions of an excellent paper upon the same subject in the *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, by Dr. Isaac H. Hall, it is due to the author to say that this was intended for the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and all except the last two pages stands as it was then written. — Eds.]

αἰσχρολόγος, iii. 56. Post-classical. The New Testament has *αἰσχρολογία* (classical) in Col. iii. 8, and *αἰσχρότης* (classical), referring to the same thing, in Eph. v. 4.

ἀμφιβολία, xiv. 270. Classical. In Herodotus 5. 74 it means an attack from both sides — Peloponnesians on one side and Boeotians and Chalcidians on the other. In Aristotle's *Poetic* (25. 13) it means a verbal ambiguity, used together with the adjective *ἀμφίβολος*. In Plutarch it means doubtfulness. The meaning in the Teaching would come from the later usage, and the word might be rendered "a misunderstanding" — a delicate euphemism for *ἔρις* or *μομφή*. See Col. iii. 13, *ἐάν τις πρὸς τινα ἔχη μομφήν*. In Matt. v. 23, 24 — the parent passage — the expression is *ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σου*.

ἀνταποδοτής, iv. 91. Found elsewhere only in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. 19), and Epitome (Bryennios Proleg., p. 77). The New Testament has *ἀνταπόδομα*, *ἀνταπόδοσις*, and *ἀνταποδίδωμι*.

αἰθάδεια, v. 117. Classical. The New Testament has *αἰθάδης* (classical) in Tit. i. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 10.

γόγγυσος, iii. 66. Post-classical. The New Testament has *γογγυστής* in Jude 16; also *γογγύζω* and *γογγυσμός*, all post-classical.

διαφορά, i. 2. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has the adjective *διάφορος* (classical), but the substantive is either *διαστολή* (post-classical), or *διαίρεσις* (classical). See Rom. iii. 22; 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6, et al.

δίγλωσσία, ii. 42. Found elsewhere only in Epistle of Barnabas (ch. 19) and Epitome (Bryennios Proleg. p. 74).

δίγλωσσος, ii. 42. Classical and in Septuagint. In Thucydides it means speaking two languages (4. 109; 8. 85). In the Septuagint it means deceitful. The New Testament has *δίλογος* (post-classical), 1 Tim. iii. 8.

διγνώμων, ii. 41. Found elsewhere only in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. 19. The Epitome (Bryennios, Proleg., p. 74) has *δίγνωμος*, as also some texts of Barnabas. The New Testament has *δίψυχος* (post-classical), James i. 8; iv. 8.

διπλοκαρδία, v. 116. Found only here and in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. 19.

διψυχέω, iv. 86. Post-classical. The New Testament has *δίψυχος*. See *διγνώμων* above.

ἐκπέτασις, xvi. 313. The origin of the word is doubtful, also whether it occurs elsewhere or not. If it is from *ἐκπετάννυμι* it means "expansion," and is found, according to the older texts, in Plutarch's

De Sera Numinis Vindicta, chap. 23. The disembodied souls expressed joy and pleasure "by expansion and diffusion," *ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει*. The Didot edition (1868), however, reads *ἐπεκτάσει*. If the word comes from *ἐκπέταμαι*, which is a later as well as poetic form of *ἐκπέτομαι*, then it means "flying away." The only use of it cited by Sophocles is dated about 950 A.D. Bryennios, followed by Canon Farrar (Cont. Rev. May 1884), adopts the latter meaning, and identifies it with the *ἀρπαγή* of 1 Thess. iv. 17.¹ Farrar translates, "First the sign of the flying forth (of the saints) in heaven, then the sign of the voice of the trumpet, and the third, the resurrection of the dead." But it requires altogether too much ingenuity to make this "flying forth" to come *first*. Why not refer it to the flying forth of the angels sent out to gather the elect? This view would make the above harmonize with Matt. xxiv. 31: "And he shall send forth his angels [cf. Rev. xiv. 6, *ἄγγελον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι*] with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." Perhaps the *ἐκπέτασις* refers to some unexplained "sign of the Son of Man in heaven" mentioned in the previous verse in Matthew. This the paraphrase in the Apostolical Constitutions favors (chap. 32). If so, the meaning of "expansion" would seem more probable. According to Alford, on Matt. xxiv. 30, the Fathers generally supposed the "sign" to be a cross in the sky. In any case, the word can hardly mean an "opening" in heaven. In the Septuagint *ἐκπετάζω* means to spread out, having for its object a cloud in Job xxvi. 9, and the hands in 2 Esdras ix. 5. Canon Farrar says: "Some suppose it to mean the sign of Christ with arms outstretched as on the cross"; but he cites no evidence that the early Christians looked for such a sign. If any justification could be found for tampering with the manuscript, one would like to read *ἐπιφάσεως* for *ἐκπετάσεως*.

ἐνδέω, iv. 92; v. 128. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has *ἐνδεής*, Acts iv. 34.

ἐπαυδός, iii. 59. In Septuagint and classical in the form *ἐπαυδός*. The New Testament seems not to contain the idea of enchantment, i.e. using the magic spell. We find *μαγεύω*, Acts viii. 9; *μαγία*,

¹ I take this from Bryennios' note on p. 55 of his edition. The copy received by Dr. Ezra Abbot contains *ms.* corrections of this note which entirely, and most happily, change its meaning making, *ἐκπέτασις* refer to the appearing of the Lord. The corrections are supposed to be by Bryennios himself. They erase *ἡ . . . ἐκπέτασις* (line 4), and *θεοῦ θεή* (line 9), and add an illustrative quotation from 2 Thess i. 7.

viii. 11; μάγος, xiii. 6, 8. The Septuagint applies the word *ἐπαιδός* to the "magicians" of Pharaoh and of Nebuchadnezzar.

ἐριστικός, iii. 53. Classical. The New Testament has *ἐρις* and *ἐρίζω*, both classical.

ζηλοτυπία, v. 118. Classical and in Septuagint, in Num. v., of the law of jealousy. The New Testament has *ζήλος* and derivatives (classical), but no compounds; also *φθόνος* (classical), Acts xiii. 45; Matt. xxvii. 18, et al.

θερμός, vii. 144. Class. and Sept. The New Testament has *θέρμη* (Acts xxviii. 3) and *θερμαίνω*, but for the adjective, *ζεστός* (post-classical), *fervidus*, used only figuratively, Rev. iii. 15, 16.

θράσος, iii. 73. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has *θάρσος* once (Acts xxviii. 15), used, as generally in the classics, in a good sense.

θρασύτης, v. 118. Classical. The Septuagint has *θρασύς*, *θρασύνη*, and *θρασυκάρδιος*.

θυμικός, iii. 53. In Arist., and the adverb in Polyb. 18. 37 (20), 12.

ιδρώ, i. 32. Classical. The New Test. has the noun, Luke xxii. 44.

κακοήθης, ii. 45. Classical. The New Testament has *κακοήθεια* once, Rom. i. 29.

κοσμοπλάνος, xvi. 304. Found only here and in Apostolical Constitutions, *τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος*, and *κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον*, Bk. 7, chap. 32. See Bryennios, Proleg. p. 50. Compare 2 John 7, *πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον*.

κυριακή, xiv. 267. Later than New Testament as substantive. The New Testament has the adjective (post-classical) once of the Lord's supper (1 Cor. xi. 20), and once of the Lord's day, Rev. i. 10.

μαθηματικός, iii. 60. Classical as adjective. Polybius has the substantive, meaning mathematician, in 9. 19, 9. In Sextus Empiricus (A.D. 205) it means astrologer (Sophocles, *Lex. s.v.*). Tacitus and Juvenal (died A.D. 120) call astrologers *mathematici*. Tertullian (died A.D. 220) classes together "*lenones, perductores, aquarioli, sicarii, venenarii, magi, haruspices, harioli, mathematici*," Apol. 43. For astrologers the Septuagint, in Isa. xlvii. 13, has *ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*. In Daniel the king calls *τοὺς ἐπαιδούς καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς καὶ τοὺς χαλδαίους* (ii. 2), but the word *μαθηματικός* is not found. May not the word, in the sense of astrologer, have been re-borrowed from the Latin?

μῖσος, xvi. 301. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has *μισέω*, but for the noun uses *ἐχθρα*, not a precise equivalent, but the opposite of *φιλία*, James iv.

μνησικακέω, ii. 41. Classical and in Septuagint, which has also μνησικάκος, Prov. xii. 28.

οἰωνοσκόπος, iii. 58. Classical. The Septuagint has οἰωνίζομαι and οἰωνισμός of Joseph's divining cup, Gen. xliv. 5. Also τερατοσκόπος, Deut. xviii. 11. Neither the word nor the idea appears in the New Testament.

παιδοφθορέω, ii. 36. In Epistle of Barnabas and later. Compare Juvenal x. 304:

“Non licet esse viro, nam prodiga corruptoris
Improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes.”

πανθαμάρτητος, v. 130. Not in Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, or Sophocles. Appears to be found only here and in the corresponding passages in Epistle of Barnabas (chap. 20) and Apostolical Constitutions (7, 18).

παρόδιος, xii. 245. Post-classical. Not in the Septuagint, which, however, has πάροδος with the meaning of traveller, 2 Kings xii. 4 — this from the influence of the Hebrew.

περικαθαίρω, iii. 60. Classical, and in Septuagint, of Moloch-worship, Deut. xviii. 10.

ποθέω, iv. 83. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has ἐπιποθέω (classical). But is not ποθήσεις in the Teaching an error of text for ποιήσεις? The corresponding passage in Epistle of Barnabas is οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα (chap. 19), and in the Apostolical Constitutions is οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους.

πονέω, v. 125. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament uses κοπιᾶω (classical); also καταπονέω (post-classical), but not with the meaning of labor; also πόνος (classical).

πονηρόφρων, iii. 67. Found elsewhere only in the Apostolical Constitutions, Μὴ ἔσο αὐθάδης, μηδὲ πονηρόφρων (7. 7), and in the Epitome (Bryennios, Proleg. p. 76).

προνηστεύω, vii. 147. Classical. In Herodotus, of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Egyptians, 2, 40.

προσεξομολογέω, xiv. 268. I find no examples of this compound referred to in the lexicons. The New Testament and Septuagint have ὁμολογέω (classical), and ἐξομολογέω (post-classical), which also is used in the Teaching iv. 108.

σιτία, xiii. 261. This word is found in the Apophthegmata Patrum, which Sophocles dates about A.D. 500. The meaning is plain from the following, to which he refers: Θέλω πληρῶσαι τὸν λογισμὸν μου μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβὼν σιτίαν εἰς τὸ ἀρτοκοπεῖον ἐποίησαν ἄρτους,

192, A. Ἀπῆλθον οὖν εἰς τὸ ἄρτοκοπεῖον ποιῆσαι δύο σιτίας καὶ εὖρον ἐκεῖ ἀδελφὸν θέλοντα ποιῆσαι ἄρτους, καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τινα δοῦνα. αὐτῷ χεῖρα, 196, B. For τῆς Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχήν of the Teaching, we find in the Apostolical Constitutions (7, 29), πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων θερμῶν, "hot cakes."

συσπᾶω, iv. 88. Classical. The word properly means to draw together, contract; but as in Latin *contrahere*, as well as *retrahere*, is the opposite of *porrigere*, so here *συσπᾶω* is the opposite of *ἐκτείνω*. Again, *συσπᾶν τὰς χεῖρας* is not the same as *συσπᾶν τοὺς δακτύλους*, so that Canon Farrar's "clenches them tight" must be called an "improvement." The New Testament has *συστέλλω* (classical), which is sometimes the opposite of *ἐκτείνω*, but in Acts v. 6 describes the preparation of the body of Ananias for burial—Latin, *componere*. *Συστέλλω* is the word used in the remarkable parallel passage cited by Bryennios from the Wisdom of Sirach: Μὴ ἔστω ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τὸ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη, 4, 31. Also in the corresponding passage in the Apostolical Constitutions (7, 11).

τετράς, viii. 153. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has *τετράδιον* (post-classical), Acts xii. 4, meaning a company of four.

ὑψηλόφθαλμος, iii. 56. Found elsewhere only in the Epitome (Bryennios, Proleg. p. 75). Bryennios points out that where the Teaching has *μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος* *μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος* the Apostolical Constitutions has *οὐκ ἔσῃ αἰσχρολόγος, οὐδὲ ῥυψόφθαλμος*. The Septuagint has *ὑψηλοκάρδιος*, Prov. xvi. 5; also *κύριε, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου, οὐδὲ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου*, Ps. cxxx. (cxxx.) 1. But these expressions refer to haughtiness, and *ῥυψόφθαλμος* means leering, a meaning which the context seems to fasten upon *ὑψηλόφθαλμος*—*ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχείαι γεννῶνται*. Perhaps the exhortation has women chiefly in mind, and condemns the opposite of modest, downcast eyes. Here the Septuagint furnishes an exact parallel in the use of the noun *μετεωρισμός*. See Wisdom of Sirach, xxvi. 9, *Πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς βλεφάροις αὐτῆς γνωστήσεται*. Compare xxiii. 4.

φαρμακεύω, ii. 37. Classical and in Septuagint. The New Testament has *φαρμακεία* and *φαρμακός*.

φθορεύς, v. 127, xvi. 300. Post-classical. The New Testament has *φθορά* and *φθείρω*, both classical.

χριστέμπορος, xii. 251. I find no example cited in the lexicons

that is earlier than A.D. 326. Bryennios cites two examples from the longer Greek Ignatian epistles, which Bishop Lightfoot refers to the latter half of the fourth century. See *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1875. The passages containing these examples are not in the shorter epistles, — the Vossian, — which are referred by the same authority to the middle of the second century. The word might possibly be suggested by 1 Tim. vi. 5, *νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν*.

REMARKS.

1. Number and classification. The whole number is forty-five, of which two are found twice, — *ἐνδὲν*, *φθορεὺς*, — all the rest only once. Nineteen are substantially the same as New Testament words: *αἰσχρολόγος*, *ἀθάνατος*, *ἀνταποδότης*, *αὐθάδεια*, *γόγγυσος*, *διαφορά*, *δυψυχέω*, *ἐνδὲν*, *ἐριστικός*, *θερμός*, *θράσος*, *ιδρώ*, *κακοήθης*, *κυριακή*, *μῖσος*, *προσεξομολογέω*, *τετράς*, *φαρμακεύω*, *φθορεὺς*. As to their distribution in the Teaching, two are in chap. i., *διαφορά*, *ιδρώ*; seven in chap. ii., *παιδοφθορέω*, *φαρμακεύω*, *μνησικακέω*, *διγνώμων*, *δίγλωσσος*, *διγλωσσία*, *κακοήθης*; eleven in chap. iii., *ἐριστικός*, *θυμικός*, *αἰσχρολόγος*, *ὕψιλόφθαλμος*, *οἰνοσκοπός*, *ἐπαιδός*, *μαθηματικός*, *περικαθαίρω*, *γόγγυσος*, *πονηρόφρων*, *θράσος*; six in chap. iv., *ποθέω*, *δυψυχέω*, *συσπᾶω*, *ἀνταποδότης*, *ἐνδὲν*, *ἀθάνατος*; seven in chap. v., *διπλοκαρδία*, *αὐθάδεια*, *ζηλοτυπία*, *θρασύτης*, *πονέω*, *φθορεὺς*, *πανθαμάρτητος*, with a repetition of *ἐνδὲν*; two in chap. vii., *θερμός*, *προνηστεύω*; one in chap. viii., *τετράς*; two in chap. xii., *παρόδιος*, *χριστέμπορος*; one in chap. xiii., *σιτία*; three in chap. xiv., *κυριακή*, *προσεξομολογέω*, *ἀμφιβολία*; three in chap. xvi., *μῖσος*, *κοσμοπλάνος*, *ἐκπέτασις*, with a repetition of *φθορεὺς*. Thirty-three of the forty-five occur in the first five chapters. As to usage, twenty-five are classical, of which fifteen are found in the Septuagint, *ἀθάνατος* (Sept.), *ἀμφιβολία*, *αὐθάδεια*, *διαφορά* (Sept.), *δίγλωσσος* (Sept.), *ἐνδὲν* (Sept.), *ἐπαιδός* (*ἐπιδός*) (S.), *ἐριστικός*, *ζηλοτυπία* (Sept.), *θερμός* (Sept.), *θράσος* (Sept.), *θρασύτης*, *ιδρώ*, *κακοήθης*, *μαθηματικός* (as adjective), *μῖσος* (Sept.), *μνησικακέω* (Sept.), *οἰνοσκοπός*, *περικαθαίρω* (Sept.), *ποθέω* (Sept.), *πονέω* (Sept.), *προνηστεύω*, *συσπᾶω*, *τετράς* (Sept.), *φαρμακεύω* (Sept.). Four are post-classical, without being ecclesiastical merely, *αἰσχρολόγος*, *θυμικός*, *παρόδιος*, *φθορεὺς*. Four are found in the early Christian fathers, *γόγγυσος*, *δυψυχέω*, *κυριακή*, *παιδοφθορέω*. Two are not found earlier than the fourth century, *σιτία*, *χριστέμπορος*. Eight are not found outside of that tetralogy which contains so many identical passages, viz. the

Teaching, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Epitome: ἀνταποδότης, διγλωσσία, and δεγνώμων(-ος) being in Barnabas and Epitome, πανθαμάρτητος in Barnabas and Apostolical Constitutions, πονηρόφρων in Apostolical Constitutions and Epitome, διπλοκαρδία in Barnabas, κοσμοπλάνος in Apostolical Constitutions, and ὑψηλόφθαλμος in the Epitome. The only word found nowhere except in the Teaching is προτεξομολογέω. This Hilgenfeld changes to προεξ. One word, ἐκπέτασις, is doubtful.

2. To make the best use of this list of words, let us assume that no other writing stands, as the source of its vocabulary, between the Teaching and the New Testament, whatever may have been the interval of time. Let us, for the moment, forget the existence of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostolical Constitutions, and the Epitome. Assuming that the connection with the New Testament is immediate, and not at second hand, we can see that the vocabulary of the Teaching, with the exception of two or three words, marks it as a natural and early successor, if not a companion in origin, of the New Testament writings. First, there is largely the same word-list. Secondly, the words that are substantially, but not exactly, identical indicate a writer whose mind is filled with New Testament ideas, but is not anxious, as a forger might well be, to reproduce the exact New Testament forms. Thirdly, the classical words were, the most of them *certainly*, the rest *probably*, still in current use in the first and second centuries of our era. Fourthly, more than half of these classical words are in the Septuagint, which must have joined with the New Testament writings in forming the early Christian vocabulary. Fifthly, the eight ecclesiastical words given above — not included among those which are substantially in the New Testament — are compounds which might easily arise without leaving any other trace in the scanty remains of early Christian writing. This leaves three words, ἐκπέτασις, σιτία, and χριστιμπος. If the first is from ἐκπετάννυμι, then it is found in Plutarch, and falls into line with the rest. If it is from ἐκπέταμαι, then, as a derivative in the common formative ending -σις, it need not be held very strictly to contemporary usage; for it might be formed at any time, by any writer, as readily as we form words in -ing. It is not so easy to explain the other two words in harmony with the second-century origin of the Teaching. Σιτία is not a word that would be likely to be coined by a writer, like some rhetorical compounds that flash upon the mind in the heat of composition. It has the appearance of

a genuine late word, later, even than the Apostolical Constitutions, which has *ἀπρως* instead. *Χριστέμπος* might be the coinage of a vigorous writer; but the connection hardly suggests this. These words are only two among many; but in such cases majorities do not rule. These two do not necessarily prove that the Teaching is of late date, but they demand an explanation. If in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels one should find the word "biscuit," it would not prove that the Gospels were as late as the French word; the French word would be thrown out as spurious. So these words may be thrown out as interpolations, or they may be proved to have existed as early as the second century, or they may be left as doubtful; but they require to be considered. If they belong to a later addition, then the limits of the addition must be sought for. As to *χριστέμπος*, if it should turn out to be an interpolation, it would not be the only time that it has figured in that capacity, as the Ignatian Epistles testify. Leaving all this undecided, let us pass to the second part of our subject.

II. THE VOCABULARY OF THE TEACHING COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

The comparison of the Teaching with the New Testament in respect to vocabulary will yield little of value, if we are shut up to the opinion that the Teaching is later than the Epistle of Barnabas. Before we go further, then, this question must be considered.

The Epitome and Apostolical Constitutions need not be taken into account, as it may be assumed that they are both later than the Epistle. I will confine the comparison to the vocabulary only. Difference of vocabulary, where the course of thought is substantially the same, may be either rhetorical or grammatical and lexical. In the case before us both these kinds of difference can best be seen by examining the two writings in parallel arrangement. The comparison is not between the whole of both, but between the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of Barnabas, which are given entire, and portions of the first six chapters of the Teaching, which are detached from their connection. The figures preceding the extracts in the right hand column denote the lines in Scribner's edition. The text of Barnabas is taken from the Prolegomena of Bryennios' edition of the Teaching, and the arrangement deviates but very little from that which is indicated by his marginal references and special type.

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18. Μεταβώμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥτε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους· διαφορά δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσι τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ κύριος ἀπ' αἰῶνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

19. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· εἰάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθείσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ

τοιαύτη· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. Ἔσῃ ἀπλοὺς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι. Οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου. Μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν, οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντο-

λὰς Κυρίου. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν. ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα, οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. Οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θρά-

σος. Οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. Οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ

τινῶν. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι

τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. Ἔσῃ πραῖς,
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(3) Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορά δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

(5) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη·

(9) Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη· Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.

(5) Πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιεῖς.

(105) Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἄρεστον τῷ Κυρίῳ. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου.

(72) Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν.

(46) Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου.

(73) Οὐδε δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος.

(35) Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς· Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις.

(84) Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.

(69) Ἴσθι δὲ πραῖς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρα-

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ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους

οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ

ἀδελφῷ σου. Οὐ μὴ δυψυχήσης, πό-

τερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. Οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ
ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου. Ἀγαπή-
σεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν

σου. Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ,
οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. Οὐ
μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ
σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλ'
ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον Κυ-

ρίου. Οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ

τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένη
πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυ-
χῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ.
Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς
ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄνευ Θεοῦ

οὐδὲν γίνεται. Οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων
οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου
ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. Ὑποταγήσῃ κυ-
ρίοις ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ

φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ
παιδίσκη σου ἐν πικρίᾳ τοῖς ἐπὶ
τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσι, μήποτε οὐ
φοβηθῶσι τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν·

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εἰς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Γίνου
μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκα-
κος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ
τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός,
οὓς ἤκουσας.

(40) Οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνη-
σικακήσεις.

(85) Οὐ δυψυχήσεις, πότερον
ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

(40) Οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευ-
δομαρτυρήσεις.

(47) Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄν-
θρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις,
περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγα-
πήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

(37) Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν
φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς.

(95) Οὐκ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου
ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγα-
τρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος δι-
δάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(39) Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ
πλησίον.

(44) Οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ
ἄρπαξ.

(73) Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ
σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δι-
καίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ.
Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα
ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ
Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

(41) Οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ
δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ
διγλωσσία. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου
ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστω-
μένος πράξει.

(98) Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου
ἢ παιδίσκη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν
ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε
οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμ-

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ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν.

Κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; Οὐκ ἔση πρόσλωστος· παγὶς γὰρ στόμα θανάτου.

Ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου

ἀγνεύσεις. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. Ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου. Μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ δὲ τίς ὁ τοῦ

μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. Φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. Εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. Κρινεῖς δικαίως. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. Ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ σου, οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ

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φυτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔμμεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.

(92) Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς;

(134) Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὁ δόνη τοῦτο ποιεῖ.

(86) Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν·

(78) Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμῆσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

(88) Ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

(107) Φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν.

(83) Οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως.

(108) Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ

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προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρῇ.
Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

20. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς σκαλιά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστι θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστι τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία Θεοῦ· διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, χήρᾳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐπὶ καταλαλιῇ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοῦς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρητοι.

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οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρῇ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

(112) Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρας μεστή·

φόνος, μοιχεία, ἐπιθυμία, πορνεία, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγείαι, φαρμακείαι, ἀρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἐλαζονεία· διώκεται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοῦς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρητοι· ῥησθεῖτε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

REMARKS.

1. The most striking fact in the comparison is, of course, the close resemblance, amounting in many sentences to absolute identity. The resemblance is closer than between the Sermon on the Mount in Luke and the corresponding passages in Matthew. It is very different, however, from the resemblance between the Teaching and the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions. The latter has the same language as the Teaching, in almost exactly the same order, from beginning to end; a large amount of additional matter being interspersed, so that it is a sort of running

commentary on the Teaching. The Epitome, also, so far as it goes, has the same order. But the Epistle of Barnabas, in the portions here compared, has, without much difference in amount, marked differences of arrangement. The Teaching has a more natural and logical order, as will appear not by this parallel arrangement, but by the comparative reading of both in course.

2. The differences that are merely grammatical or strictly verbal, without affecting the sense, are the following :

BARNABAS.

ch. 18. ἡ τε . . . καὶ ἡ
τῶν δύο ὁδῶν
ch. 19. ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστόν
ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι
ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων
οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης
οὐ μὴ ἄρης
φόβον
οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν
οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς
ἀνευ θεοῦ
ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία
ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις
οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς
μὴ ποτε οὐ φοβηθῶσι
ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ
κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι
ἀφθάρτῳ . . . φθάρτοις
ὅσον δύνασαι
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν
ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρον
γνώσῃ δὲ τίς
εἰρηνεύσεις . . . συναγαγόν
ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ σου
οὐ προσήξεις
ch. 20. εἰδωλολατρεία, ὑπόκρισις,
μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, φαρμακεία,
μανεία
διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν
οὐ κρίσει
ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν

TEACHING.

μία . . . καὶ μία
μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν
ὁ μὴ ἀρεστόν
ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν
ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς . . . γίνου ἡσύχιος . . .
καὶ τρέμων
οὐ διψυχήσεις
οὐκ ἀρεῖς
τὸν φόβον
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις
οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ
ἄτερ θεοῦ
ἡ διγλωσσία
ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις
οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις
οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται
οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται
συγκοινωνήσεις πάντα
ἀθανάτῳ . . . θνητοῖς
εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι
καθ' ἡμέραν
δώσεις λύτρωσιν
γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν
εἰρηνεύσεις
ἐξ. τὰ παραπτώματά σου
οὐ προσελεύσῃ
Plural.
διώκεται ἀγαθῶν
οὐδὲ κρίσει
εἰς τὸ πονηρόν

The most of these differences are quite compatible with a memoriter quotation of either by the writer of the other. Similar variations are heard in the pulpit every Sunday in quoting the Bible. There is also nothing in them to indicate a different period of time in the writers. Are the differences consistent with the supposition that a copy was made with the manuscript before the writer? Certainly not, unless a different text was followed, as is also shown by the difference of order. Is there anything thus far to show which is the original? The indications of working over into a new style are very slight. In one marked case the Teaching has the imperative, *ἵσθι* *γίνου*, while the other has the Hebraistic future, *ἔσῃ*; this certainly cannot be called a change into the style of Barnabas. Four times Barnabas has *οὐ μὴ* with the aorist, where the Teaching has *οὐ* with the future. On the whole, considering only these verbal resemblances and differences, it seems to me that they show that the one writing did certainly come from the other, but without determining which. To say that they came from some common source is an easy makeshift; but must not that common source have been substantially the one or the other?

3. The differences that are more than merely verbal need not be here culled out and repeated, as they are obvious. I do not see how one can read the two columns carefully without the strongest impression that this part of the Epistle is derived from the Teaching. First, the Teaching is simpler, less figurative and ornate: *ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ θανάτου* instead of *ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός, τοῦ σκότους, τοῦ μέλανος*; *πονηρά* instead of *σκολιά*; *μνησθήσῃ* instead of *ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρη τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου*. Secondly, the Teaching is more closely biblical. The exact phraseology for the "two ways" is furnished by Jeremiah (xxi. 8), and is not far from Matt. vii. 13, 14; and a large part of chap. i. is from the Sermon on the Mount. Thirdly, the Epistle has the appearance of an amplification of the Teaching. The "two ways" of the latter become two ways *διδασχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας*, and the difference between them is illustrated by the guardian angels set over each. The simple *διδασχῆ* becomes *ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνώσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν*. Not satisfied with *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα*, Barnabas adds *φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου*. Other examples follow. Even the *οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου* seems like a translation of *ἐπιωρκήσεις* (derived from Matt. v. 33, and found only there in the New Testament, and but twice in the Old) into the language of the Decalogue. It is

true that some passages in the Teaching are fuller than in Barnabas. The list of sins in chap. 20 of the latter contains only two not in the Teaching, while the Teaching has seven not in Barnabas. Where Barnabas has *πραῦς, ἡσυχίος, τρέμων*, the Teaching has besides *μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, ἄκακος, ἀγαθός*. But a fuller enumeration is a very different thing from an intentional amplification; and in no case, I think, in which the Teaching is fuller is there the appearance of a comment upon the Epistle or a confirmation of it. The quotation from Matt. v. 5, that "the meek shall inherit the earth," is in harmony with the other quotations from the Sermon on the Mount, and is plainly due simply to the word *πραῦς*. This case suggests the one feature in these chapters of the Epistle which favors their priority to the Teaching — they seem to ignore the Sermon on the Mount. If they were written after the Teaching, why should they avoid the quotations from the Sermon? Further, if they were written before the Teaching, why not before the Sermon on the Mount? and what is there then left to show that they are not an ante-Christian writing incorporated into the Epistle?¹

4. This comparison of the Teaching with certain chapters of the Epistle of Barnabas leaves out of view the late words considered in the first part of this article. If the first five chapters of the Teaching are earlier than Barnabas, then those late words belong either to a large addition to the first five chapters or to short interpolations. The word *σῆτις* might have been substituted for *ἄρτους* or *ἄρτους θερμούς* by a copyist, without the change of another word. The word *χριστέμπορος* might have been introduced without necessarily carrying with it more than its own sentence. Even if the first five chapters are later than Barnabas, they cannot, for various reasons, be put at a date that will satisfy these late words. The same appears to be true of the remaining chapters. Perhaps the strongest point against the genuineness of *χριστέμπορος* is that so striking a word is ignored, together with its immediate context, by the Apostolical Constitutions. Cannot some reader of the Greek Fathers tell us whether or not Gregory Nazianzen coined the word?

5. It may seem superfluous to speak of forgery, when it has not been seriously charged. Indeed, it may be asked, How can an

¹ A most tantalizing Latin fragment, published in Harnack's *Prolegomena*, seems to combine, in the opening sentences, the Teaching with the Epistle. Does this prove that there were widely varying texts of the Teaching, or that some writer had confused it with the Epistle?

anonymous writing be the subject of forgery? The answer is, that the silent claim of a certain age to authorship can be simulated as well as the handwriting of a man. On the supposition that the Teaching is prior to the Epistle of Barnabas, I have already said that a forger would have produced closer resemblances to New Testament diction. But how about a more modern, scientific, and scholarly forgery? Is not the Teaching a "cunningly devised" prototype, drawn from the Epitome and the Apostolical Constitutions? We may answer, first, that a forger would hardly have left its relation to the Epistle of Barnabas in so much doubt; or perhaps I should say, that the existence of that Epistle, with its variations from the Epitome and the Apostolical Constitutions, would have successfully baffled the efforts of a forger. But secondly, suppose this difficulty in some way removed, we should expect the Teaching, if it be a fabrication, to be more closely conformed to its sources. In the first chapter more than one quarter, mostly at the close, will be searched for in vain in the three parallel writings.¹ No modern

¹ Even if we add *Hermas* to these three, the illustration of the argument still holds, since the variations from *Hermas*, at the close of chap. i., are considerable. The following are the portions of *Hermas* bearing the closest resemblance (Second Commandment. Bry. Proleg., p. 89): Πᾶσι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς διδόνθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. Οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσι λόγον τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσι δίκην. Ὁ οὖν δίδους ἀθῶός ἐστιν. In the Independent of July 3, p. 9, Prof. Orris suggests that the close of chap. i., may have been added, or modified, at a later date; and finds evidence of this in the words, δώσει δίκην ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί. One can readily agree with him (and thank him for proving it) that δώσει δίκην should not be rendered "shall give account"; but why not give the usual rendering, "shall pay the penalty," "shall suffer for it"? The connection with ἵνατί, etc., would be harsh, but perfectly intelligible, for the idea of giving account, or of being detected, would naturally be supplied. The usual meaning of δώσει δίκην is the proper antithesis of ἀθῶός ἐστιν, just preceding, as the reader will plainly see by stopping at δίκην. The next five words have close connection logically with what follows referring to the mode of trial and punishment. In *Hermas* τίσουσι δίκην (cf. 2 Thess. i. 9) takes the place of δώσει δίκην, and is affirmed of those who receive alms hypocritically. This writing and the Teaching are at one in leaving the responsibility with the receiver and not the giver. Hence one feels bound to interpret the figurative language—"Let thine alms sweat," etc.—in harmony with this. The lines containing δώσει δίκην may be read thus: "Blessed is he that gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless [even if the gift be found to be a mistake]. Woe to him that takes [if the gift is not needed, or is misused]; for, while the receiver, if needy, is guiltless, the one who is not needy shall pay the penalty [for it will be found out] why he took alms, and for what use he intended

forger would have left this so. This is well illustrated by Dr. Krawutzky's attempted restoration,¹ referred to in Professors Hitchcock and Brown's Introduction. The matter of it—the Two Ways—is found in the first five chapters of the Teaching. Although the restoration appears only in a German translation, its wonderful skill is apparent. But it is the skill of omission. Not a word is *added* to the Epitome so far as that is followed, or to the Apostolical Constitutions where the Epitome fails.

In conclusion, some of the points raised in this article cannot, of course, be settled by the mere examination of the vocabulary. I do not press them; for my object has been simply to help in preparing material for a final decision.

ARTICLE VII.

CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

I. AMERICAN.

THE current periodical literature of the United States is much less important, as well as less abundant, than the periodical literature of England and France of the last three months. In this section, therefore, we content ourselves with an allusion to an article of the July number of the *METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW*. This Review, now conducted by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Curry, succeeding the Rev. Dr. D. D. Whedon, devotes its leading paper to the higher criticism of the Pentateuch. Of an historical form, the article considers briefly the various theories, as those of documents, fragments, supplements, and ethnic development. As to the authorship and origin of the Pentateuch, the author, Rev. Milton S. Terry, regards "these propositions as fairly settled": "1. The Pentateuch contains a number of passages which cannot, without doing violence to sound critical principles, be attributed to Moses as their author. 2. The Pentateuch, especially the Book of Genesis, contains documents of various dates and authorship, which have been worked over into an orderly and homogeneous whole. 3. The laws of the Pentateuch were either unknown or else very largely neglected and violated during most of the period

it; and when he is brought to trial [or prison] he will be closely examined concerning his conduct, and will not come out until he has paid back the last farthing." I see no way out of the "sweat" and toil of the next sentence but by supposing that the *ἱερὸν* of the ms. is for *ἱερὸν*, *sacrosancta*.

¹ Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen. 1882. Drittes Quartalheft. pp. 433-445.

between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian captivity. 4. The Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers show different stages of legislation, and Leviticus contains a noticeably fuller and more elaborate priestly code and ritual than appear in Deuteronomy." The discussion of these propositions, which is reserved, we anticipate with interest.

II. ENGLISH.

Philosophy and theology are represented in the *BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* for July, in two articles. One article bears the title, *The Speculative Philosophy of Religion*, and the other is a criticism of Professor Henry Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. The author of the former, after reviewing the mistakes of Lessing, Kant, and others in endeavoring to establish a philosophy of religion, reaches the conclusion that "the speculative philosophy of religion has not succeeded in explaining the facts of the religious consciousness in such a way as to supersede the ordinary theology. Whatever the defects or the undue pretensions of that theology, it still held fast to the conception of a personal God as the doctrine of the Bible, and as that which alone can give full satisfaction to the religious imagination. The philosophers have attempted to substitute an abstraction, a form of thought, a name, an 'order,' a 'substance,' an 'idea,' for the living God. In the attempt to get rid of the inconsistencies of the anthropomorphic idea, they have involved themselves in equal inconsistencies of their own. For their thought oscillates between an impersonal and a personal apprehension of the same object; they alternately predicate what is personal of the Highest, and seek to escape from what are supposed to be the limits of personality. . . . Christianity teaches what the result of all criticism of the intellectual powers teaches, that 'we see but in part and know but in part.' But this partial knowledge is still a knowledge of the truth. If we ignore that in these high matters the half is more than the whole, we resemble him whom Hesiod called a fool. The great objects of religious faith lie before us in the *chiaro-oscuro* of intuition. It may be possible, by some trick of words, some act of fancy, some illusory pretension of thought, to cast upon them a light which is unnatural; equally possible to envelop them in an artificial obscurity; but the Divine Being will ever remain revealed yet concealed, known yet unknown, in each and all of his manifestations. Reverent contemplation and patient study of his sublime enigma will ever be the just mean between the ambition of solving it and the abandonment of it as utterly insoluble."

The review of Professor Drummond's book, by Joseph John Murray, praises the originality of the form and of the leading ideas, the suggestiveness, the admirable style, and the noble eloquence of the work. But, tried by its own standard, it is affirmed that the book is yet a failure. It is not, as it claims to be, "a system of religious philosophy." Although

it contains much religious philosophy, and true religious philosophy, it presents, instead of a system, "only a number of detached suggestions somewhat elaborately wrought out." Its eleven chapters are simply eleven sermons on texts furnished by nature, all impressive and all true except when exaggerated into falsity.

The editorial department of the *Quarterly* has the following judicious encomium of Weiss's *Life of Christ*: "In the completion of the English translation of Weiss we welcome a life of Christ which in psychological analysis and critical acumen and thoroughness is far superior to any study of the Divine Lord yet produced. Descriptive rhetoric is eschewed; but little attention is given to the word-painting of mere localities or dramatic groups. Intent upon his great work of religious exposition, the author quietly examines each incident in our Lord's recorded history, and expounds it according to his own perceptions and in the light of the manifold theories of infidelity on the one hand, and of indiscriminating belief on the other. Dr. Weiss holds firmly by the great truths of evangelical theology, and at the same time is familiar with the methods and conclusions of the most advanced criticism, which he fearlessly applies to the Gospels. In method he may be called a disciple of Ewald — reaching, however, very different conclusions. Like Ewald he is, we think, the frequent victim of his own over-subtlety, even while casting penetrating light into difficult places. We cannot, for instance, wholly accept his psychology of the Christ. Admitting, as we must, limitations of his human knowledge, we can scarcely go so far as Weiss does in his affirmations of Christ's ignorance, especially concerning his death; nor can we quite accept the unceremonious way in which he corrects the evangelists or pronounces them mistaken. At the same time, his vindication of John's Gospel in the lights which in an unconscious way it is seen to throw upon the synoptists is most masterly and complete. The work is a great one, but to be accepted with reserve."

The *EDINBURGH REVIEW* devotes an article to the recently published *Life of Maurice*. The article discriminates with care and patience those elements in Professor Maurice's noble character which contributed to the success of his philanthropic and historical endeavors, and those which resulted in the necessary weakness of his theological system. If as a thinker he was not profound, he certainly was, both as a thinker and as a man, heartily sincere. It is to him as a person, rather than as a philosopher or theologian, that we believe his influence in English life is due. Those "qualities," says the reviewer, "which made the man essentially what he was" form "a charmed circle. . . . These qualities had, indeed, something to do with the peculiarities which made his intellectual constitution 'a good deal of an enigma' to Mr. Gladstone; but Mr. Gladstone at the same time spoke of 'the picture of him as a Christian soul' as one of the most 'searching, touching, and complete' that he had ever seen in

print. The self-depreciation which in his writings sometimes irritated rather than attracted his opponents assumed in private life the form of a personal courtesy, not without a tinge of humility, which was singularly captivating. His treatment of himself was severe, almost to austerity; his carefulness and tenderness for others were unbounded, and were shown in all the commonest circumstances of daily intercourse. Those who came near him found themselves in an atmosphere of purity, generosity, and self-sacrifice which they could scarcely fail to be the better for entering. But in private life or in public he never shrank from the task of rebuking, when rebuke seemed to him called for; and this would be whenever anything was said or done which implied disbelief in the divine government of the world or maintained principles in antagonism with the divine law. He felt himself from the first charged with a mission as full, direct, and solemn as any that was ever entrusted to the prophets of the Hebrew church; and his powers of body and mind were unstintingly and unflinchingly spent in the fulfilment of it. Whatever judgment some might pass on his words or his acts, he achieved a work not merely vast in its extent, but far-reaching in its consequences. He fought, for the most part, single-handed; he was certainly not supported by any school of partisans. But his influence, so far as it went, was exerted in opposition to the most powerful and attractive school of his day; and there can be little doubt that in arresting its progress and crippling its strength his influence was stronger even than the influence of the Oxford party against the form of thought and belief which that party was seeking to supplant."

The DUBLIN REVIEW, perhaps the oldest Catholic Quarterly, presents several articles which merit attention. One, by the eminent scientist St. George Mivart, treats of the conversion of England to the Catholic faith. The writer acknowledges that in the past "Divine Providence" seems "to have persistently and studiously withheld its blessing from each and every effort made to effect the conversion of our country by force or by skilfully contrived devices. Not man, but God, overthrew the Spanish Armada. Elizabeth was upheld securely on her throne, despite the anathemas of the Lord's vicar; nor could all the plans invented to restore the first James or to maintain or restore the second secure the Divine sanction, as the event has proved. It seems as if it was intended that England should be raised to a pinnacle of greatness as the church's enemy to enable it the better, at a later period, to act as her most powerful and beneficent friend. It also seems as if the hatred of England for the church was to be changed into good-will not so much by any deed of us Catholics ourselves as by the providential action of divine grace upon persons and events altogether external to us." Within the generation has occurred an increase in all the instruments of propagandism. But, despite this enlargement, the prosperity of the Catholic church has two great drawbacks. One lies in the "abiding tendency of every minority

to merge itself in the majority." The other lies in the fact that the "world around us has, independently of us, greatly changed during the past forty years, both here and on the Continent of Europe." The growth of infidelity and the rise of agnosticism have made less favorable the condition of the church. These untoward changes, the author believes, call "for corresponding defensive development on our own part; and many of us are sadly unaware how defective that development still remains. To promote the conversion of our country it is manifestly good that we should gain the sympathy of our countrymen by a ready co-operation with them in all that is not distinctively of faith, by hearty loyalty to the state, and by conspicuously helping on the artistic, moral, and intellectual progress of the country."

The Review also contains a paper pointing out alleged omissions and inaccuracies in the article on Missions in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It claims that the writer's knowledge of the subject is anything but encyclopaedic, and that he either is lamentably ignorant of Catholic missions or is guilty of *suppressio veri*. Apropos of the Encyclical Letter of Leo XIII. relative to Freemasonry, the Review publishes an article showing the necessity of the antagonism on the part of the Catholic church against the order. For Freemasonry endeavors, it is claimed, to establish itself as a church and as a religion, and so tends to overthrow Catholicism.

III. FRENCH.

"The Origin of the Belief in a Future Life among the Jews" is the title of a contribution by M. Edouard Montet to the *REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS*. It is interesting as an exponent of the views of the advanced school upon a well-worn subject. That the ancient Hebrews had no belief either in the immortality of the soul or in a future life, M. Montet considers beyond dispute. How they finally gained it is the object of this inquiry to discover. The Hebrews shared with other primitive people a belief in a place to which disembodied spirits were assigned. According to a mysterious tradition this place was in the depth of the earth—a place unknown, where no light ever penetrated, nor anything which recalled life dwelt. This was their *Sheöl*—a place of shade, of shadows, of silence, of forgetfulness, of sleep, of ignorance, of inactivity, mental, moral, and physical. To this *Sheöl* Isaiah refers, when he says, "The grave cannot praise thee, the dead cannot celebrate thee." It cannot be denied that we meet in the Old Testament expressions of secret aspirations after a heavenly life. But in the opinion of our author these expressions are no stronger in the case of the Hebrews than in that of other ancient peoples; and he quotes from Chaldean and Phoenician inscriptions expressions which he regards as strong witnesses to the truth of this assertion. The sentiments of the author of the Book of Job are the results of the deepest searching of the ancient Hebrew mind into the

mysteries of the hereafter, and he simply leaves the problem unsolved. "The opinion of the author of Job," says M. Montet, "exactly represents that of the Hebrew people up to the second century before Christ. At that time the ancient eschatological doctrine tended more and more to disappear before two dogmatic currents." These currents were, the Alexandrian Judaism, which professed belief in the immortality of the soul; and the Palestinian Judaism, which professed belief in the resurrection of the body. The tendency to a belief in a future life is shown in the Book of Daniel, the date of the writing of which M. Montet assigns to the age of Antiochus Epiphanus. This tendency is still further manifested in the apocryphal books. Whence came it? Not from any revelation of God, says our author. Nor was it esoteric. He therefore searches for the outside influence which dropped the seed of the belief in immortality upon the Jewish soil. The first influence our author believes came from the Persians, with whom the Hebrews had much in common. No less strong was the influence of the Greeks. "It can be no cause for astonishment that the Alexandrian Jews should borrow the idea of the immortality of the soul from the writings of Plato, which they regarded as the source of the truth after the Bible. Nor is it strange that these ideas spread in Palestine. But the Greek philosophy recognized a dualism, a complete separation of soul and body. The soul was a prisoner; the death of the body set it free. Not thus was the Hebrew idea. To the Hebrews the soul was no prisoner; it was inseparable from the body; it is the vital breath." Two schools of thought resulted. The one school emphasized the resurrection of the body as the central thought in the future life; the other, the immortality of the soul.

An interesting exegetical study is that furnished by F. C. J. van Goëns to the *REVUE DE THEOLOGIE ET DE PHILOSOPHIE* (Lausanne) on the Place of Human Liberty in the Pauline Predestination. The question of Paul's belief in human freedom the author regards as purely a question of exegesis, and above all of the exegesis of the eighth and ninth chapters of Romans. This exegesis must be made without previous bias as to what is true or false, moral or immoral, possible or impossible, worthy of God or unworthy of him. It is upon these two chapters, which our author critically analyzes, that he bases his opinion that Paul was a thorough predestinarian. "Romans viii., as well as ix., x., xi., excludes all intervention of human liberty in the preparation of salvation. According to Paul, faith is the fruit, not the cause, of election; it is a characteristic of it, not the condition. The reformers have perfectly expressed it. 'Election comes first,' says Zwingli; 'faith follows election as a symbol.' 'He chooses us that we may be sanctified,' says Calvin. Paul's constant doctrine is that faith is a gift of God. 'God gives to each the measure of his faith.' 'Ye have believed according as the Lord has given to every man.' 'It is God who works both to will and to do.' If the Macedonians

display great benevolence, it is a grace accorded to them. If Titus is zealous for the faithful, it is God who put it into his heart. One may see that faith in all its fruit has in the eyes of Paul God as its sole author. Pauline predestination excludes free-will; it is absolute, unconditional. Jacob is chosen, and Esau rejected. Their dispositions have nothing to do with the question." Such are the conclusions into which the study of the Book of Romans leads this writer.

That Paul teaches liberty he is willing to admit. The words "free" and "freedom," occurring often as they do, never are uttered in the spirit of those who say that the Pauline predestination supposes human liberty. To quote the exact language: "The natural man is a slave; he is only free as a converted man. Conversion is the initiation into liberty. This liberty consists in the condition of the man in whom the Spirit has triumphed over sin and death, and who, a law unto himself, is independent of all which does not belong to his true self. He is independent of men and human authority, whether Paul, Apollos, or Cephas. He is free from the law, its institution, its commandments. He is free from the letter; its minute precepts are replaced by the law of love. But this very freedom is still the gift of God." The free Christian declares that Christ has made him free. The faculty of willing and accomplishing what he wishes does not hinder him from recognizing that it is God that worketh in him both to will and to do. So the sovereign power of God is never manifested with more glory than when the creature is free.

In the introduction to a translation of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, Dr. E. de Muralt gives an interesting and valuable judgment upon the age and worth of this newly discovered manuscript. For our purpose it is sufficient to notice that he regards this Teaching as that mentioned by Irenaeus (*δεύτεραι τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις*) in his catalogue. This fixes the date of the manuscript as early as the middle of the second century. The comparison between its clear and simple instructions and the elaborate and fanciful teachings of writings known to belong to a later period, he believes likewise to point to its antiquity.

Although Alexandre Vinet has been dead nearly forty years, and several memoirs have appeared, M. J. A. Cramer has this year given to the world a careful estimate of the man and the scholar in *La Memoire de Alexandre Vinet*, an exhaustive review of which appears in the current number of *LA REVUE DE LA THEOLOGIE ET DE LA PHILOSOPHIE*. Dr. Vinet is popularly known as a *litterateur* rather than as a theologian; but he won a deserved fame in both departments of thought. It is, however, as a theologian that Dr. Cramer chiefly considers him. The estimate which he makes of his power and influence is probably the final estimate. In his day Dr. Vinet was much admired and very influential. The bold stand which he made for religious freedom in Switzerland, unsuccessful though it was, as well as his strong sympathy with

evangelical views as opposed to the radicalism current in the national church, earned for him an enviable fame. But of the permanence of his influence Dr. Cramer expresses doubt. "Few persons," he says, "will give his works the study necessary to understand them. To those who are willing to do this he will ever prove inspiring and uplifting."

IV. GERMAN.

We find favorably noticed in the *THEOLOGISCHE LITERATURZEITUNG*, the following recent issues of the German press: The second enlarged edition of Hilgenfeld's *Remains of the Gospels according to the Hebrews*, according to Peter; the *Traditions of Matthew*; *Preaching and Acts of Peter and Paul*; more ancient Teaching of the Apostles, with the so called "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and the book entitled "*Duae Viae*," or "*Judicium Petri*" added. Leipzig, 1884. \$1.00. — Hilgenfeld's *History of Heresies in the earliest Period of Christianity*. Leipzig. 1884. \$3.00. This is a collection of original documents, with a history. Rabaud, *History of the Doctrine of Inspiration in French-speaking Lands from the Reformation to the present Day*. Paris, 1883. \$1.75. A prize Essay, broad in scope, and thorough in work from the "liberal" point of view. — Berliner's *Targum Onkelos*. Berlin, 1884. \$2.50. The first attempt at a critical edition of this Targum. No critical text is given; the text of Sabionetta, in his *Pentateuch*, 1557, being printed, with some critical notes. The peculiarities of the Babylonian method of writing Hebrew are preserved, and Sabionetta's text is in this respect considerably improved. An "Introduction to the Targum" gives its history while still orally transmitted, the circumstances and period of its committal to writing. Its editing is put down at the second half of the second century post Chr. Its later history to the present time, and its relation to other Targums are also considered. — Three volumes of *Analecta Patrum Antienicænorum* by Cardinal Pitru, have been issued in 1883-84 at Paris. \$10.00. They contain valuable new material from Manuscripts hitherto unknown, especially on Irenæus.

ARTICLE VIII.

CRITICAL NOTES.

PROFESSOR LADD ON OEHLER'S THEOLOGY.

In the May New Englander Dr. Ladd has a notice of Oehler's work (Clark's Translation, revised by Dr. George E. Day. pp. 594. New York: Funk and Wagnalls), which appears to be an indirect reply to the many protests *versus* his own views on inspiration. A short passage which he thinks favors his views is quoted from a note on p. 8 in Oehler. The substance of it is as follows: "He who has won in this way the conviction that Holy Scripture is the true witnessing record of the divine purpose of salvation, and that in it is contained the word of God, [will not] surrender himself to a criticism in which we can everywhere see that it does not rest upon the consciousness of faith which Rothe commends." (Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik*)

These two writers agree that "the Bible is not revelation itself; it is the record of revelation" (Oehler, p. 8), which in the sense given to revelation as God's act (so the "word of God") does not contain anything new. Revelation as an historical fact and the Bible as evidence of it are, of course, to be discriminated. Prefix "inspired" or "infallible" to any term you use for Bible, — like "record," — and even the numerous creed critics would accept Oehler's language on this point. Make such a distinction between God's act and the evidence of it, that while no error can attach to the former, error attaches to the latter, vitiating it as evidence of the former, — as all who look into Professor Ladd's book are surprised to see that he does, — and this is another matter. If there is to be a distinction made between God's message to men and the literature in which it is embodied, — a distinction the opposite remove from the saying, "The style is the man," — i.e. between God's meaning and its vehicle, — we can all agree that his act and the book are not to be confounded; though still we know nothing of his act of revealing salvation save in and through the book. The issue resolves itself into a question of the use of terms.

But Dr. Ladd goes on to offer his advice to our Lutheran brethren as to sympathizing with certain views of the nature of the Bible and the "Christian consciousness of faith," which he sets forth as Oehler's. But Oehler does not make "consciousness" — whatever may be meant by this much-abused term — the starting-point for all men in judging of the Bible. All men, says Scripture, have not faith. Oehler is speaking, all

through the passage drawn into Dr. Ladd's service, of the theologian. Even Rothe he quotes as maintaining that "the most thorough and impartial criticism on the Holy Scriptures" is to be one's work "*as a believer*" (himself italicising these last three words). One must have already accepted "this grand system of facts and witnesses *through the written word* [our italics], which *moreover* [i.e. in addition to historical proof, conclusive to the men who 'have not faith'], finds its proof in men's hearts." Nothing can be found here to favor the idea of a Christian consciousness, aside from or before an individual experience of Christianity, as an element of revelation — especially discriminated above as God's act. Expressly the Tübingen professor says (and the italic word is from Day's revision), "It is only *through* the Bible that the theologian receives this impression of the majesty of revelation as a mighty historical fact." Nothing, then, that one brings to the Scriptures beforehand, or possesses as a product of natural evolution, or any other supposed natural process, enters into God's teaching. "The reality of revelation is made certain by means of the Bible."

Oehler concedes to Rothe "the free relation of faith"; but the Bible goes before this. No man enters into this relation as a critic whose "view is far from harmonious with the biblical one." "He should first surrender himself to its contents, without preconceived opinions." All this is in criticism of that one-sided manner of treating biblical theology which Rothe favors, and Oehler does not. Dr. Ladd seems so eager to buttress himself with a word from Oehler as to overlook the spirit of the discussion. In this very note Oehler sets himself against that so-called higher criticism which has led Dr. Ladd astray. "How," he asks, "is a genetic exhibition of the Old Testament doctrine of the nature and attributes of God, of angelology, of the doctrine of the state of man after death, etc., possible, on the supposition that the Pentateuch is a comparatively recent production?" The note in Oehler quoted by Ladd gives no countenance to that mixture of rationalism and mysticism which assails the Scriptures in these days in the name of faith.

G. F. MAGOUN.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE. By G. Frederick Wright, Professor in Oberlin Theological Seminary. pp. 241. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society. 1884. \$1.25.

Professor Wright has done a timely and helpful work in this compact volume. The title sufficiently indicates the purpose, namely, to set forth the authority, and that the Divine authority, of the Bible, that is, of our canonical Scriptures as a whole. This involves the brief presentation of the subsidiary topics of Inspiration, the Canon, the true Method of Interpretation, the Difficulties and Objections; and some considerations of Textual Criticism, of alleged Discrepancies, of Old Testament Quotations, of the Harmony of the Bible with Science, and of the less directly spiritual portions of the book — all properly subordinate to the main discussion.

The argument is inductive, proceeding by appeal to facts, and not from pre-conceived theories. It is also clear and concise, establishing its positions, and illustrating them by specimen instances, rather than by exhaustive and therefore exhausting enumeration. The main postulate from which the writer proceeds is "the acknowledged supernatural character of Christianity," in which "the stupendous miracle of the resurrection of Christ" is "the corner-stone" of our historic faith, easily supporting whatever other supernatural claims and utterances can be shown to have been put forth by that wonderful personage.

In using the unavoidable word "inspiration," the author would define "with reference to the results attained, rather than with reference to the divine process through which the results have been secured. In calling the Scriptures inspired and infallible, we intend to say that they are an adequate and authoritative record of the divine revelation upon which the Christian religion is founded, and that they are, when properly interpreted, the final appeal in all distinctive questions of faith and practice. For reasons which will appear as the discussion proceeds, we prefer to retain the ordinary evangelical terms, and say the Bible is the word of God, and the Bible is a revelation of God, rather than the more ambiguous phrases, the Bible contains the word of God, and the Bible contains a revelation;" and in due time he undertakes to show that all portions are constituent parts of one whole, with different specific functions. A multitude of petty objections to the perfection of the Bible are virtually disposed of by the

simple remark that "the Bible is perfect as related to the end in view." In conducting the entire discussion he rests his arguments upon a "soundness of judgment in estimating the weight of the well-established facts which are most central," it being "our business as investigators to adhere to those facts which are fullest, clearest, and most fundamental in their bearing upon the question." And it is a sufficient characterization and commendation of the argument to say that we think the writer has adhered to his purpose. A part of this adherence consists in not embarrassing himself with any theory of inspiration based largely on the etymology of the word. In dealing with matters of interpretation and questions of phraseology he maintains the defensible position that the *meaning* of the Bible, however conveyed, is the Bible. This obvious principle clears away many petty cavils about particular words and idioms, while at the same time the author firmly maintains the power of language to convey definite meaning, and the actual conveyance of such definite meaning in the Scriptures on the momentous topics of their own divine origin and authority, and on the relations and prospects of man.

It is impracticable to follow in detail a discussion which itself touches briefly on so many related topics. We may say in general that it is a very clear, though succinct, statement of the valid reasons why we receive our present Scriptures, and receive them as a final authority on all matters on which they profess authoritatively to speak. And the strength of the statement consists largely in the prominence and distinctness which is given to the controlling and decisive considerations in the case. These considerations, in the main, have been and will be satisfactory to, and accepted by, the great body of those who perform the Christian work of the world. For the author truly remarks (p. 147), that "the history of the evangelical portion of the church has revolved in a pretty narrow orbit about three cardinal doctrines of the Bible: 1. that God has made a special historical revelation to men, and that the Bible is the authoritative record of that revelation; 2. that the incarnation and death of Christ are sacrificial in their character, and were necessary as well in justification of God's action in forgiving sin as in furnishing a moral power for securing the obedience of the individual sinner; 3. that this world is the arena on which human beings determine the conditions of their existence for an endless futurity. Apart from these doctrines there has been little evangelical activity in the world."

We may remark that, in addition to the general vigor of the positive argument, the author shows a good deal of skill in laying down the general principles which dispose of difficulties and objections. In dealing with some of the minor "discrepancies" of the Gospels, he rightfully insists on the brevity and incompleteness of the several narratives, where some one additional remark, easily supposable and admissible, would in an instant have removed all appearance of divergency. These admissible

suppositions are frequently more than one, and are precisely of such a nature as men are obliged to accept in all other lines of investigation, including courts of justice. We are therefore not under the necessity of accepting always the *particular* solution preferred by the author, as, for example, in regard to the blind man at Jericho. We prefer a different method. So in regard to the seemingly diverse instructions to the twelve (Matt. x., Mark vi., Luke ix.) "to take no staff for their journey" and to take nothing "save a staff only," to take "no shoes," but to "be shod with sandals only," etc., our solution is very simple. He says to them, "go just as you are,"—without any additional provision whatever. Wear the sandals you have on, and carry the staff that is in your hand, but take not bread, wallet, money, "two coats," "nor shoes" additional, nor even "a staff" unless already in hand. The clear *meaning* of the whole injunction harmonizes the details.

The same remark will apply to other portions of the discussion, that though we may not in all instances accept every detail, the main principles are well taken and strong, and will satisfy those who are in a condition to be satisfied with fair argument. The volume is brief enough and clear enough to be readily followed, and will at the present time, we are persuaded, prove highly useful and helpful. The fundamental drift of it is well expressed in one sentence (p. 149): "The difference between the interpreter who acknowledges the Bible as supreme authority and the one who exalts his own ethico-religious consciousness to that place of authority is about the same as that between the sea-captain who takes his bearings from the stars and the one who guides his course by the light from his own mast-head."

The evangelical church has long had to face the question of "Naturalism or Supernaturalism" as raised from outside. The question which now seems to be raised from within is, "shall the so-called ethico-religious consciousness sit enthroned above the Scriptures, or the Scriptures above the ethico-religious consciousness?" Does not the second question shade off into the first, both theologically and historically? On these topics and all that they involve there is no dimness nor uncertainty in the positions of Professor Wright; and his argument vigorously maintains his general positions.

S. C. BARTLETT.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS THE MESSIAH. By Alfred Edersheim, M. A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D., Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. In two Volumes. pp. xxxi, 695 and 822. Large 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, and Company; New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company. 1883.

In order to fully understand the character and appreciate the merits of this work it will be necessary to take into consideration its special aim and method, in connection with similar lines of thought that have been fruit-

ful of good results in the whole field of gospel history. In his preface, the author speaks of three features which guided him in his studies. He does not wish to be understood, in the first place, that he is attempting to write a Life of Christ in the strict sense, as the materials for such a task do not exist, the Gospel records not pretending to furnish these. "Rather must the Gospels be regarded as four different aspects in which the Evangelists viewed the historical Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfilment of the divine promise of old, the Messiah of Israel, and the Saviour of man, and presented him to the Jewish and the Gentile world for their acknowledgment as the Son of God, who revealed the Father, and was himself the way to him, the truth and the life. . . . I wished not to write for a definite purpose, be it even that of a defence of the faith; but rather to let that purpose grow out of the book as would be pointed out by the course of independent study, in which arguments on both sides should be impartially weighed and facts ascertained." He therefore disclaims having any predetermined dogmatic standpoint at the outset of his investigations. From these and similar statements it is evident that Edersheim does not, as is the manner of more pretentious but less biblical biographies of Christ by the various representatives of the variegated schools of "criticism" in Germany, France, and elsewhere, undertake to construct a life of the Saviour out of the ruins and remnants of the dissected Gospel records. He has no theory concerning the origin of our Gospels save the theory of the Apostle (2 Pet. i. 21), that the "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." He does not deem it necessary to go behind this authority, and consequently bases his whole massive work on the recognition of the truth of the Gospel documents as we have them. His conservative views as to the sources of information for the work before him, have thus saved him from producing a life of Christ arranged to suit the scheme of this or that theological school; but, in furnishing him the proper foundation upon which to build, have aided him in drawing a portrait of Christ that is biblical and truthful. His acceptance of the New Testament records as the last appeal for all questions touching the career of the Saviour is not the result of ignorance or blind dogmatism. He is well acquainted with the various analyses made of the Gospels, and with the whole wide field of discussion in regard to their origin, character, composition, authors, etc.; and, in fact, as is shown by his statement concerning the third object of his book, he has taken into consideration these objections, and throughout his work has, in the interests of Christian apologetics, defended the Gospels against the attacks and criticisms of less conservative scholars. His notes, which abound in excellent refutations of such false views, show how wide is his acquaintance with these, and how carefully he has considered their weight.

While in these two respects these volumes do not differ much from other excellent and conservative lives of Christ, which also build upon the foun-

dation of the Evangelists and aim at the defense of the evangelical records, Edersheim's work differs from all others, at least in systematic treatment and completeness, in regard to one point, which he calls the second feature of his book. He says: "But, secondly, since Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew, spoke to and moved among the Jews in Palestine, and at a definite period of its history, it is absolutely necessary to view that life and teaching in all its surroundings of place, society, popular life, and intellectual or religious development. This would form not only the frame in which to set the picture of the Christ, but the very background of the picture itself. It is, indeed, most true that Christ spoke not only to the Jews, to Palestine, and to that time, but — of which history has given the evidence — to all men and to all times. Still he spoke first and directly to the Jews, and his words must have been intelligible to them. His teachings have reached upwards from their intellectual and religious standpoint, even although it infinitely extended the horizon so as, in its full application, to make it wide as the bounds of the earth and time. Nay, to explain the bearing of the religious leaders of Israel, from the first, towards Jesus, it seemed also necessary to trace the historical development of thought and religious belief till it issued into the system of Traditionalism, which, by an internal necessity, was irreconcilably antagonistic to the Christ of the Gospels."

It is in carrying out this aim that the work of Edersheim finds its special features and merits. The idea of grasping the life and teachings of the Saviour, not as abstractions or without historical connection with the world in which he moved, but as historical phenomena — although the mightiest in history — in a living connection with the heart and the soul of the people and the times, and thus producing a truly historical, vivid, and almost living picture of him as he moved, taught, and thought among those who daily surrounded and associated with him; this idea is, indeed, not original with our author, but he has made better use of it in the interests of true Christian science, has applied it with more system and greater success than ever before. Although the materials with which he works are in kind the same as those with which Schöttgen, Lightfoot, Meuschen, Wetstein, and just at present also Wünsche, operate, yet Edersheim has method, system, and critical arrangement in the use of these aids; and although the manner and purpose of using these is the same as we find in the whole department of history of the New Testament time, as represented by such works as those of Schürer and Hausrath, yet Edersheim makes more extended use of them and for a better end. The endeavor to secure a truly historical view of Christ and Christianity, by bringing out into prominence all the forces and factors that entered into the whole existence, life, thought, religion, and society of the age in which the Lord lived and labored, and thus surrounding him and his work with all the agencies and influences which were then realities, in order thus to

reproduce as clearly and definitely outlined as possible this life and work, is the central thought and object of what is called the History of the New Testament Times. In many ways this method of studying the great problem — the greatest of all ages — has proved eminently successful. The legitimacy of the principle is, and must be recognized by every candid scholar; students of historical science must accept it almost as an axiom. The influence of this view is felt in many departments, as, e.g. in that of New Testament lexicography, where the development of the meanings of so many New Testament words that express the highest ideas of Christian dogma and ethics out of the classical Greek, and the influence of the Septuagint, the language of the Jewish apocrypha, apocalypses, etc., during the three centuries between Malachi and Matthew, forms a theme much discussed by the best students of Biblical philology. Of course this principle can, like all good things, be abused, and has been abused just in its application to the life of Christ. The idea of development, the greatest tyrant in the whole range of modern thought, has endeavored to make him also a product of time and circumstances. He has often been described as the representative of all the noblest characteristics of this age, a pupil of Hillel, and the greatest of his times. But no such idea has guided the hand and heart of Edersheim. What he says concerning the teachings of Christ is characteristic of his whole work. He says (Vol. i. p. 106): "It may be asserted, without fear of well-grounded contradiction, that if in respect to substance, there is not a difference, but a total divergence of fundamental principle between Rabbinism and the New Testament, comparison between them is not possible as regards their spirit. Here there is absolute contrariety."

Edersheim has thus taken a happy medium between the rejection and abuse of this method. How well he has succeeded in carrying out this principle is clear at once from the first and introductory book, entitled *The Preparation for the Gospel*, in which he describes the Jewish world in the days of Christ. With the aid of all the literary sources at his command, he describes the development of Jewish thought from the close of the Old Testament, and even from the days of Ezra, and traces at the hand of his guides all the agencies that slowly and surely changed the faith and doctrines of Israel until these assumed the strange appearance which we find in the New Testament. Some features of this preliminary book are especially noteworthy, particularly those which show the great difference between the Eastern and the Western Dispersions, the growth and changes in the religious life of these separated brethren, and the culmination of these developments in the antagonistic schools found in the days of Christ. In our conviction the unfolding of this idea is not only new, but most productive in this field of inquiry. It must, however, be remarked that Edersheim has not always made use of all the literary aids that are accessible for the discussion of these problems, and that he does

not do justice to the *history* of the people as a formative force in producing the peculiar system of orthodox Jewish theology of which the Pharisees of the New Testament are the representatives. It is a fact beyond denial that the ups and downs of Israel's history, in the days of Syrian and Roman despotism, had a great and modifying influence upon the beliefs of the people of Israel, and if their history had been different, then, too, in many respects, their views would have been different. The literature of these centuries is but the reflex of the feelings and longings of these days, and from this literature it is evident how much these feelings and longings were under the spell of outward history. It can, e.g. be a matter of little doubt that the prominently royal character of the Messiah as expected by the contemporaries of Christ, was to a great extent owing to the fact that their present sad fate seemed to need such, and only such, a Messiah.

And what has been done in general in the first chapter of this work, has been consistently carried out in both volumes. Whenever it was possible from the faith and manners of the age, to draw any light for the explanation of the earthly career of the Lord, this has been faithfully done. The author was eminently qualified for this task. Born a Jew, educated with German thoroughness, and at all times an enthusiastic student of the literature of the Jews, he has made splendid use of his acquirements. His previous work on "The Temple, its Ministry and Services, as they were in the Times of Jesus Christ," had proved him a master in the field. Wherever the contemporary history and literature, the Mishna, the Talmuds, the Midrashim, and Rabbinic lore could furnish any aid to the understanding of the world in which Christ lived, these have been applied with a good purpose. Edersheim is not, in the strict sense of the word, an original investigator in these fields, but he knows what such investigators have brought forth, what value is to be attached to their discoveries, and how to use them. It is a matter of congratulation that he has quoted so exactly the various sources from which he has drawn, and thus given his readers not only the opportunity of consulting his citations, but also of making further investigations wherever his treatment is still incomplete or unsatisfactory. While thus the work is not without its faults, as was to be expected in a work new in method and paving the way for others to follow, it must be greeted with a most hearty welcome by every student and lover of God's word. It is certainly one of the best works that have appeared of late in England, or, for that matter, anywhere. Specialists will be greatly interested in the nineteen appendixes which Edersheim has added (Vol. ii. pp. 653-793), on religious, social, and historical topics, of great importance for the problems of the book, and thankful for the double index, as also for the list of authorities (12 columns) and the list of abbreviations of Rabbinic works. The style of the book is highly rhetorical, even poetical at times, but never so much so as to do violence to truth. The seven years which Edersheim has spent on

these two massive volumes have been well spent. Theological science has been enriched by them, and the result is as true an historical and biblical picture of the Lord's earthly career as has ever been drawn. For the minister of the gospel these books are a mine of information and illustration for practical use; for the historian a model and incentive guide. They deserve thorough study, and will be a valuable addition to any Christian library.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW, from the St. Germain MS. (g₁), now numbered Lat. 11553 in the National Library at Paris. With Introduction descriptive of the Manuscript, and Five Appendices, etc. Edited by John Wordsworth, M.A., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, etc. pp. xliii and 79. Oxford. 1883.

This is No. I. "of a series of Old Latin Biblical Texts drawn from Manuscripts which are either unpublished or have been inadequately edited." No. II. is to contain "Portions of the Gospel according to St. Mark and St. Matthew, from the Bobbio ms. (k) of the Fifth Century, now in the National Library at Turin (G. vii. 15)." No. III., "The Four Gospels, from the Munich ms. (q) of the Sixth Century."

The publication of Nos. II. and III., with the promise of other additions, is conditional on the reception of the design by the public. That reception should be most cordial if the promised numbers equal the first in scholarly treatment and critical acumen and sagacity. The Early Latin texts of the Bible are comparatively unknown in America, and deserve to be studied by theologians generally, and more particularly by those whose tastes lie in the direction of textual criticism. The study of the Latin versions of the Scriptures has a very important bearing on the text of the earliest versions, from which most, perhaps all, the earliest Latin versions were made. The restoration and recovery of the text of the earliest Latin versions, enables us, on account of their great literalness and the peculiar aptitude of Latin to reproduce the Greek, to verify the character of the Greek text in the earliest ages of the church.

The publication of the Manuscript here noted is a step in that direction; it is only the fragment of an entire Latin Bible, which about A.D. 1538 to 1540 appears to have been still complete, or nearly so. The ms. was used by Stephanus in his edition of the *BIBLIA* between the dates given, and is probably the work of a reviser who lived soon after, or about the time of Alcuin, "though it is of course quite possible that his work, with all its subscriptions, was copied at a subsequent date" (p. xv). It is a revision of an older text, which in the opinion of Professor Wordsworth "was not a Hieronymian text, but a mixture of the Italian and European texts, which was corrected occasionally by the Vulgate, but has a large peculiar element, perhaps drawn from several mss." (p. xxxiv).

Some of the distinctly Vulgate readings, proving that the ms. was corrected from Jerome's text, are:

II. 16 quoniam inlusus esset; 23 per prophetas

III. 3 qui dictus est; 9 potest deus

V. 42 Omni qui petit a te da ei; 44 his qui oderunt; 72 Salutaueritis

XV. 8 populus hic labiis me honorat

XXI. 7 et eum desuper sedere fecerunt

XXVII. 41 cum scribis et senioribus

XXVII. 55 om. "videntes" (with corb. 1 and rhedig.), found in most of the Old Latin mss., and is part of the Greek text.

Professor Wordsworth calls attention to a considerable number of peculiar readings not found in Vulgate, European, and Italian mss., which leave the question as to the basis of the text undecided. We can only cite one. "The most noticeable of these peculiarities is probably the opening paragraph, in which the generations from Adam to Abraham are prefixed to the genealogy. They are arranged in the style of St. Matthew, except that *Deus fecit Adam* is naturally employed for *Deus genuit Adam*. This section is apparently unique. Martianay remarks about it that it must have been drawn up after St. Jerome, since it is based on his version of Genesis from the Hebrew, and not on that taken from the LXX [*Remarques*, p. vi]. It is curious, however, that it agrees neither with Genesis nor with St. Luke. The list coincides, indeed, with Gen. x. 24 against St. Luke, in omitting *Cainan*, son of *Arphaxad*; but the spelling *Salath* (for *Sale*) is found in neither source, while *Ragau* agrees with St. Luke against *Reu* of Genesis. The curious variations of spelling *Mathusalem Matusala*, *Phalech Palech*, and the remarkable confusion of *j* and *g* in 'Maleleel ienuit Gereth Jareth ienuit Enoch,' seem to show a process of mixture even in this peculiar section, and suggest that it was the composition of our scribe, not a copy from any existing document (p. xxxv sq.)."

Professor Wordsworth's analytical comparison of chap. v. in this ms., which he calls G, yields these results:

Peculiar readings, in which G stands alone,	18
Readings of a distinctly Vulgate type,	3
Readings of a distinctly Italian type,	2
Readings of a distinctly European type,	27
Neutral readings in which it agrees with the Vulgate and Italian type,	10
Neutral readings in which it agrees with the Vulgate and European type,	7
Neutral readings in which it agrees with Old Latin (Italian and European),	8
Doubtful,	1
Total,	76

These seventy-six places occur in forty verses; in the remaining eight

verses (3, 6, 8, 10, 26, 27, 35, 36) G coincides with Amiatinus (Vulgate), Brixianus (Italian) and Veronensis, and once or twice Colbertinus (European). This shows the *possible* Old Latin element to be very large — ninety-six per cent (only three readings in seventy-five being distinctly Vulgate); while the *distinctly* Old Latin element is about seventy-three per cent; and the distinctly European element is far larger than either of the other two.

A specimen of the text (v. 43–45) may serve to illustrate some of its peculiarities:

“43. AUDISTIS QUIA DICTUM EST DILIGES proximum tuum et odies inimicum tuum; 44 Ego autem dico vobis diligite inimicos uestros benefacite his qui oderunt uos. et orate pro eis qui uos persecuntur et calumniantur uobis 45 ut sitis filii patris uestri qui in caelis est; Qui solem suum oriri iubet super bonus et malos et pluit super iustus et iniustus.”

The study of this interesting, suggestive, and ably edited text will open to those who may take it in hand a new field, frequented as yet by few, but destined to become familiar to many.

QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Crawford Howell Toy, Professor in Harvard University. 7 X 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xlv, 321. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

Candid study of the quotations in the New Testament must carry us far toward a true understanding of the nature both of the Old Testament and of the New. It is an indispensable prerequisite for the formulation of a doctrine of sacred Scripture. We have in these quotations a sort of key to the working of inspiration. For, having by the use of all the resources of modern historical criticism fixed as exactly as may be the meaning of a passage *in situ* in the Old Testament, we are ready to advance to its quotation in the New, and ascertain how far inspiration lifted its agents above those blunders in matters of fact and those fallacies in logic which belonged to their time. Professor Toy has many unusual qualifications for acting as our guide in this intricate and delicate exploration. In Greek and Hebrew learning he is affluent, his purpose is to be scrupulously scientific, and his general plan is excellent. In each case literal translations of the Hebrew, Septuagint, and New Testament passages are first given. Then follow the same passages in the original languages, a comparison of agreements and differences of the original and quotation, a concise exegetical discussion of the purpose of the Old Testament and New Testament writers respectively, and, lastly, critical remarks on the text. Every page bears the evidences of judicious industry, and the abundance of valuable critical matter will be highly prized by all students of this difficult subject.

We wonder a little that the criticism of the text is made to follow the exegetical discussion which it so essentially and logically precedes; and

we think that the publishers have naïvely betrayed their low estimate of the learning of the American public in putting the *translations* into delightfully large and clear type, and the Hebrew and Greek *original* into sizes painful to the eyes. The Hebrew vowel points, especially, are microscopic and often defective.

And while we recognize the value of the author's scholarly collection of materials, we do not feel much helped by his method of reasoning upon them, nor by his conclusions. Professor Kuenen long ago confessed: "Its [the New Testament's] judgment concerning the origin and nature of prophetic expectations and concerning their relation to historical reality may be regarded as diametrically opposed to ours." Professor Toy as a critic stands apparently beside Professor Kuenen, and Christ and the apostles are his antipodes. So far from accepting the canon that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," he accords to the prophets only the function of preachers to their own times. For example, in discussing the words, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek" (Heb. v. 6; Ps. cx. 4), he dryly remarks: "The king whose victorious career is described in the Psalm must be regarded as a Jewish monarch contemporary with the poet; this is the only natural interpretation" (p. 219). And so the Psalm is dated down in the times of the Maccabean priest-kings. Dr. Toy's is, we confess, the only *natural* interpretation of the one hundred and tenth Psalm; but, granting a *supernatural* element anywhere in the Old Testament, we submit that the explicit testimony of our Lord that David himself (αὐτὸς Δαβὶδ, Luke xx. 42) wrote the Psalm would lead us to find it here. Starting thus with a virtually naturalistic view of the Old Testament, and with the expectation of finding in the New Testament a totally mistaken apprehension of its historical sense, Professor Toy of course finds it. That sense of the Hebrew which commends itself to his judgment as the most probable he asserts dogmatically to be the only possible. And this is generally the most local and shallow. The New Testament writer, by "unbridled spiritualizing," has made an illogical, though "lofty and inspiring" use of it.

Many illustrations might be mentioned; but we will take the first, which is the first critical remark upon the first quotation discussed, "Behold the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son. And they shall call his name Immanuel" (Matt. i. 23; Isa. vii. 14). Professor Toy's opening sentence is, "The rendering 'virgin' is inadmissible" (p. 1). If so, then, of course, the evangelist was all wrong in the use he made of the prophecy. But when we come to examine the six other passages of the Old Testament in which the word *עַלְמָה* occurs (other than as a musical term), we find that in two it must mean virgin, and that in the other four it is most naturally rendered virgin; and turning to our lexicon we find that the Hebrew afforded no word more unequivocally conveying that

meaning, since even *לְוִיָּוִת* is applied to a young widow (Joel i. 8). There is a degree of unfairness in Professor Toy's parenthetical explanation (p. 4) of the reference to Song of Songs vi. 8, "There are threescore queens and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number" — "(members of the king's harem)." In this passage three classes of women are mentioned — queens, concubines, and *לְוִיָּוִת*. The latter are not said to form part of the harem; but, in or out of the harem, if they were neither queens nor concubines, what were they but virgins?

One may please himself with the illusion that he has pursued an inductive process when his hypothesis precludes the use of that method. Professor Toy asserts, "That an Aramaic version of the Old Testament existed in Palestine in the first century of our era is almost certain" (xiv), "though there is no proof of the existence of a written Aramaic translation or targum" (p. 140). "It is not likely that the New Testament writers used the Old Testament Hebrew text at all; even the Epistles of Paul show no trace of such use" (p. xix). But Paul's quotation of Ex. ix. 16, in Rom. ix. 17, "follows an accurate Aramaic version. . . . The partial agreement with the Hebrew, against the Septuagint, may be accounted for by supposing that Paul used a current Aramaic oral rendering" (p. 139). If we believe *a priori* that all the literal renderings in Paul's Epistles are from an oral Aramaic version, it is nonsense to say that his writings "show no trace of the use of the original," since *ex hypothesi* they cannot.

We sincerely hope that the spelling *Yahwe* will not supersede *Jehovah* in English books. To the unlearned reader it no more conveys the proper sound of the Hebrew word than does *Jehovah*. We are not ready yet to transform James into *Yaagobh* and Jesus into *Yeshua*, and why should we be more pedantic about *Jehovah*?

SINAI AND PALESTINE in Connection with their History. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., F.R.S. New Edition with Maps and Plates. 6½×4 inches. pp. 641. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. 1883.

This edition of Dean Stanley's classic work upon Sinai and Palestine comes to us slightly enlarged, and furnished with new and better maps. There is no work on biblical geography more readable. The enthusiasm of the writer carries the student without fatigue through the desert of geographical details, and gives a fresh reality to sacred history.

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